AFT

JTM

January 4, 1967

Mr. Dave Elsila, Editor
CHANGING EDUCATION
716 North Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Elsila:

Please send me 25 copies of the Fall, 1966 issue of Changing Education ("The Negro and American Education"). If there is a charge, please bill me accordingly.

Under separate cover I am sending you some materials on "intercultural textbooks" developed by the Virginia Council on Human Relations and our own study of school desegregation in 1966.

Can you tell me if papers or summaries of the "Racism in Education" Conference (December 8-10) are available?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
(AFT #189)

EFV/jd

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Janet S.

1/10/67

January 9, 1967

Southern Regional Council
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Please send to the library of the AFL-CIO the following publication:

Voter Registration in the South.

If there is any charge, we shall appreciate being so advised.

Kindly address the publication as follows:

The Librarian
AFL-CIO Library
815 16th Street, N. W., Room 102
Washington, D. C. 20006

Send Mints article

Ch + see 4

Very truly yours,

Jean Y. Webber

(Mrs.) Jean Y. Webber, Librarian
AFL-CIO Library

JYW:bah
opeiu#2afl-cio

January 9, 1967

Mr. Dave Elsila, Editor
American Teacher and
Changing Education
716 North Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Elsila:

Thank you for your letter concerning our request for copies of the fall issue of Changing Education.

We would also like to order 25 copies of the January issue of American Teacher which has a summary of the Racism in Education Conference. If there is a charge please send the bill to this office.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO

716 NORTH RUSH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611
312 WHITEHALL 3-4226
Western Union Code: FRT

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President

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New York, N.Y. 10037

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Denver, Colo. 80223

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300 Park Avenue So.
New York, N.Y. 10010

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Washington, D.C. 20018

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Philadelphia, Pa. 19132

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DAVID ELSILA
Editor, American Teacher and Changing Education

PATRICIA STRANDT
Assistant Editor

ARTHUR REESE
Civil Rights Director

CATHERINE McGOURTY
Office Manager

Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy

AFT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Attention: Emory F. Via, Director Labor Program

Dear Mr. Via:

We are temporarily out of copies of the Fall issue of Changing Education but will send the 25 copies which you requested as soon as we have more in stock.

You will be interested in knowing that a complete summary of the Racism in Education Conference is being published in the January issue of the American Teacher now on the press. If you will tell me how many copies you need I will be happy to see that you get them.

In addition, the AFT is contemplating publishing the complete conference proceedings as a book.

Fraternally,

Dave Elsila
shk

DAVE ELSILA, Editor
American Teacher and
Changing Education

DE:shk

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO

716 NORTH RUSH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611
312 WHITEHALL 3-4226
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Editor, American Teacher and Changing Education

PATRICIA STRANDT
Assistant Editor

ARTHUR REESE
Civil Rights Director

CATHERINE McGOURTY
Office Manager

Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy

AFT

January 12, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

We have misplaced your original letter, but have sent you 25 copies of the Fall issue of Changing Education.

If you need additional copies, please do not hesitate to write us.

Sincerely,

Evelyn B. Thomas
(Mrs.) Evelyn B. Thomas
Secretary to Mr. Elsila

et
opeiu28
afl-cio

January 23, 1967

Mr. David Elsila, Editor
American Teacher and Changing Education
716 North Rush St
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Elsila:

Enclosed is a pamphlet concerning the efforts of the Virginia Council on Human Relations to influence the selection of books used in the public schools in Virginia.

I think that this program would be of interest to your organization.

Sincerely,

Jane S. DeLung,
Secretary
Labor Program

AFT

United Steelworkers of America

AFL-CIO-CLC

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING

PITTSBURGH, PA. 15222

PHONE: 471-5254
CABLE ADDRESS: USWA

January 16, 1967

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

F Y I — j smith
change made

Gentlemen:

Attached is the address portion of the envelope in which I received your latest mailing.

I have retired from the United Steelworkers of America and as of this date request that my name be removed from your mailing list and that it be replaced by that of John Edward White.

Thanking you for this and past service, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Francis C Shane

Francis C. Shane

FCS:mkd

Enclosure

ok. — check our address too — but I think they are ok.

G.

GEORGE E. GILL
40 PRYOR STREET, SOUTHWEST
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

February 10, 1967

Dear Emory,

I certainly appreciate your generous message of congratulations. It has been one of the most cherished privileges of my life to be associated with you over the years. I wish the very best for you and for your organization and I hope we will be able to work together on many more occasions in the future.

Don't hesitate to let me know if I can ever be of assistance.

Sincerely,

George Gill

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

misc. unions

February 9, 1967

Mr. George Gill
Director
District 3
Communications Workers of America
40 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Let me extend my congratulations to you for your selection as Executive Vice-President of CWA beginning April 1. Certainly, my congratulations should also go to the National Union for placing you in this position.

I am sorry that our schedules have been such that we have had little opportunity to work together during my brief return to Atlanta. However, I want you to know that the Council stands ready to cooperate with District 3 Office on any matters of mutual interest and we trust that you will feel free to call on us in your new post.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

AFL-CIO - Gen.

February 20, 1967

Mr. William Kircher
Director of Organizing
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Kircher:

This rather full report may not have come to your attention. I thought the attitudes expressed towards unions would be of special interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue · nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

February 21, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory,

I am writing to ask a favor of you. For the past several weeks I have been in Greensboro, N.C. working with a drive among seven plants of Cone Textile Mills. There have been paper locals in these plants for a number of years and the drive is trying to build up something substaintial. The old contracts ran out a couple of years ago and the drive centers around negotiations for new ones.

The representative, Peter Brandon, has developed some techniques which seem to be working quite well here. One is that decisions are made through a Joint Policy Committee which is composed of the leadership of all the locals. Another is that of the short strike(or controlled strike) which is a strike protesting company violations of the National Labor Relations Act. So far they have had two such strikes, a one day one in October, and a three day one about two weeks ago. The last one was about 73% effective. The third technique is that of community involvement. There have been meetings with ministers and students, and during the last strike about two hundred students walked the picket lines.

The Southern director, Scott Hoyman, wants to see more student and community involvement. He has asked me to come on staff to work on this angle and I have sent an application into New York. Scott asked me to ask some people to write references to try to speed things up a little in the New York office, and I was wondering if you felt that you could write me one. If you can, it should be addressed to:

Paul Swaity
TWUA, AFL-CIO
99 University Place
New York 3, New York

I am enclosing some information on the drive here. Apparently the newsletter has proved to be one of the most effective organizing tools in the situation. It has been coming out regularly since the early fall and now most is written by people in the locals.

I really do appreciate any help you can give me on this, and I hope that you may be able to find time to come here to Greensboro to see for yourself what is going on here. The locals are trying to start an education program and I am planning to send you the information on that as soon as it is drawn up. Thanks for your help.

gene guerrero

USWA

March 8, 1967

Mr. Fred K. Hoehler, Director
Department of Education
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

Dear Fred:

I have your memo postponing the Teacher Training Institute in Tennessee. I hope that I will be available for later dates.

Will you have the program planners let me know how they expect to utilize my services? I would hope that a part of the institute would be devoted to how to teach stewards the broader union role. I would be pleased to work with such sessions especially as they relate to politics, civil rights, and community participation. The details can be discussed later by phone or otherwise.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

American Federation of Government Employees

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO

JOHN F. GRINER, NATIONAL PRESIDENT
ESTHER F. JOHNSON, NATIONAL SEC.-TREAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
400 FIRST STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
737-4705

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO: K7

March 10, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Director Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, West
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Via:

I enjoyed reading your statement at the Textile Employment Forum concerning job discrimination and promotional opportunities for Negroes. Some of the problems particularly associated with technological change in the textile industry are similar to those we face in the Federal service.

In the light of your broad experience in this field, I would like to extend an invitation to participate in the AFGE Southern Leadership School to be held at the University of the South the week of August 6th - 11th, 1967 at Sewanee, Tennessee.

This is the initial AFGE Workers Education Weeklong Resident School to be held for AFGE lodge officers, stewards and members from our Fourth (Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina) and Fifth Districts, (Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia and Florida). I anticipate that we will have in excess of 100 AFGE lodge leaders and activists at this program from this region.

At present, in addition to myself, Otto Pragan, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Education Department, AFGE organizers and Bob Repas, Michigan State University and Stan Rosen of University of Illinois who have been asked to instruct in the program, will compose the Staff.

The course will cover all aspects of collective bargaining in the Federal service and effective grievance representation, during the morning sessions of the program. The afternoon sessions will be divided equally between lodge administration (parliamentary procedure, internal and external communications and public relations) and Labor's Role in Changing America.

American Federation of Government Employees

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO

JOHN F. GRINER
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

ESTHER F. JOHNSON
NATIONAL SEC.-TREAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
400 FIRST STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
737-4705

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:

Page 2. Mr. Emory Via
March 10, 1967

This portion of the program would deal with the history of the labor movement in the Government and private sector in our society with particular emphasis on the problems facing working people today. I hope you will consider handling this part of the weeklong school.

These sessions will concentrate on contemporary problems and the labor movement, support of Civil Rights, poverty programs, Federal Aid to education and urban renewal. The instructor in this portion of the program will teach two separate sessions of ninety minutes each day for four days, Monday through Thursday (August 7th - 10th.) Lodge delegates will be divided into two separate groups and the instructors in the concurrent afternoon sessions would exchange classes so that everyone will have an opportunity to attend the sessions on Lodge Administration and Labor's Role in Changing America.

Please advise me if you can be with us at this important AFGE Seminar.

Fraternally,

Art Kane

Arthur F. Kane
Director of Education

AFK:ee

March 29, 1967

Mr. Arthur F. Kane
Director of Education
American Federation of
Government Employees
400 First Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Mr. Kane:

Your invitation to participate in the Southern Leadership School was both appealing and appreciated. Unfortunately, I have a long standing promise to my family to take them westward during the time of your school. Unless there is some serious change in my schedule I would be unavailable to join you at that time. I know I would have enjoyed working with you and the AFGE. The program you outlined is right down the line of what I would like to do.

Thanks for your comment regarding my statement at the Textile Employment Forum. Let me know if I can be of assistance in supplying materials or suggesting other persons who might be able to participate in your school.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Active

March 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Swaity
Textile Workers Union of America
AFL-CIO
99 University Place
New York, New York 10003

Dear Paul:

I haven't seen you since the Textile Employment Forum in Charlotte back in January. We still hope to see some action in that situation from several government agencies. Al Kehrer or I will certainly be in touch with you and others in TWUA when something develops.

Sometime ago I heard from Gene Guerrero that he was being considered for a staff position with the TWUS. Subsequently I have had occasions to talk with Scott Hoyman and Jim Pierce. I think that Guerrero is a good fellow. He is steady, reasonable, and dedicated. Such types are few and far between. Although one might not classify Gene as a world leader, I feel confident that you would find him a useful staff addition and he would bring a good bit of relevant experience from the Student Movement to labor organizing. As you know working with labor has been a concern of his for a couple of years. Some of the things he has already done I think have been quite worth while.

It could be that this situation has already been settled in some way, but I thought I would put in a word or two myself.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Mis. Unions

April 3, 1967

Mr. Walter Simcich
Research and Education Director
International Woodworkers of America
1122 N. Lombard Street
Portland, Oregon 97217

Dear Mr. Simcich:

Your letter to Mr. Leslie Dunbar has been refered to me for an answer. Mr. Dunbar is no longer with the Council but serves as the staff head of the Field Foundation in New York. Mr. Paul Anthony is the Council's Executive Director.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the most recent issue of our quarterly magazine, "The New South". A few other publications by and about the Council will also be included. There will be no charge for these materials but I would urge you to subscribe to "The New South" for $3.00 per year.

I trust that in recent weeks you have received at least two mailings from my own program. One was a statement coming out of the bomb-killing of a Negro union member in Natchez, Mississippi and the other was a copy of our newly developed "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit".

The Labor Program works with a wide variety of unions and State AFL-CIOs in the South. Our main focus is on education programs which relate to understanding the changing South, race relations and Civil Rights. Frequently these topics are mixed with more basic union courses such as steward's training and local union administration. Beyond this we do a great deal of work of a consulting nature with unions

and a good bit of liason work between unions and other groups interested in civil rights. I work closely with both the Education Department and Civil Rights Department of the National AFL-CIO. You may be interested to know that I am a long time member of the AFT Local 189 and an active participant in the University Labor Education Association. I am currently on leave from the School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin.

Some of the other programs of the Council work on problems of Voter Education and Registration, Juvenile Delinquency, and Criminal Rehabilitation, Housing and Urban Planning and Community Organizations and Self-Help Projects. These efforts and others are undergirded by a fairly substantial information program of research and publications.

We work over a geographic area which includes the eleven Southern states. We work cooperatively with State Human Relations Councils in ten states. These Councils were originally created by the Southern Regional Council and still receive assistance from us. We also work cooperatively with a large number of other organizations throughout the South including Civil Rights groups, local voter groups, churches, and unions.

I think the other publications I will be sending you will help fill in a bit more on the Council itself. Please be in touch with us if we can ever be of any service.

Sincerely

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

A. F. HARTUNG
PRESIDENT

CLAUDE BALLARD
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INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA

Affiliated with American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations and Canadian Labour Congress

Local Unions in ROCKY MOUNTAINS
PACIFIC COAST • CANADA
ALASKA • SOUTHERN STATES
CENTRAL STATES • LAKE STATES

TELEPHONE 285-5281
1622 N. LOMBARD STREET
PORTLAND, OREGON 97217

March 29, 1967

Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We would greatly appreciate receiving a copy of your publication "The New South" along with any materials describing the work of your organization.

If there is any charge for the above, kindly bill us.

Sincerely,

Walter Simcich
Research and Education Director

WS:jf

American Federation of Government Employees

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO

JOHN F. GRINER, NATIONAL PRESIDENT
ESTHER F. JOHNSON, NATIONAL SEC.-TREAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
JUSTICE FRATERNITY PROGRESS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
400 FIRST STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
737-4705

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO: K7

April 4, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am sorry to learn you will be unable to participate in our initial Southern Weeklong Leadership School. However, being away from home as much as I am, I can appreciate the importance of a family promise to provide them with a little vacation in your company.

I do appreciate your offer of assistance in supplying materials and recommending another person who might be able to participate in our School. Perhaps there is someone on your staff in the Regional Council who is able and willing to participate in our important Southern School. Please advise me of the name or names of persons you recommend for this school.

I would also like to receive materials available from your office on the operations and programs of the Regional Council. I will be in further contact with you regarding amounts when I have a firmed-up idea as to the number who will be in attendance. I anticipate in excess of 100 delegates to the School - this is good but also poses a real problem education-wise with a small staff.

Sincerely,

Arthur F. Kane

Arthur F. Kane
Director of Education

AFK:ee

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue · nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

April 13, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory,

I ran into Ed Stanfield at the N.C. Human Relations dinner a couple of weeks ago and mentioned to him a conference coming up in Greensboro. He said that you and he might be able to drive up from Atlanta for it.

As you can see from the enclosed leaflets the conference will be bringing together workers, students, and liberal minded people from across the state to talk about textile workers rights. As far as I know it is the first time this has happened in a while in North Carolina and those of us involved in some way are pretty excited about it. Hopefully the conference will serve as something of a kickoff to a broad movement in the state.

I really hope that you and Ed will be able to come. I know that it will be of interest to you and that you can be a very helpful to the conference itself.

In looking over the conference agenda, if you have any suggestions or ideas, please let me know. Hope to see you there.

Sincerely,

Gene

Gene Guerrero

April 18, 1967

Mr. Gene Guerrero
Textile Workers Union of America
404 State St.
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Gene:

Thanks for sending the announcements on the Textile Workers Conference. I am very sorry that I have a conflict with program we are co-sponsoring in Eastern Arkansas.

I hope that Ed Stanfield'plplans will be such that he will be able to attend a part of the Greensboro meeting.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labpr Program

EFV/jd

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

April 26, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I surely do appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me the maps of the Alabama Congressional Districts and for the House and Senate. They surely will be helpful.

I had hoped to send you one of the manuals we have been using in our Legislative Conferences with our members each Friday night and with the Senators and Representatives at a luncheon the following day for our members to talk with them. We exhausted our supply but are trying to have some more made up for the use of our people when they talk to their representatives individually. As soon as we get some more made up I will send you one of these to let you see what we are attempting to do on a minimum wage law, control of Private Employment Agencies, Little Norris-LaGuardia Act, amendments to Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Compensation, etc.

Thank you so much and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

ek
opeiu18

May 3, 1967

Mr. Arthur F. Kane
Director of Education
American Federation of Government Employees
400 First Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Mr. Kane:

Several names come to mind as possible program participants for your Southern Leadership School on labor history and the problems facing working pepple today. First I would suggest Professor Ray Marshall, Department of Economics, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Marshall knows unions well and is the outstanding expert on Southern labor history and is quite conversant with contemporary problems of unions including the problems of social change and civil rights.

Secondly, I would suggest E.T. (Al) Kehrer who is the Southern staff man of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Kehrer is located at 40 Marietta Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. His past experience includes being the Regional Director for the ILGWU and having worked as an Assistant Director for the old ILGWU Training Institute.

A third suggestion would be Dr. Earl Williams who directs the Human Resources Institute at the University of Houston in Houston, Texas. Williams used to be at the University of Tennessee, he is a labor economist, and like Marshall and Kehrer has been widely used in southern labor education institutes.

Two other persons might prove to be useful. I believe you know them both. Neither has had any special experience in the South. They are IrvingBBrotslaw and Owen Tapper both of the School for Workers staff at the University of Wisconsin.

Under separate cover I am sending you a variety of materials which you may find of some use in the institute. If so please let me know in what quantity you will need them. In some cases a charge would need to be made.

Best wishes in your further planning for your southern school.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

CABLE ADDRESS: ILGWU-NEW YORK • PHONE: COLUMBUS 5-7000

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

AFL-CIO

1710 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

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PRESIDENT
GENERAL SECRETARY

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•

DAVID DUBINSKY
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EDWARD KRAMER
PHILIP KRAMER
HENOCH MENDELSUND
E. HOWARD MOLISANI
LOUIS NELSON
SAMUEL OTTO
WILLIAM ROSS
ALBERTO SANCHEZ
MATTHEW SCHOENWALD
BERNARD SHANE
FREDERICK SIEMS
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

June 20, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

As you might surmise, I did not have a text for my speech at the IRRA. Nevertheless, they put me on tape and I sent them a corrected version of what I said. Therefore, you should be able to get a copy from them directly.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Gus

Gus Tyler

GT/td

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION • AFL-CIO

SOUTHEAST REGION

457 PLASTER AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324
TELEPHONE (404) 872-8161

Louis Stulberg
PRESIDENT

Martin J. Morand
DIRECTOR

Bring up after Nat W. is settled.

June 26, 1967

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Would you give me the names of any persons in the Southeast whom you consider qualified to instruct any courses for our members?

Fraternally,

Martin J. Morand

Martin J. Morand
Director

MJM:f

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT
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A. J. DeANDRADE
MAX GREENBERG

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 12, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am sorry you can't come to the Gulf Coast School. When are you actually moving to Madison? As I remember, you said late in August.

I am going to try to call Vernon Jordan to see if he would be available for either the Florida School or the Gulf Coast School.

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio

UNION MADE

1 copy

URW

PETER BOMMARITO, President

KENNETH OLDHAM, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

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AFL-CIO,CLC 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET AKRON, OHIO 44308

Area Code 216
376-6181
376-6182
376-6183
376-6184

July 18, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

The enclosed check is to cover transportation and incidental expenses incurred on your trip from Atlanta to Black Mountain, North Carolina, and return.

I repeat herein, by reference, what I said to you personally in trying to express our appreciation for the incomparable service you performed for our union as an instructor at the District 8 Summer School as well as for the work you do in the whole area in connection with your regular job as Director of the Labor Program for the Southern Regional Council.

Also we thank you for sending the pamphlets on "Your Rights Under the Minimum Wage Law" which came today.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for your continued good health and success in all your endeavors, I remain

Fraternally yours,

John

John D. House
Temporary Education Director

JDH:jjb
opeiu 339
Enclosure
cc: Peter Bommarito
Kenneth Oldham
Ike Gold

Local Sec.- ... dance was held in the National Guard Armory at Radford.

Union News 10/68

Heart Attack Takes Life Of ICWU Chief Mitchell

Walter L. Mitchell, president of International Chemical Workers Union, died of a heart attack Sept. 19, near the end of a convention of his union in New Orleans.

He had just presided over four days of what had been hailed as an unusually successful convention and had been reelected ICWU President without opposition. Shortly after adjournment of the day's convention session, he collapsed in his hotel room and died within a short time in a New Orleans hospital.

Because of the mutuality of interest between OCAW and ICWU, Mitchell was well known to many OCAW members and was respected by them as a hard-working, intelligent union leader.

Mitchell had been president of ICWU since 1946. He was 53 at the time of his death.

As of the press time of this issue of UNION NEWS, it was not reported who would replace him as president of the union. Presumably a selection will be made by the Executive Board, under ICWU's normal constitutional procedures for filling vacancies between convention elections.

WALTER L. MITCHELL

Eureka Pipe Line Boosts Pay 40c

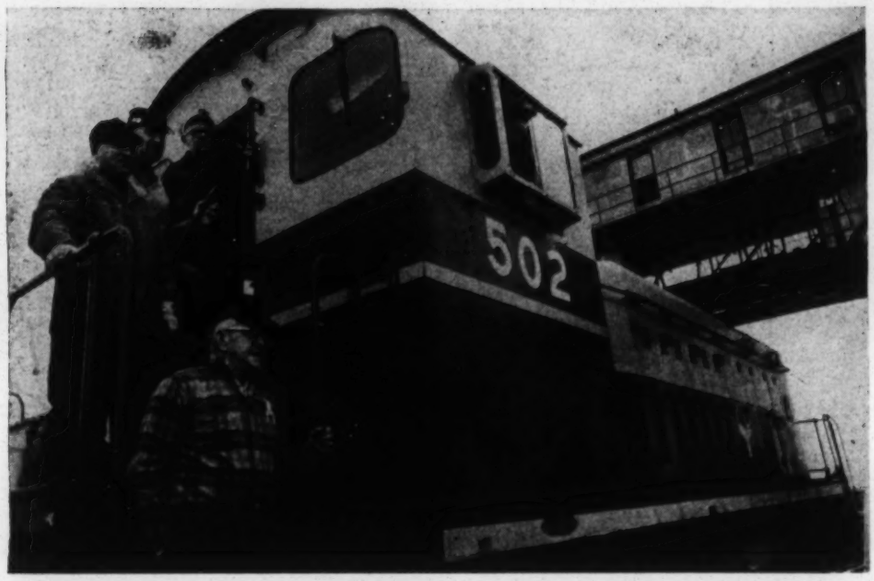
The 145 production and maintenance workers of Eureka Pipe Line Co., Parkersburg, W.Va., will receive pay raises totaling 40 cents an hour during the next two years, in addition to other improvements. They are members of Mannington, W.Va., Local 3-693.

Mileage allowance was increased by 1 cent per mile and improvements were made in vacations, retirement plan and hospitalization.

The committee consisted of H. H. Ferrell, Ralph Williams, Dale E. Powell, Thomas E. Joliff and Roy Pyles. Intl. Rep. Samuel Lopez led negotiations.

NEW PRESIDENTS of AFL-CIO unions are Timothy J. O'Sullivan, left, of the Broadcast Employes & Technicians, and Thomas E. Boyle of the Chemical Workers. O'Sullivan won a three-year term at the NABET convention in Chicago. Boyle was chosen by the ICWU executive board to serve a four-year term as successor to Walter L. Mitchell, who died unexpectedly after his re-election.

10-12-68 — AFL-CIO News



Trainmen are back at Chicago's Belt Ry., but dispute over crew size goes on.

Back on the track in Chicago

Trains will run while government probes union-Belt Ry. dispute. Outcome may govern crew size for many carriers

Switching service is normal again on the small, busy Belt Ry. Co. of Chicago, but the train crew dispute that led to a 102-day strike is far from over. Railroaders say union demands for an extra man in present two-man crews would be a return to "featherbedding" that ended in 1963.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen struck the Belt Ry. on July 29, shutting down switching service on the 27-mi. line. BRT demanded that the railroad increase switching crews to three men for safety reasons.

The Belt Ry., owned by 12 major railroads using its services, rejected the demand. It contended the 75 extra men who would have to be hired were not needed and that they would add $1-million yearly to labor costs. In lieu of the second helper, the line offered pay hikes to those working in two-man crews, but the union retorted that the Belt Ry. couldn't "buy off jobs."

Support. The National Railway Labor Conference, which represents carriers in labor negotiations, pledged full support to the Belt Ry. And John P. Hiltz, Jr., its chairman, charged that unions have picked the Belt Ry. for a stepped-up fight to restore "unnecessary" jobs eliminated five years ago. Hiltz called BRT's pressures against the Belt Ry. and then other roads an "outrageous attempt at featherbedding . . . to force them to hire new people, with no previous connection with the industry, to fill jobs that are absolutely unnecessary."

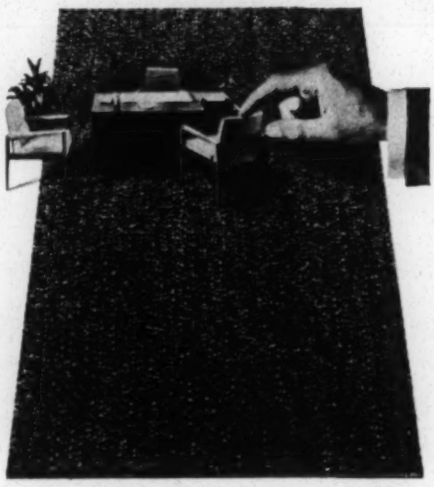
BRT declined to comment specifically on the dispute while it is before an emergency board, but it said that "over 30 Eastern railroads and eight of the 12 carriers that jointly own the Belt Ry. have already signed contracts allowing us one conductor and two brakemen on each train." A spokesman added, "This isn't a new effort, or a resurgence. We've been working for years to restore the original number of crewmen. We hope this is the end of the long road."

Background. In 1963, carriers won a fight to cut firemen from diesel engines in freight and yard service. When unions moved to call a nationwide strike, Congress passed special legislation barring a walkout and ordering arbitration with a two-year limit on the award. An estimated 20,000 to 25,000 firemen and other workers were dropped from train crews between 1963 and 1965.

The two-year limit expired in 1965. Since then, the unions have been working with some success to win back jobs. The BRT estimates that about two-thirds of the industry has

The friendly persuader

(A free 24"x36" Vanguard carpet sample!)



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gone back to the "safe" number of crewmen. The Belt Ry. dispute is an effort to break the resistance of other roads.

Intervention. The Belt Ry.'s 425 switchmen and other unionists quit July 29 because, they complained, two-man crews were unsafe in the dense Chicago-area railroad traffic and the workload was too heavy. The stoppage quickly developed into an endurance contest.

The Belt Ry. serves 310 industries. All were affected, but few agree on how seriously they were hurt. Many plants found alternative ways to route shipments by rail. Others turned to trucking. In either case, costs were higher.

The government was asked to intervene under the Railway Labor Act, but for two months the White House called the strike a local matter that didn't threaten interstate commerce. Labor hailed the attitude, but the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and others accused the Johnson Administration of playing politics by refusing to act prior to a Presidential election.

Then, the day after voting, President Johnson set in motion Railway Labor Act emergency-strike procedures, noting that the dispute had just spread to the Illinois Central RR and Louisville & Nashville RR. He named an emergency board, and the BRT sent strikers back to work for a 60-day period.

Precedent? Hearings started in Washington this week. The three-man board hopes to wind up sessions before Thanksgiving and to press for a compromise settlement before the late-December deadline. If there is a settlement, it likely will become a precedent for other roads where BRT demands extra crewmen.

A bigger question is whether the outcome will have any impact in the battle over Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen demands to put firemen back into diesel cabs. The union's argument is the same as the BRT's: that a safety hazard has been created.

Carriers deny any hazard in smaller crews. They contend the union fight is an effort to slow technological advances in an industry that must make maximum use of improved technology to survive.

Meanwhile, a Supreme Court decision this week upheld state "full crew" laws that bar roads in five states from eliminating firemen and other crewmen under the 1963 arbitration award. The laws set minimum crew numbers on a public safety basis. Rail unions will now broaden efforts to win further state legislation that would restore jobs.

Labor briefs

The AFL-CIO boycotted an executive board meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels this week, to allow the board "an independent decision" on whether to admit the now-independent United Auto Workers to the world labor body. The federation says the international group's constitution bars admitting the auto workers without federation approval—and AFL-CIO's George Meany has said a firm and final no to "admitting the split in U. S. labor into the world organization." UAW's Walter Reuther wants the union accepted into ICFTU because it was a founding member.

Pennsylvanians voted in a referendum last spring to require compulsory arbitration of disputes involving policemen and firemen. Now they have had a jolt: Separate arbitration panels in pay cases involving Pittsburgh policemen and firemen awarded increases of 20% and 30% respectively—and the city, already facing a $5.5-million budget deficit, can't see where the money can come from. It wants emergency help from the state to avoid "a devastating effect on economic stability" from the raises. Meanwhile, other municipalities in or facing arbitrations are considering questioning the legality of any arbitration that doesn't take into account the municipality's budget situation.

Dementy Chrysler - hold.

Age is continuing to change faces in labor. This week, Joseph V. Moreschi, 80-plus, stepped down as head of the Laborers International Union, to become president-emeritus, and Peter Fosco, 75, secretary-treasurer, replaced him in the top job of the expanding union. Terence O'Sullivan, 38, formerly a vice-president, moved into the No. 2 job.

Witchcraft charges brought against the International Assn. of Machinists by General Cigar Co. in a dispute in Puerto Rico have been dismissed by the regional office of the National Labor Relations Board. NLRB's Puerto Rican district director said that if IAM organizers sought assistance of "brujas" (witches) they did it secretly and "employees apparently did not treat it seriously."

In one instance, a "magic potion" was found to be a headache remedy. More routine charges against IAM also were tossed out. General Cigar may appeal the decision to the full NLRB.

February 11, 1969

Mrs. Nona Harrison
Local 670
International Union of Operating
Engineers
Ardmore, Oklahoma

Dear Nona:

Thanks for writing. It was enjoyable having you in the seminar at Galveston. It was good to get the word that you have now been appointed to the CAP Board.

Best wishes and let me hear of any other developments.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

V.E.P. News VOL. 3, NO. 2
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

1

deceased
1-69
Emry Via

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Mr. Sam Scott
United Stone & Allied Products
Workers of America
P. O. Box 917
Winston Salem, N. C. 27102

The youngest senior citizen registered in Phillips County, Ark., in 1968 was 75 years old. The oldest was 105. Most of the elderly voters, pictured above, said they "just never had thought about registering" until approached by workers of the NAACP-sponsored registration project in Helena. All except the oldest attended voter education classes at churches in their communities. From left to right, front row, are Mrs. Mary Shepherd (93), Mrs. Ethel Exton (75), Mrs. Lizzie Green (105), Mrs. Willie Wright (98), Mrs. Maggie Canaday (89), Mrs. Lillie Douglas; second row, John Smith, Miss Audrey Townser, Mrs. Florence Davis, Mrs. Amanda Bryant (project director), the Rev. E. W. Washington, Miss Vera Eldridge, Samuel Bobo (87), Willie Henderson (97), Mrs. Gladys Simmons; back row, J. S. McClinton (president of the Voters Association of Arkansas) and Henry Walls (78).

WALL STREET JOURNAL

BV

Speaking of Business

If Unions Unite, Isn't That a Conglomerate?

4/19/69
Wall St. Journal

By LINDLEY H. CLARK JR.

While corporations have been conglomerating all over the place, a similar movement is under way among labor unions. The two developments, however, have stirred markedly different reactions from Washington.

One of the earliest and largest of the highly diverse corporate enterprises, Ling-Temco-Vought Inc., soon must go to court to explain why it isn't violating the antitrust laws by trying to add Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. to its collection. If the Justice Department manages to block this new merger, marriage plans of other large corporate conglomerates may well go astray.

What concerns the Government about the L-T-V deal is the company's growing economic power.

As in other business conglomerations, the result could be either good or bad for the economy. Jones & Laughlin is only middling large as steel companies go, and perhaps Ling-Temco resources could make it a more effective competitor. Perhaps, too, a further broadening of L-T-V's already broad business horizon would make the company more stable, less susceptible to general economic downturns.

Economic power, nonetheless, can't be lightly ignored; all too often it can lead to monopolistic abuse. That's why it's a little surprising that the courts and Federal officials, those supposed guardians of the public interest, seem so little concerned by what's going on among labor unions.

Labor's statesmen, of course, don't refer to their activity as conglomeration; the term that has crept into common usage is coalition bargaining. The tactic has become so widespread that the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School has just published a book about it, "Coalition Bargaining," by William N. Chernish.

Sensibly enough, Dr. Chernish begins by explaining what he's talking about: "Coalition bargaining is the joining together of a number of local unions, having different international affiliations, for the purpose of bargaining with a company or an industry as a single unit."

* * *

Like a lot of important economic developments, coalition bargaining did not spring up overnight. Coalition, or at least closely coordinated, bargaining is well established on the railroads, in the printing trades and elsewhere. In 1964, though, the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department decided it was time to get really organized, and it set up a division to encourage coalitions.

If unions want to get together, why don't they follow the more formal route and merge? One answer is institutional, and it isn't peculiar to unions. When two organizations combine into one, in labor or any other field, there's room for only a single set of officers. To put it bluntly, union presidents seldom will cheerfully give up their jobs.

Another answer is simply tradition. The name of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada may have no sentimental ring for you or me, but then neither of us is likely to be a member of good old IBPSPMW; if we were, we might feel differ-

If unions want to get together, why don't they follow the more formal route and merge? One answer is institutional, and it isn't peculiar to unions. When two organizations combine into one, in labor or any other field, there's room for only a single set of officers. To put it bluntly, union presidents seldom will cheerfully give up their jobs.

Another answer is simply tradition. The name of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada may have no sentimental ring for you or me, but then neither of us is likely to be a member of good old IBPSPMW; if we were, we might feel differently.

In any case, the unions think they have found a way to achieve many of the benefits of wedded bliss without actually going through the ceremony: Coalition. The obvious major benefit is an increase in economic muscle—an increase the unions contend is justified by the growing size and diversity of corporations.

Tactics can vary in confrontations with various companies and industries, but the unions' 1966 battle with General Electric will serve as an illustration. GE, a prime coalition target, bargains with about 80 unions representing 130,000 workers at 150 locations scattered around the country (another 170,000 GE employes are unorganized, plainly a source of irritation to the unions).

A group of eight unions, representing most of GE's organized employes, tried to initiate joint talks but the company refused. Then the International Union of Electrical Workers, the dominant union, proposed discussions limited to GE and IUE. When the company men entered the meeting room, however, they found that the "IUE" group somehow included representatives of all the seven other unions. Whereupon, the GE officials walked out.

* * *

Why? Well, it required no special wisdom to recognize that the outsiders, though claiming to represent the IUE, were actually looking after their own unions' interests. The union maneuver plainly was a first step toward winning company-wide negotiations for all the unions, something that only the IUE had until then achieved. That sort of development obviously would weaken GE's bargaining position.

Moreover, company-wide or national bargaining can be anything but good for the individual employes and the general economy. When unions concentrate on national talks, the local problems of the work force often get lost in the shuffle. GE employes scarcely are poorly paid; that's one reason the unions have found it hard to wage effective strikes. Naional bargaining naturally increases the chances for national—and economically disruptive—strikes.

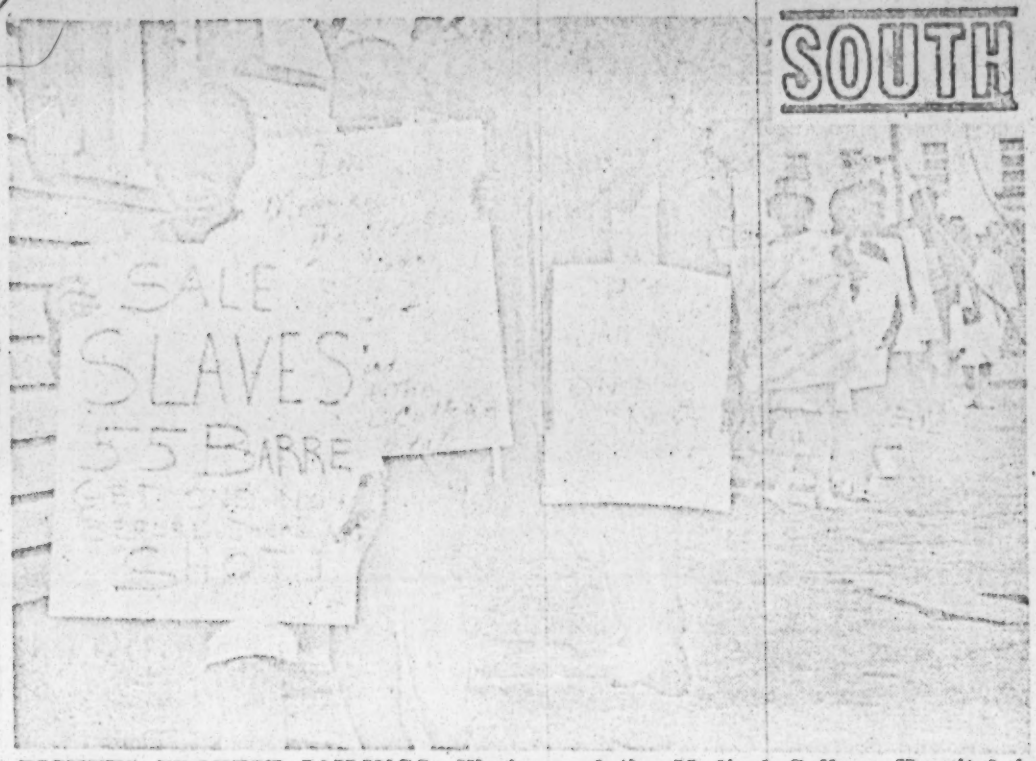
None of this weighed heavily with the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB held that the "IUE" committee was no more than the union said it was: A group of its own representatives, and never mind those other union connections. A court order was quickly obtained to compel the company to bargain, and a settlement was reached—one that was worth just about what GE initially offered.

Yet the unions see the GE case as a "victory," and perhaps it was in a sense. At least the NLRB appears convinced that a coalition is not a coalition if the unions say it isn't. Though the agency itself certified most GE unions to bargain only for local units—units the unions themselves selected—that consideration is blithely brushed aside. Perhaps bargaining units at times should change, but changes should be made after careful consideration, not by swift and arbitrary administrative decisions.

The legal issues are still not fully resolved, but the unions surely will be trying the coalition approach when GE contracts expire again this year. Companies like General Electric have the resources, and the will, to stand up to union pressure, but the same can't be said for smaller manufacturers who will be forced to go along with the industry "pattern."

So, whatever the Government does about corporate conglomerates, the pressure for a similar form of unionism seems likely to continue.

RWDSU Report 4/13/69



PICKETS PROTEST JAILINGS: Workers of the Medical College Hospital in Charleston march to protest jailing of strikers. In the first day of strike 130 arrests were made.

S. C. Hospital Strikers Gain Wide Community Support

CHARLESTON, S.C. — Four hundred and twenty-five strikers at the Medical College Hospital of South Carolina and 125 more at the Charleston City Hospital, nearly all Negroes, are gaining strong labor and community support as their struggle for recognition of the RWDSU as bargaining agent entered its fourth week.

The Concerned Clergy of Charleston has made several proposals for "peace with justice," and it has called on the Medical College Hospital to reinstate 12 workers it discharged. The hospital's firing of the 12, who include union Pres. Mary Moultrie, sparked the walk-out March 20.

Among union groups giving strong backing to the strikers are the state AFL-CIO, the Charleston Building Trades Council and the National Maritime Union. The RWDSU has donated $1,000 to the strikers.

Other groups backing the workers include the Young Democrats and several other Charleston political groups, the National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People and the Charleston Business and Professional Men's Ass'n.

The Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Rev. Andrew Young of the conference spoke at a meeting March 31 at the Fourth Baptist Church in support of the hospital workers.

Other speakers at the rally, which drew a crowd of 2,000, were Al Holman, state NAACP head, and E. T. Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the state's labor council.

More than $1,000 for the strikers was raised at the meeting.

Aid is also coming from ordinary citizens.

"People walk in off the street and give a bag of sandwiches for the strikers," a union spokesman said.

The main issue in the walk-out is union recognition. The Medical College Hospital refuses to recognize the union. It claims that South Carolina law makes it illegal for a state institution to recognize a union and bargain with it. The City Hospital is using a similar legalism.

Richard Black, the Charleston County manager, said, "The facts are simple. The county will not recognize the union."

The state attorney general has given a vague opinion that the hospitals' position is "based on legal principle."

Governor Indifferent

Gov. Robert McNair appointed one member of a supposedly three-man investigating commission at a midnight press conference, but has done nothing since.

The union began organizing the Medical College workers more than a year ago, but the hospital has steadily refused to discuss recognition.

The strike began after Dr. William McCord, administrator of the hospital, called 12 union leaders to a meeting. When the workers insisted they wanted a union, McCord fired them. The hospital claims they were discharged for leaving their post.

In the first days of the strike, the police arrested 130 strikers, most for violating an injunction limiting the number of pickets. All jailed strikers have been bailed out.

The police also harassed strikers, and one was badly beaten in a police van after being arrested. He has since returned to the picketlines, which are up from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.

The strikers have set up a kitchen in the headquarters of RWDSU Local 15—which represents workers at the American Tobacco Co.'s cigar plant here — and several hundred strikers eat at the kitchen every day.

Most of the workers earn only $1.30 an hour, and have poor working conditions.

Isaiah Bennett of Local 15 has been working with the hospital strikers as have several leaders of Local 1199 in New York City, including Hospital Div. Dir. Elliott Godoff and Div. Org. Dir. Henry Nicholas.

The union drive is picking up steam and the union is now signing up workers at six other hospitals in Charleston.

EV

Retail Union Local Breaks From Parent, Elopes With Reuther

• • •

Big District 65 in New York Is Apparently Won Over by Promise of Funds, Other Aid

4/17/69

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—Furtive wooing by Walter Reuther broke up one of organized labor's shaky marriages yesterday.

Mr. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union, has been quietly courting prospective partners for his Alliance for Labor Action, a joint venture with the Teamsters Union. A tentative engagement was announced in New York City yesterday when the big New York segment and some small locals of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union disclosed they'd broken away from their parent and the AFL-CIO to cooperate with the ALA.

Officials of the retail union's District 65, embracing some 30,000 workers in the New York area, said they had officially disaffiliated from the parent union as of Tuesday. Several smaller locals, which the parent union claimed totaled less than 1,000 members, were taking similar action, District 65 officials said.

The divorce ended District 65's 15-year cohabitation with the parent body. District 65, then known as the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union, merged with the retail union in 1954, but the relationship in recent years has been strained by policy differences between District 65 leadership and national union officers.

Mr. Reuther, in a series of secret meetings with District 65 leaders over the past year, apparently won their allegiance with promises of money and organizing aid, and his vow to "revitalize" the labor movement, which Mr. Reuther charges has stagnated under AFL-CIO leadership.

Cleveland Robinson, District 65 secretary-treasurer, said the breakaway group "will remain independent for the time being" rather than formally affiliate with the ALA immediately. "We will be cooperating with the ALA, but they haven't asked us to affiliate now," Mr. Robinson said. However, he added, District 65 expects to send delegates to the first ALA convention in Washington on May 26 and 27.

Mr. Robinson said Mr. Reuther has promised District 65 a grant of $120,000 to expand its organizing activities. With that and the approximately $200,000 a year it will save by not paying dues to the retail union, District 65 plans to add 40 to 50 more organizers and launch new membership campaigns, especially among low-wage minority workers.

The District 65 official said several other retail union locals, principally in the South, were following its lead out of the parent union and would be loosely tied to it and the ALA. A spokesman for the retail union said two locals in Virginia and one in North Carolina, with fewer than 1,000 members, had served notice of disaffiliation.

The parent union spokesman charged the breakaway of District 65 "is their way of resolving their own financial and racial problems." The district leaders "hope to curry favor with their large black and Puerto Rican membership by attacking us on racial grounds," he said. District 65 officials have attacked the parent union's "lily-white" leadership; all five top officers of the union are white, the spokesman said, though two of about 20 executive board members are black.

RETAIL WORKERS SEVER UNION TIES

NYT 4-17-69

Local Here Cites Failure to Recruit Minorities

By PETER MILLONES

A union of 30,000 retail workers here withdrew yesterday from its parent union and from the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, charging that both organizations had failed to provide "aggressive and progressive leadership" in organizing millions of low-paid Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

District 65, in severing its ties with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store International Union, said it would work instead with the alliance last year by the United Auto Workers and the teamsters union.

The action by District 65,

Continued on Page 39, Column 1

RETAIL WORKERS SEVER UNION TIES

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

whose membership is about 30 per cent Negro and 25 per cent Puerto Rican, is the latest indication that some city-based unions are dissatisfied with labor's relationship to minority groups.

David Livingston, president of District 65, issued a statement that said:

"There is a tidal wave of effort and feeling on the part of the disenfranchised in this country; organized labor had better waken to this fact and its consequences."

Rise in Locals Predicted

He predicted that "an additional 15,000 to 20,000 workers in other locals around the country will themselves disaffiliate with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union."

District 65, Mr. Livingston said, will earmark about $400,000 and add more than 50 staff members in an effort to organize low-paid workers in the New York area and elsewhere, notably the South.

Mr. Livingston revealed a letter he had received this week from Walter P. Reuther, president of the auto workers, in which Mr. Reuther said that approval had been given to an "interest-free loan of $120,000 to District 65, payable in monthly installments of $10,000 each."

"This will be for the purpose," the letter said, "of assisting District 65 in its organizational activities and it is extended without regard to the status of your organization with respect to the R.W.D.S.U., for we consider this purely an internal matter in which we have no right to be involved."

Mr. Reuther's statement was apparently designed to forestall any charges of "raiding" by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Mr. Livingston, too, emphasized at a news conference that District 65 would not raid other unions unions for members.

Membership Drive Planned

He said that District 65 would seek to organize some of the 57 million workers who are not members of unions, particularly low-paid Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Mr. Livingston called the leadership of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. "guilty of gross irrelevance" in not seeing what he suggested was the trend of the times.

"To say you're for civil rights," he asserted, "is not enough anymore; everybody is for civil rights. The oppressed want power and some share of responsibility and they have not generally found relevance in the labor movement."

He chided the international union for being "lily-white." An international official later denied the charge and noted the union's newspaper had replied earlier:

"The accusation of white racism [is] a vicious one, since it is widely acknowledged that the R.W.D.S.U. record in the area of civil rights is a particularly good one."

A spokesman for the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Washington declined comment.

The disaffiliation move will cost the international union about $200,000 a year in dues. District 65 had been a part of the international since 1954.

When the auto workers withdrew from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. last year, they also criticized the federation for allegedly not taking an up-to-date stand on social issues and civil rights.

Mr. Livingston said his union would first attempt to organize workers in light manufacturing, wholesale trades, direct mail and corrugated box industries.

greater volume of hospital
struction and modernization.

Potters Elect Lester H. Null As President

East Liverpool, O.—Lester H. Null, Sr., third vice president of the Potters since 1965, was elected president in a membership referendum for a four-year term beginning Aug. 1.

Null is a former president of Potters' Local 220 at the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary plant in New Orleans. He succeeds veteran Pres. Edwin L. Wheatley, who did not run for re-election and will retire soon after the union's annual convention July 7-11 in Anaheim, Calif.

Both Null and Sec.-Treas. George Barbaree won in contested races. Seven incumbent vice presidents were returned to office and two were defeated. New officers are Vice Presidents Jacob F. Schwab of New Orleans, succeeding Null; Joseph Galvin, Jr. of Pomona, N.J., and Thomas A. Shuman of Tiffin, O.

Null began his rise to national office when Wheatley named him an international representative in 1958. He serviced many local unions in the South, and often was assigned to assist elsewhere as a "troubleshooter" in organizing and bargaining.

Null was born in Hahn, Mo., May 21, 1924.

LESTER H. NULL

AFL-CIO News 5-17-69

Wall Street Journal 5-23-69

EU

Minority-Group Store Workers Set Union; AFL-CIO Dissidents to Align With Reuther

By JAMES P. GANNON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A new, national "catch-all" union, aligned with Walter Reuther's Alliance for Labor Action, will be formed this weekend.

The new union, comprised of segments of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union that have broken away from their AFL-CIO parent body, will take shape at a weekend conference in Suffolk, Va. Planners of the organization claim it will be the first major union with a membership predominantly of minority groups; a black man is expected to be named to its top office.

Tentative plans for the union, to be called the National Council of Wholesale, Retail, Office and Processing Workers of America, were disclosed by sources in the former District 65 segment of the AFL-CIO Retail-Wholesale Union. The New York-based District 65, with about 30,000 members, will be the nucleus of the union, which, organizers claim, will have an initial membership of about 45,000 members.

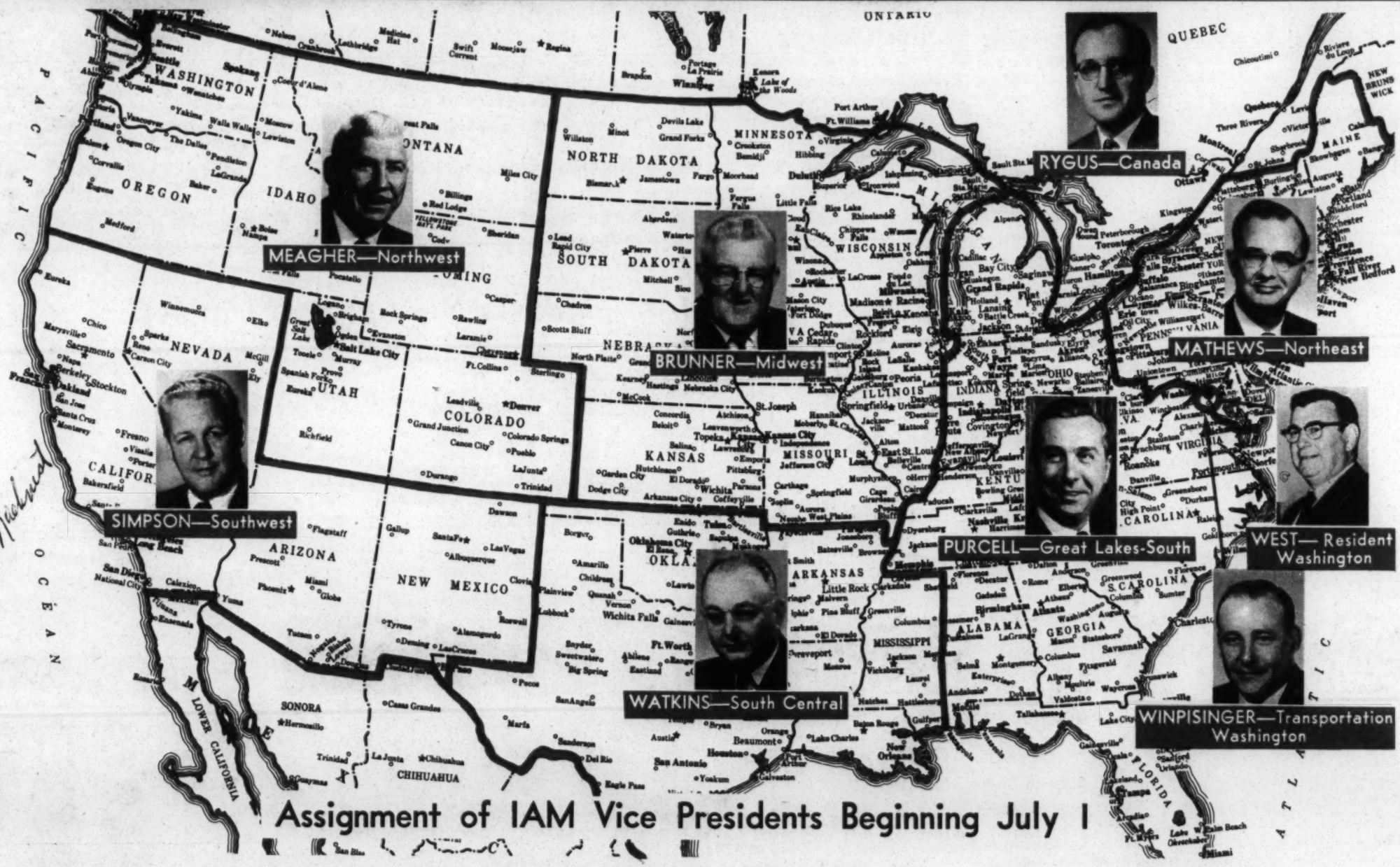
Some 15 other locals that have broken away from the AFL-CIO Retail-Wholesale union also will be charter members of the National Council. They include locals from Suffolk; Newport News, Va.; Charleston, S.C.; Charlotte, N.C.; Detroit; Memphis; Newark, N.J.; Jersey City; Los Angeles; Tallahassee and Jacksonville, Fla., and other cities. District 65 is heavily Negro and Puerto Rican. The locals have predominantly black membership.

The new union will receive money and organizing manpower from Mr. Reuther's United Auto Workers and the Teamsters Union, which joined in forming the Alliance for Labor Action, a rival to the AFL-CIO. The alliance plans to hold its first national conference in Washington next Monday and Tuesday.

The new union won't be formally affiliated with the ALA, at least at first, but will be closely allied to the UAW-Teamster partnership. District 65 already has received $120,000 from the UAW to expand organizing, and both the UAW and the Teamsters have pledged to make staff organizers available for the National Council's membership campaign.

The National Council will aim its organizing primarily at low-wage workers, especially Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups. Planners envision a broad jurisdiction unhampered by industry or craft lines. "We're a catch-all," said one. The new union's leaders are mapping an ambitious campaign in 50 cities, and aim at doubling their membership in a year.

Plans for the union are subject to approval of delegates from the charter locals at the weekend conference in Suffolk, but no substantial change in the tentative outline is expected. Delegates also will elect officers, with the likelihood of naming minority-group members to the highest posts. The top office, either chairman or president, is expected to go to a Negro; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, is a likely choice.



Assignment of IAM Vice Presidents Beginning July 1

IAM President-elect Floyd E. Smith has announced his intention to make the following assignment of territories to Vice Presidents when he takes office July 1.

Assignment of Vice Presidents to territories is the responsibility of the International President under the IAM Constitution.

George L. Watkins—South-Central territory, five states. Headquarters, Dallas, Tex.

Mike Rygus—Canada. Headquarters, Ottawa, Ont.

Gilbert Brunner—Midwest territory, nine states plus Lake County, Ind. and the Upper Peninsula of Mich. Headquarters, Des Plaines, Ill.

Charles West—Resident Vice President at Headquarters, Washington, D.C.

L. Ross Mathews—Northeast territory, eleven states. Headquarters, Bergenfield, N.J.

William W. Winpisinger—Transportation industries. Headquarters, Washington, D.C.

Robert R. Simpson—Southwest territory, six states plus El Paso County, Tex. Headquarters, Long Beach, Calif.

Frederick J. Purcell—Great Lakes-Southern territory, 12 states plus Panama Canal Zone and Puerto Rico. Headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio.

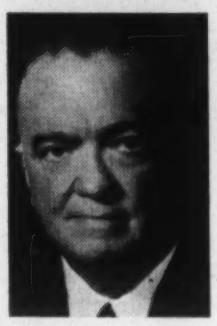
Francis P. Meagher—Northwest territory, eight states. Headquarters, Bellevue, Wash.

5-29-69

Return to EV —
Unions — Civil Liberties

The truth about the summer work-in

By J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice



Most Americans in reading news accounts about the student New Left in the country have undoubtedly thought about this movement chiefly in terms of colleges and universities. Our mass media have been filled for months with stories about riots, demonstrations and violence on campuses spearheaded by the most militant New Left group—the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The SDS and its followers have left a bitter wake of arson, vandalism, bombings and destruction across the Nation.

This summer the SDS is turning toward labor and industry—and you as members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers may soon be meeting these fanatic, anarchist revolutionaries.

The SDS is launching what it calls a "Work-In" program, whereby SDS militants are being encouraged to obtain summer jobs in industry. They are to seek out large industrial firms, apply for a job, and, if accepted, stay for the summer.

Why this SDS tactic?

The SDS wants to make personal and direct contact with "workers" and "educate" them in the SDS's philosophy, that is, that this country is "rotten," "sick" and "diseased," and therefore should be destroyed. The "working class," says the SDS, is apathetic to the vital necessity for revolution, for opposing the war in Vietnam and resisting the draft. "Throughout the summer," says an SDS document, "there will be a need to put out literature at plants where we are working on the war and draft, the rebellion, the ghettos, and other important issues affecting workers."

While working in industrial and business jobs, the SDS militant is to make a special effort to meet his fellow workers, both his own age and from the older generation. If possible, he is to join the union or at least make as close contact as possible with union members. At all times in these personal contacts, both on and off the job, the SDS member is to attempt to "radicalize" his associates, that is, to encourage them to support the program of the SDS. "We want to combat isolation by explaining what the struggles on our campuses are about and by showing workers that there are students who support their struggles and who want to organize other students to do so."

From affluent families

Many of these young radicals, coming from reasonably affluent homes, have never worked before. Therefore, the SDS has issued a "Work-In Organizers Manual." On the first page is this description:

> "This manual is intended to help WORK-IN organizers in selecting and getting jobs. It also contains some pointers on approaches to the political issues that we will be raising and encountering at work."

The manual sets forth specifics on a number of points, for example, "How to research the job situation in your area," "What jobs to look for," "How to get a job," and "What to expect on the job."

> "Job-seekers," says this manual, "should try to get hired in plants or transport depots that have several hundred (let's say a 400 minimum) workers. Reasons for this include: a) If we want to reach workers with literature, the potential audience is greater; b) The larger the company facility, the better chance that it will be in a basic union, that the workers will have some sense of organization (even if they think the union is a sellout one), and that therefore there will be a tie-in to workers nationally."

Note the use of the phrase "a sellout one" in regard to unions. The SDS has no respect for unions and their efforts to protect the workers and work for the best interests of their country. To the SDS, unions are part of the "Establishment," and should be destroyed along with the Government, the military, private industry and law enforcement. The phrase "sellout unions" means that union members are employed in plants which produce military equipment or other materials used to implement the foreign policy of the United States. Therefore, in SDS eyes, you, as a union member, are a "traitor."

How to get hired

How do you get a job?

> "Some places give aptitude tests. Don't show off. If you're taking the test with other job-seekers, try to see how far (number of questions) they're getting and adjust accordingly. If you do too well, they'll either be suspicious or want to use you in the 'front office.' "

Such arrogance! That they are so much wiser than the man who works in the factory.

> "You should be at your first place looking at around 8:30 or 9 a.m. It's hard to get a job if you start at 2 p.m. You generally should not wear a suit and tie or fancy dress, but DON'T dress like a slob. Slacks and sport shirt, with or without a sport jacket, depending on the weather, and skirt or summer dress with low heels (or at least not 6-inch spikes) for women."

Then this added advice relative to the initial job interview: "Be straightforward in any interview; you're getting the job because you 'need the money.' Don't use $20 words. Don't put on a tough guy act. Just plain, simple language and attitude. Usually the less said, the better. Don't volunteer information. Just answer what is asked."

After the SDS student has been hired, the manual says, he should gradually feel his way. "Don't start sounding off the first day on the job; or even the first week." "Come in to work on time!!! That's the thing that may keep you in the job above all else." "Don't give up the first time you do something wrong." "Be patient."

However, the basic purpose of the summer job is to make *personal contact* with the workers and union members and "educate" them to the SDS viewpoint.

> "While you can't expect to win over workers in three months, you don't have to wait as long as you might, if it were a permanent job, to 'open up' on political questions."

In these "political discussions," according to the manual, the students are to guide the workers. "Participate in the bull sessions, the lunch discussions, talking on the job where it's normal. . . ." ". . . you're there with a purpose—to bring out the relationship of the Vietnam and the other imperialist wars to their immediate demands, to the fact that they and their sons die in the war, that it is a war for the rich—the CLASS perspective."

> "This is no easy task. It normally takes a lifetime, so don't expect to do it in two or three months!"

The manual urges the young people to join the bowling league or the baseball team. Avoid going directly home after the end of the work shift. "Concentrate on making new friends. Go to the bar or whatever hangout they go to after work."

After the SDS worker is better acquainted with some of the employees, he can deepen his "political" discussions—and by "political" is meant an emphasis on the SDS's viewpoint. "Don't get into knock-down, drag-out arguments . . . but rather talk individually first to the ones you're making friends with."

> "Remember when you start talking about the war (and about how students are seriously opposed to the war for good reasons, not simply engaged in 'beatnik pranks') many workers who feel the same way keep silent while those who support the war are many times the most outspoken."

When you talk about the Vietnam war with fathers whose sons are in Vietnam, be careful! "Start by understanding his position of having been brainwashed all these years and seeing his son in daily danger of 'being killed by the other side.' "

As a final step, concentrate on developing some friends whom you might keep after you quit the summer job and go back to college. Tell these workers that you, as a student, can help them—as picketing or participating in demonstrations. Try to work up a community of interest, to form a type of alliance!

> "Don't necessarily start asking about union meetings. Many times they are suspended in the summer. . . . If, of course, there's something special going on and lots of workers appear headed toward a union meeting, you can go with them, but more to listen and learn than to orate."

These are the plans of the SDS for this summer as many student militants are expected to flood into industrial plants and business establishments.

But the full story has not yet been told—which makes this SDS infiltration and colonization program ever more sinister and dangerous to you, as a union member and patriotic American.

Origins of the manual

This manual from which we have quoted in actuality is what?

It is, in fact, a manual issued some two years ago by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the pro-Peking wing of communism in the United States, as a blueprint of instructions for communist infiltration into industry and labor!

PLP elements in the SDS have taken their original Work-in manual, put on a new cover and introduced it as an SDS manual!

This fact illustrates the growing strength of the so-called Old Left, especially the Progressive Labor Party, in the New Left and especially the SDS. This student radicalism and militancy are impregnated with the theories and tactics of Karl Marx.

At the very heart of the SDS Work-In program is an effort by the revolutionary students to forge an alliance with the workers. Why? To create a base for future revolutionary action in this country against our present institutions of free society.

Here lies the true danger of the summer Work-In program of the SDS.

You, as members of the IAM, can be alert to the machinations of these youthful extremists. You will not be fooled by their diabolical double talk, their attempts to paint a distorted picture of this country. You will be able to identify them if they come into your plant. You will be able to counter their false and incorrect arguments. You will let them know that you don't accept their revolutionary concepts.

The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers has played a valiant role in making America the great country which she is today. By helping defeat this SDS offensive this summer, you, as readers of THE MACHINIST, will be rendering your Nation a great service.

September 2, 1969

Mr. Henry C. Beardsley, Asst. Director
Department of Publications and Education
Service Employees International Union
Nine Hundred Seventheenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Mr. Beardsley:

Please add the following two persons to receive your publication "Dollars and Sense":

Mr. John Lewis, Director
Community Organization Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. John Morris, Special Assistant
Program Development
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

E. Via

Service Employees International Union

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
NINE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH STREET, N. W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 · 202-296-5940

DAVID SULLIVAN
GENERAL PRESIDENT

GEORGE E. FAIRCHILD
GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

would a subscription to this be of interest to you?

J. M. Yes, Thx.
J. K. Yes

August 19, 1969

Put to EV.

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

In accordance with your request, we have added your name to our mailing list for "Dollars and Sense." We are enclosing herewith three of our back dated issues for January, 1969, April, 1969 and June, 1969.

Please be advised that "Dollars and Sense" is published five times a year.

We trust this material will be of value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Henry C. Beardsley
Henry C. Beardsley
Assistant Director
Department of Publications
and Education

HCB/gem
Enclosures

DOLLAR$ & $ENSE THE SEIU CONSUMER NEWSLETTER

January, 1969

1969 What's Ahead for the U.S. Consumer?

THE CONSUMER'S VOICE

For the past few years the consumer's voice has been raised and heard as never before. And the result has been corrective and beneficial legislation. These measures have won their way through Congress with the strong support--and at times the only organized support--of the trade union movement.

But there's much to be done before the country puts real meaning into the late Pres. John F. Kennedy's bill of rights for consumers. In his 1962 message to Congress, Kennedy spelled out those rights as:

The right to safety--to be protected against the marketing of goods hazardous to health or life.

The right to be informed--to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful or grossly misleading information, advertising, labeling or other practices and to be given the facts needed to make an informed choice.

The right to choose--to be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices.

The right to be heard--to be assured that the consumer interest will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formulation of government policy.

Pres. Johnson has implemented with legislative and administrative action the concepts of the Kennedy programs so that the consumer no longer has to take a "back seat." The consumer's voice must continue to be heard.

(Reprinted from the "AFL-CIO News")

How Consumer-Conscious Will The Nixon Administration Be?

Historians who research the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration will find one of its most significant characteristics to have been an increased emphasis on the needs of the consumer. This emphasis began with the 89th Congress and continued through the 90th. Johnson predicted the 90th Congress would be a "Consumer Congress" and its record shows it more than earned the label. Enacted were laws dealing with truth in packaging, auto safety, flammable fabrics, truth in lending, meat and poultry inspection, mail fraud, deceptive land sales, auto liability insurance, and a number of product safety problems.

Now the important question is, what's ahead for the consumer in 1969? How consumer-conscious will the Richard M. Nixon Administration be?

Prior to the Presidential election, Nixon expressed his opinions on consumer protection in a Business Week interview and in a questionnaire from the Consumer Federation of America. He said he would place his emphasis on the "forces of free enterprise" to assure fair play in the marketplace. Conservative economist Milton Friedman, an advisor to Nixon, said "in effect, Nixon will start moving in a new direction and that direction will be toward less authority." In the opinion of some consumer advocates, this laissez-faire attitude at the highest levels of the U.S. Government could set consumer protection back considerably.

AFL-CIO economist Anne Draper predicts a more conservative Congress and an unfriendly Administration could put

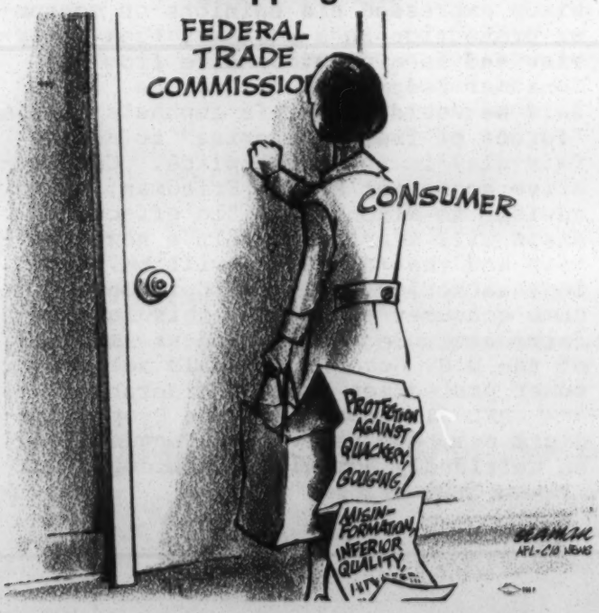
a "damper" on the future of some key consumer measures still pending. She included in the group the Fish Inspection Act which she feels has the best chance of passage. Other measures include the Deceptive Sales Act which gave the Federal Trade Commission the right to issue certain preliminary injunctions. This passed the Senate but stopped there. In addition, nothing has been done about the entry of banks into the consumer credit field although Congress held brief hearings on bank credit cards. Also the door-to-door sales act died after the Senate Commerce Committee reported it out. This act would have given consumers a grace period to withdraw from contracts with door-to-door salesmen.

Still, it has been reported that Nixon's office has been "flooded" with mail from consumers who want the Administration to maintain a firm policy of regulating business to protect shoppers. Another aspect which may make Nixon take a "second look" at consumer policy is the number of consumer investigations which have recently made headlines.

An example of headlining consumer investigation include Sen. Philip A. Hart's (D-Mich.) Anti-Trust and Monoply Subcommittee hearings on auto repairs. Testimony showed that consumers pay nearly as much each year to repair their cars as they do to buy new ones. In two days of hearings Hart also investigated local credit bureaus. Legislation may be introduced to protect the privacy and credit ratings of consumers.

Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) is continuing his hearings on the prescription drug industry and is investigating the possible serious conflicts of interest in the "increasingly close financial relationship between the drug industry and the medical profession."

1969 Consumer Protection "Shopping List"



Hearings by Rep. John Dingle (D-Mich.) have pointed up the abuses of the gasoline games which seem to be a fixture at every filling station. A Federal Trade Commission ruling is predicted. In addition, the 1969 Consumer Assembly will meet in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 30-31 which should result in even more consumer headlines.

As Betty Furness, special assistant to President Johnson for Consumer Affairs, said in a recent speech: "The consumer has a voice now and is using it. No Administration can or should ignore that voice."

On The Legislative Front

Consumer legislation signed by President Johnson in the last months of his administration includes bills to limit the amount of radiation permitted to emanate from various kinds of electronic products, particularly color TV sets, medical and dental X-rays; a bill to broaden the authority of the Postal Inspection Service by making it no longer necessary to prove intent to defraud in cases of suspected mail fraud; and a bill to set aside 58,000 acres of land in California as Redwood National Park.

President Johnson also signed a law imposing increased duties on certain materials, including reprocessed wool, which may result in higher prices for some imported fabrics. Higher textile prices may also result from a recent court order approving a government requirement that imported wool products be tested at the importer's expense to prove they are properly labeled for content.

Consumer champions returned to office in the November elections include:

Senator Warren G. Magnuson, champion of auto safety, truth-in-packaging, product safety and many other consumer causes, won reelection with 65 percent of the vote in the state of Washington, his biggest victory margin in five Senatorial campaigns.

Senator Gaylord Nelson, father of automobile tire safety legislation and overseer of fair prices and safety of prescription drugs, received 62 percent of the Wisconsin vote, the highest percentage captured by a Senator in his

state in 40 years.

Representative Leonor K. Sullivan, whose many contributions to the consumer cause include her part in the passage of a strong truth-in-lending act last year, received 75 percent of the vote in her St. Louis Congressional district.

Other consumer champions who were reelected with sizable margins include Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, Representative Neal Smith of Iowa and Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal of New York. The consumer can look to all these individuals to continue to fight their cause in 1969.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare recently established an Office of Consumer Affairs, headed by Dianne McKaig. Seeking solutions to the special needs of the low-income consumer, encouraging consumer education in the public school curriculum, promoting consumer information on nutrition and wise shopping practices, and supporting State and local consumer organizations in their efforts to promote legislation of benefit to the consumer are some of the activities staff members will be working on.

For Your Home and Family

Get organized for 1969 is the suggestion from the January issue of "Changing Times." Here are reminders of nine start-of-the-year activities that can help make the coming months successful ones:

Forecast your cash flow. Compare this year's outlook to last year's results.

Figure your net worth. Every three or six months review the figures. This way you can keep track of your financial progress.

Improve your credit management. Use credit only when you genuinely need to borrow for a worthwhile purpose.

Make a budget.

Review your insurance.

Plan thoughtfully for major purchases.

Invest on a regular schedule.

Prepare now for next year's taxes. Be a "scrap collector." Then when you prepare your return, you'll have good records, which are almost certain to save you tax dollars.

Take that dream vacation. Start a special savings plan by doing without some nonessentials.

Wondering whether or not to take Junior with you to the local neighborhood movie? The recently established Motion Picture Code of Self-Regulation may help you to decide. Under this code, films are classified into four categories:

G-acceptable for general audiences.
M--suggested for mature audiences. (with parental discretion advised).
R--restricted for persons aged 16 or over unless accompanied by a parent or guardian.
X--no one under 16 admitted. (This age restriction may be higher in some areas).

At The Marketplace

Glass-fiber curtains and fabrics for curtains and draperies will have to carry a warning on their label that skin irritation may result from improper handling rules the Federal Trade Commission. Studies show a rash might infect the wearer of clothing in which articles of glass fiber had become embedded after working loose from a glass fabric laundered in the same load as the article of clothing. Even when laundered separately, glass-fiber fabric could leave a residue in the washing machine, contaminating later loads of wash.

Plentiful foods for this time of the year include potatoes, onions, broiler-fryers, dry beans, canned tomatoes and tomato products, oranges, grapefruit, tangerines, canned salmon, and canned grapefruit juice.

For Your Health and Safety

There will be no increase at this time in the $4 monthly premium that persons over 65 pay for physicians' services under Medicare announced Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen. Despite pressures within the government to raise the $8 premium, shared equally by the elderly and the government, Cohen said no increase was needed. To up the premium, he emphasized, would further "fan the flames of inflation" throughout Medicare.

Tips on proper usage of auto safety belts: 1. If shoulder belt adjusts separately, keep it slack enough to let your fist fit between the belt and your chest; 2. Never use the shoulder belt alone with nothing to hold you at the hips; 3. A lap belt alone gives the motorist a lot of protection, but he gets much more from a combination of lap and shoulder belts; 4. Keep lap belts snug and low over the hips whether used alone or with a shoulder belt; 5. Don't put the junction of a lap and shoulder belt at the center. It may make the lap belt ride up where it can cause injury.

The Commerce Department is developing standards to protect the public against carpets and rugs that burn easily. This action is the result of Consumers Union Corporation test findings in which both indoor and indoor-outdoor carpets failed to meet Federal purchase specifications. In view of the tests a new flammability standard for carpets and rugs may be needed to protect the public against the risk of fire.

GOOD BUYS . . .

In Government Publications

* Narcotics and Drugs is the subject of the following three booklets. In question and answer form these publications describe a narcotic or drug, how it is used, what the physical effects are, the dangers accompanying its use, medical uses, and what is being done to learn more about it.

THE UP AND DOWN DRUGS, AMPHETAMINES AND BARBITURATES, 8 pages, illustrated.....5¢
No. FS 2.22: Am 7

LSD, SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, 8 pages, illustrated.....5¢
No. FS 2.22:L 99

MARIHUANA, SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, 10 pages, illustrated.....5¢
No. FS 2.22: M 33

* THE HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF SMOKING..
A 1968 supplement to a Public Health Service Review published in 1967, this report gives discussions of the latest research on smoking and its relationship to cardiovascular disease, lung cancer, respiratory disease and overall mortality, 117 pages, illustrated.....55¢
No. FS 2:309:967

* FOOD FOR THE FAMILY WITH YOUNG CHILDREN.....
This booklet lists the family's food plan, food supply, and menus for the week, offers suggestions for reducing your food bill; and tells what is in each of the food groups mentioned. It also gives tips for the proper diet for the expectant mother, 16 pages, illustrated.....10¢
No. A 1.77:5/8

* THE MARKETING STORY.....
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Issued by Department of Publications and Education

SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO

DAVID SULLIVAN, *General President* **GEORGE E. FAIRCHILD,** *Secretary-Treasurer*

900 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

DOLLAR$ & $ENSE THE SEIU CONSUMER NEWSLETTER

Published by SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO

April, 1969

Federal Agency for Consumer Affairs Urged

AFL-CIO Demands More Safeguards Against Frauds, High-Pressure Merchants

SEIU President David Sullivan, commenting on the establishment of a federal agency for consumer affairs, states that "its establishment is an absolute necessity for the protection of the consumer. It is a logical development of the fine consumer legislation passed during recent years — such as auto safety, truth in packaging and lending, meat and poultry inspection and similar measures."

The establishment of an independent federal agency to represent consumers has been urged by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. SEIU President Sullivan participated in the Executive Council meeting in his capacity of AFL-CIO Vice President. "The time has arrived," the Council stated, "when Congress should consider seriously the longstanding proposals to provide unified and permanent consumer representation in the Executive Branch of the government. . . we urge that statutory recognition now be given to the consumer through a Department of Consumer Affairs, an office of Consumer Affairs or other independent agency."

The Council also called on Congress for more protective measures against frauds and high-pressure merchants who prey on the consumer. Unsafe food and drugs, dangerous household chemicals, medical men disguised as merchants and gypsters preying on the poor are just a few of the things the consumer needs more protection from.

The Council also urged Congress to extend the authority of the Federal Trade Commission. In particular, FTC should be authorized to obtain temporary restraining orders from the courts pending the completion of complaint proceedings against law violators.

The prospective study of consumer credit by the new National Commission on Consumer Finance was praised by the Council. However, it urged that Congress proceed promptly to remedy known credit frauds. It called for legislative remedies for the excessive costs of credit life, accident and health insurance, a ban on the distribution of unsolicited credit cards by banks and other financial institutions, and a "cooling off" period in which consumers who buy from high-pressure door-to-door salesmen could change their minds.

Consumer "Agents" Needed To Protect Public Interests

Consumer agents are needed by America's consumers to protect their interests before both federal and state agencies and regulatory commissions. This was the conclusion of participants in the third annual Consumer Assembly held in Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the Consumer Federation of America, the assembly was attended by more than 500 members of the federation representing 148 local, state and national consumer-oriented organizations.

Speakers at the assembly stressed the need for consumer experts to intervene as energetically in the public interest as do the representatives of

industry and business. Legislative representative of the Clothing Workers, Esther Peterson suggested that the federation build up a staff of experts, economists, lawyers and social scientists to do this. Mrs. Peterson, who was the first White House special assistant for consumer affairs, pointed out that Congress has not yet provided funds to enforce many of the consumer protection laws now on the statute books.

Advancing the cause of the American consumer must be regarded as a do-it-yourself project to be accomplished now. This is the opinion of Nicholas Johnson, a member of the Federal Trade Commission. Johnson told the delegates he thought a consumer agency should be set up by legislation. But he said that in any event consumers should have their own direct representation, "responsible to you, not to Congress or the White House."

Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich.) told the assembly they would introduce bills in this session of Congress to help all consumers. Javits said he would propose a bill to establish a Consumer Protection Assistance Act. The act would provide federal funds to states to cover 50 per cent of the cost of establishing consumer protection programs. Hart said he would sponsor a measure to form an Independent Consumers Council. The council's primary function would be to present the consumer's case whenever government agencies are considering matters relating to his economic interest.

Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.) appealed to the delegates to become involved in the alleviation of air and water pollution. "The consumer," he said, "has abdicated civic responsibility in these areas on a 'let-George-do-it' basis. The results in terms of men's environment have been devastating and will worsen if something isn't done."

Uniform Credit Code Has "Serious Drawbacks"

Consumers should be aware of "serious drawbacks" in a proposed "model" state law on consumer credit warns the AFL-CIO. The federation's Executive Council says because of these drawbacks it can't endorse the Uniform Credit Code which is expected to be introduced in every state legislature meeting this year.

Major drawbacks, the AFL-CIO states, are the "extraordinarily high" ceilings on installment finance charges and interest rates. The Council said it was "shocked" at the proposal to allow interest rates of 18 to 36 percent.

Other objective features of the proposed code include the "excessive" 10 percent interest rate which would be allowed on first mortgages, and provisions on wage garnishment which could result in lessening of existing protection for wage earners in some states. The AFL-CIO is also alarmed at the proposed general repeal of present state consumer credit legislation "regardless of whether it is superior to code provisions or covers subjects not covered in the code."

Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan, (D.-Mo.), principal author of the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968, also warns that some of the provisions contained in the code would be a step backward from present strong credit requirements. "What many of us fear--and what all consumers should be deeply concerned about," Mrs. Sullivan says, "is the possibility that the state legislatures--certainly some of them--will use the Truth in Lending portion of the proposed code, which is substantially similar to the Federal Truth in Lending Law, as a stalking horse to open the way to passage of other credit laws which will weaken, not strengthen consumer protections."

On The Legislative Front

The Federal Trade Commission has adopted the following regulation concerning ads and catalogs using the word "sale": "Items not reduced are clearly set off and identified, and the 'sale' or reduction representation is clearly qualified by a statement which indicates all items offered are not reduced."

Consumer affairs regulations designed to eliminate credit abuses affecting the poor in Washington, D.C. are now in effect. The new D.C. Credit Licensing Act requires the licensing of all finance companies and merchants offering credit, plus full disclosure of the cost of goods and credit. The act prohibits such abuses as "small-print" contracts, and misleading advertising of credit terms.

Great Britain has placed into operation an extensive consumer protection law--the Trade Descriptions Act.

Under the new law, traders or manufacturers who give false information about their goods, prices or services are now liable to unlimited fines and prison sentences up to two years.

Despite more forthright labeling under the two-year-old Federal Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, housewives still can't compare prices in the supermarket, says Consumers Union, the nation's largest consumer advisory organization. Hence, it is recommending an amendment to the law, which would require stores to put unit prices on every package, along with the package price. Unit price is the price per pound, pint or other standard unit of consumption. It is already used for the pricing of meat and poultry at most supermarkets.

More than two dozen House members, led by Congressman James G. O'Hara (D.-Mich.) have joined in sponsoring bills establishing a national Occupational Health and Safety program for industry. Citing the fact that 14,500 workers are killed annually in work accidents, Rep. O'Hara describes the proposed legislation as "tough and wide-ranging."

For Your Home and Family

While the latest of the so-called washday miracles--laundry products supercharged with enzymes--really can get rid of stubborn stains, the housewife may be able to achieve the same result at half the cost. To see if the results with the enzymes matched the claims, a consumers' organization tested two highly-promoted enzyme products, and as a control, a leading detergent without enzymes. The conclusion: The presoak with the detergent did as good a job on most of the stains as did the two enzyme presoaks.

Warranties and guarantees are two words that mean the same: almost nothing. This is the conclusion of a 217-page Task Force report on appliance warranties prepared by the Federal Trade Commission. The FTC points out that merely the placing of a product on the market carries with it an implied warranty that the product is safe and reasonably fit for the purpose for which it is sold. Fancy wording of warranties designed to get around this obligation has been meeting increasing opposition in the courts.

In other words, if a product turns out to be unsafe, does not perform the ways the ads say it will, or contains manufacturing defects; the seller has a firm obligation to make adjustments or refunds regardless of the wording of the warranty. If he refused, the buyer has a good chance of collecting damages through the courts.

At The Marketplace

Food prices will continue to fluctuate this year according to U.S. Department of Agriculture economists. Retail prices for many fruits and processed vegetables are expected to average below 1968 levels. Potato prices, however, are likely to be above the '68 levels. Beef retail prices will probably be stable and pork prices lower. In the sweet tooth department--prices for candy, confectionary and soft drinks will likely continue to rise.

Plentiful foods for this time of the year include turkeys, dry beans, rice, peanuts and peanut products, canned and frozen corn, onions, canned and frozen green beans, and prunes. Be sure to include them on your weekly grocery list.

How do you shop for the weekly groceries? A Michigan survey found that nearly a fourth of the homemakers questioned shop by trial and error. Women perform this way nowadays not because they are lazy but because shopping has become more difficult. In fact, a supermarket may contain as many as 8,000 items, and many foods come prepackaged with inadequate information on their contents.

If you are "guilty" of using the trial and error method, here are some of the myths about food values:

Canned Produce: Main difference between fruits in "heavy" syrup and the cheaper "light" syrup is less than an ounce of sugar which is worth less than one cent. The nutritional value is exactly the same.

Eggs: Grade A or AA eggs are the same in nutritional value as Grade B or other cheaper eggs.

Meat: The expensive "Choice" grade does not have as much lean as the cheaper "Good" and

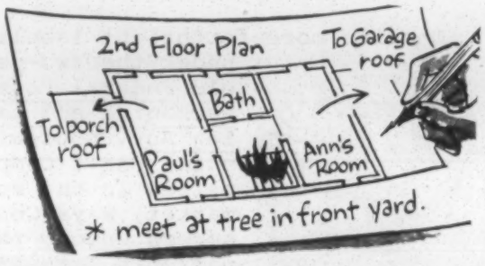
"Standard" grades. Thus, it does not have as much protein, and is less nutritious.

The New Milk: While the new "2% milk" does have less milkfat than standard whole milk (usually 3 1/2%), many brands contain 2% added solids. Thus, the "2% milk" really has more protein, calcium and other minerals than the higher-fat standard kind.

For Your Health and Safety

Modern drugs are complex chemicals and some are adversely affected by age. If left on your medicine shelf too long, they could change enough to poison a person, even damage certain vital organs. You should always dispose of the following: any medicine that has changed color or formed a residue at the bottom of the bottle; aspirin tablets that are crumbly or that give off a vinegary odor; hydrogen peroxide that no longer bubbles when applied; milk of magnesia that has become caked; ointments that have separated, developed spots or become discolored; nose drops that have become cloudy or have developed a sediment; and eyewash left over from treating any eye disorder.

Will your family get out alive if your home is struck by fire? To make sure that they do, you should map out an escape route and have practice fire drills. An alternate route, usually a window, for each room of the house should also be planned. Danger areas such as stairways, halls, clothes



chutes, or elevator shafts where air, and consequently fire, can flow freely should be pointed out. You should also decide on who should help small children, old people, or invalids in case of crisis. It should be emphasized that the whole family should be out of the house before taking time to call the fire department. A meeting place should be decided on so no one will return to rescue one who is already safe.

GOOD BUYS . . . In Government Publications

* Publications in the "How to Buy" series offer a wide range of information on how to shop for foods using USDA grades, how to determine the quality of different foods, and what the various grades mean on meat, poultry, eggs, dairy products, fruits and vegetables. Information on labeling and inspection for wholesomeness, as well as illustrations of USDA inspection marks and grade shields, is also included.

HOW TO BUY FRESH VEGETABLES.....15¢
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No. G-141

HOW TO BUY BEEF ROASTS.....10¢
No. G-146

HOW TO BUY BEEF STEAKS.....10¢
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HOW TO BUY POULTRY.....5¢
No. G-157

HOW TO BUY BUTTER.....5¢
No. G-148

HOW TO BUY CHEDDAR CHEESE.....5¢
No. G-128

HOW TO BUY INSTANT NONFAT DRY MILK...5¢
No. G-140

HOW TO BUY EGGS.....5¢
No. G-144

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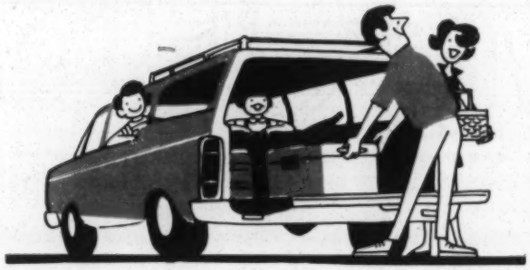
DOLLAR$ & $ENSE THE SEIU CONSUMER NEWSLETTER

June, 1969

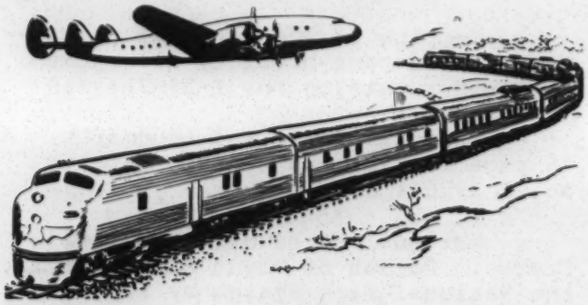
HOW TO SAVE $$$$ ON YOUR VACATION TRIP THIS SUMMER



Whether your vacation plans for this summer are for the city, seashore, or perhaps camping in the national parks and forests, there are many ways you can make it less expensive. And, as you will find, trimming costs need not mean cutting down on pleasure.

A wise first move is to select one place with enough appeal that you would enjoy staying there several days. This way you will usually be rewarded with better rates on accommodations and a reduction in transportation expenses. Comparison shopping among travel possibilities is also a must. Make inquiries and thumb through brochures until you feel sure you are making the best use of your financial outlay.

You may wish to consult a travel agent in planning your vacation. He can tailor it to your budget by recommending hotels and trips that he knows are worth the money either from his own experience or clients' reports. An agent usually will not charge you for his services when making reservations for a bus tour, airline-hotel package plan, a week's stay at a resort and other quickly arranged trips, as he receives a commission in these cases. However, he may charge for scheduling, confirming a complex itinerary and other services. Thus, it is wise to inquire about fees at the start of a consultation.



How to Save $$$ on Air, Railroad and Car Travel...

When traveling by airplane, ask about the Family Plan. Generally speaking, it specifies: full-fare for Father; two-thirds for Mother; one-third for children aged two to 21; and a free ride for children under two. You can also save money by taking "excursion" flights which specify certain days and hours that you may fly. Another substantial saving is offered to the young passenger aged 12 to 22 who holds a $3 "youth" card and waits at the airport as a stand-by until a vacancy occurs on the desired flight.

Railroads also offer Family Plans. For example, under Union Pacific's Family Plan, the head of the family pays regular fare; wife and/or children 12 to 21 years, two-thirds of the fare; children five through eleven, one-third. Many railroads provide "Dining Club Meal Books" which enable passengers to save money on breakfast, lunch and

dinner. A similar book, specifying children's portions, is available in many cases for youngsters.

There are many ways to save money if you are planning to travel by car

this summer. One is to take advantage of hotel and motel Family Plans, another is to stay in a minimum or standard-size accommodation rather than one that is wastefully big and expensive. If you are staying in a hotel or motel that belongs to a chain, the desk will make the next reservation for you without charge.

When traveling by car you can save money on food by fixing your own breakfast with sweetrolls and instant coffee, picnic lunches, and asking for children's menu and children's portions in restaurants.

Costly tolls may be eliminated and the boredom of thruway travel broken if you occasionally shift your driving to parallel local roads. Drive at reasonable speeds and abstain from sudden stops and starts to get good mileage per gallon and prevent excessive wear on tires. In addition, have your car checked ahead of time to avoid repairs on the road that may prove expensive.

Save $$$ With City Vacations...

Cities are ideal for long weekend vacations. These "mini-vacations" require little advance planning, itinerary charting or room reservations. In addition, weekends often mean bargains; hotels in some cities promote weekend packages, and car rental firms offer special rates valid from 5 P.M. Friday to 9 A.M. Monday..

Some airlines offer package tours to various cities such as New York, which include visits to nightclub spots, sight-seeing tours, hotel accommodations, and theater tickets. Chicago has recently initiated a promotion with a reduction in rates at a number of popular hotels, for example The Drake on Lake Shore Drive overlooking Lake Michigan. Some of the hotels add extras, such as sight-seeing boat or bus tours, to the package. For detailed information write the Tourism Council of Greater Chicago, The Civic Center, Chicago, Illinois 60602. Of course, cities are also ideal for longer vacations because of museums, parks and other recreation areas which have little or no admission fees. If you are interested in a particular city, you can obtain accommodation and sightseeing information by writing to its Chamber of Commerce.

Save $$$ by Camping in National Parks and Forests...

If your plans for the summer include a back-to-nature vacation in the National Parks (supervised by the Department of the Interior) or the National Forests (run by the Department of Agriculture), you can save money on admission fees by purchasing a Golden Eagle Passport costing $7 and valid for a year. It admits the holder and occupants of his car to all Federal Recreation areas which require auto entrance fees. The permit can be bought at all Federal Recreation areas and at offices of Federal agencies that manage public recreation areas.

Inexpensive pamphlets containing detailed information about the National Parks, National Forests and Federal Monuments may be obtained by writing to the Superintendent of Documents Government Printing Office, Washington,D.C. 20402. Three particularly informative publications are:

.National Forest Vacations. A 66-page booklet, illustrated, 30 cents. Catalog No. A 13.2 V 13/4/960.

.Camping in the National Park System. A 22-page booklet, illustrated, 15 cents. Catalog No. I 29-71: 966

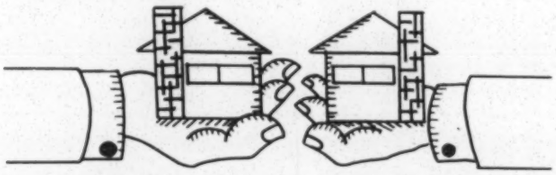
.National Parks and Landmarks. A 46-page booklet, 35 cents. Catalog No. I 29.66: 966.

.National Parks of the United States. Packet of eight maps covering the National Park System by regions, including the parks of New York City, Washington, D.C. and one large map of the U.S. locating all parks and interstate highway systems; chart lists facilities, accommodations and activities.

Excellent for vacations, $1.50 (per set). Catalog No. I 29.6: P23

Other Ways to Save $$$ This Summer...

.Spend a few weeks at a ranch or farm, an economical way of enjoying country life in an informal setting. You can find a suitable farm or ranch from newspaper advertisements or by writing to the Chamber of Commerce in a particular location.



.Try a temporary "home-swap"--perhaps with a relative who lives in the city if you live in a rural community or vice versa.

.Take an off-season cruise, usually in late spring and from the end of August to a week before Christmas. During these periods there is often a 10% cut in the regular fare and a special "Family Plan" for children. An off-season tropical holiday is also a big money saver since summer hotel rates drop between 30% and 40% from the winter peak season rates. During the off-season, beaches are less crowded and the weather reliably sunny with virtually no rain. There is also less variation among summer and winter temperatures than you might assume. For instance, in Nassau, Bahamas the average January temperature is 72 and the average July temperature 82. Many hotels, airlines and travel agencies offer package plans during the off-season.

.Spend this summer in Canada, which has much to offer as a vacationland. If you live on the Atlantic seaboard it is an easy trip to either the Canadian Maritime Provinces or French-speaking Quebec. Midwesterners are not all that far from fishing, hunting, and camping in northwestern Ontario. If you are planning a city vacation, consider visiting Toronto, Montreal, Quebec City, Vancouver or Ottawa, Canada's picturesque capital.

A final tip--spend the last vacation day or two at home so that you can rest and be ready to return to your job refreshed instead of worn-out.

On The Legislative Front

Effective July 1, the new Truth in Lending law will apply to all creditors. Clear disclosure of the terms and conditions surrounding the granting or arranging of credit to consumer borrowers is required under the law. In advertising, if any one term of credit is disclosed then other terms must be disclosed such as the monthly payment and interest rate. Hopefully, this new law will encourage consumers to be wise users of, and careful shoppers for credit.

Mrs. Virginia Knauer has been appointed by President Nixon as the new White House consumer adviser. For 14 months, Mrs. Knauer headed the Pennsylvania Bureau of Consumer Protection in the state attorney general's office. In her new position, she will undertake a government-wide survey of consumer programs.

For Your Home and Family

If you are one of the many outdoor adventurers who plan to make their own camps away from developed facilities during this summer's vacation, you should observe a few rules for off-the road travel.

.Keep your vehicle on the road unless the ground is firm enough to allow off-road travel without leaving ruts; careless driving can cause soil erosion.

.Leave fences and gates as you find them.

.In range country, camp at least one quarter of a mile from watering places; don't frighten livestock.

.Be careful about fire. Build campfires only in safe places where flames can't spread. Make sure your fire is completely dead when you leave.

.Keep a clean camp; leave a clean camp.

.Be careful with firearms.

.Be a courteous driver. Watch out for people and wildlife on the road. Walk on left, facing traffic.

.Be prepared. When you head into back country, leave word where you're going. Take plenty of water, a good map, compass, first aid kit, spare rations, and extra clothing. Respect public and private property. Treat the land as you would your own.

Before you lock the front door and take off for this summer's vacation be sure and stop all deliveries--things piled up on the porch may invite trouble-makers. The police department should be notified so routine checks can be made of your property. In addition, be sure to turn off utilities, check water heater, and turn off gas supply if not needed. Lock all doors and windows, and leave a key with your neighbor so that entry can be made in an emergency.

Milk and dairy products head the list of plentiful foods for June. Other items in good supply at your neighborhood grocery store include canned and frozen sweet corn, canned tomatoes and tomato products, rice and turkeys.

For Your Health and Safety

Summertime is outdoor living time and as eating, swimming, playing, and even dancing and singing have moved outside, so has electricity. Unfortunately, with the use of outside power there are more hazards than with use of electricity indoors. Follow these tips from the National Safety Council to make sure summertime doesn't turn into danger time for you:

1. The biggest danger is the possibility of electrical shock due to accidental grounding. With moist earth all about, a faulty tool or appliance can send a surge of lethal current through a person by way of the ground. All electrical equipment should be in good repair.

2. Another common outdoor danger is the use of extension cords and connections that overload circuits. Be sure that extension cords are in good condition. Keep all cords out of water. Don't overload extension cords with high wattage and appliances.

3. Don't neglect barbecue motors or tools by leaving them out in bad weather or stored in damp places. Very frequently barbecue motors have no grounding wires and no plug. Have a qualified electrician provide a suitable grounding for yours.

4. Be careful not to cut the cord when using an electric mower. Don't splice cut cords--replace them. Power mower cords should be a bright color to make them visible against grass. Using an electric saw outdoors? Have the saw properly grounded especially when working from a metal ladder. Keep extension cords out of the driveway.

GOOD BUYS . . . In Government Publications

* ACCIDENTS AND CHILDREN.....
Designed to give some ideas of the kind of accidents that children suffer and at what time during their lives they are most likely to occur. Also points out some of the things parents can do to prevent accidents, especially in the home, 20 pages, illustrated..15¢
No. FS 17.215:48

* BE A GOOD SHOPPER.....
Helps you plan what to buy, when to buy, and where to buy. Tells you how to plan first before starting your shopping, how to compare price and quality, and discusses the various kinds of sales, 8 pages, illustrated.....5¢
No. A 43.2: Sh 7

* FISH FOR COMPLIMENTS ON A BUDGET.....
Gives 18 appetizing and easy on the budget recipes using fish. Also contains a buying guide describing some of the ways fish are sold and how to prepare them for cooking, 20 pages, illustrated.....15¢
No. 1 49.49/2:9

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Machinist 9-11-69 Published by Internatio
VOL. XXIV Union: IAM WASHING

Watkins, Veep Dean, Leads 'New South'

IAM Vice President George Watkins of Dallas, Tex., now oversees this union's activities in eight states which he has named "the New Southern Territory."

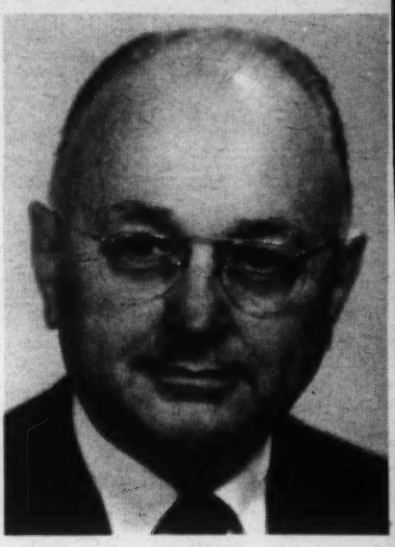
The territory embraces Texas, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Oklahoma. All but Louisiana and Arkansas are "right-to-work" states.

"That's why we are forever trying to catch up with the rest of the country," he told THE MACHINIST recently. "Our problem in the New South is not regional prejudice against labor organization," he explained, "it's an intransigent northern ownership that milks southern industry and hustles the profits north."

Watkins concluded long ago that labor's problems in the New South are largely political and must be solved by more effective organization at the polling places. That the effort is worthwhile, he has no doubt.

He cites Sen. Ralph Yarborough of Texas, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare(see below), as evidence that a sincere southern liberal can be an asset to the entire nation.

Watkins brings to his assignment in the New South a wealth of experience. He is the dean of the IAM Executive Council, having served in that office since 1959.



Watkins

Like so many modern-day southerners, Watkins came from the north. He was born on Feb. 11, 1910, at Agency, Iowa. He attended school in Ottumwa and Agency, Iowa, and had two quarters at Iowa State College before he went to work. In Ottumwa he married Helen Bender in 1932.

Watkins served his apprenticeship at the Dain Mfg. Co., Ottumwa, worked in several plants in Iowa as a production worker, a journeyman machinist and a toolmaker.

He joined IAM Local 81 in 1935, later serving as its president. During the formative period of District 102, he served as its provisional president. In

(*Continued on page 5*)

Watkins, Dean of Veeps, leading New South

(*Continued from page 1*)

1946 he was elected District Business Representative and soon became a vice president of the Iowa State Council of Machinists. He resigned those offices in 1950 to accept appointment as an IAM Grand Lodge Representative.

As a Grand Lodge Representative, Watkins served a stint as Airline Coordinator at headquarters, supervised the reorganization of IAM District 720, Torrance, Calif., led organizing campaigns, participated in negotiations and arbitration hearings, handled jurisdictional matters for the then IAM President Al Hayes. He also appeared before Government boards and agencies on behalf of the IAM.

In 1959, he was elected a General Vice President. He was reelected in 1961, 1965 and 1969.

As Vice President, Watkins served as Resident Vice President at headquarters until 1964, when he was assigned to lead the old Southern Territory with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga.

After that territory was abolished in 1965, Watkins handled special assignments for IAM Past President Roy Siemiller including a period working with IAM Local 712, Montreal, Que., and with Local 687 at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.

Watkins' background as a journeyman earned him an appointment to the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship on which he has served since 19633. His work on that committee has taken him to Sweden and to Germany for studies of their apprentice training methods.

Watkins is also a member of the Labor Committee of the National Planning Association, and a member of the National Defense Executive Reserve.

His hobbies are skydiving—he has a "B" license—and bobsledding—he is licensed for the half mile and the mile runs at Lake Placid, N.Y. He also is a veteran scuba diver.

Watkins is a member of the Episcopal church.

NC AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO News 5-13-69

North Carolina Elects New State Officers

Raleigh, N. C.—The North Carolina AFL-CIO elected a new president at its 12th annual convention and amended the constitution to reinstitute the office of secretary-treasurer, eliminated seven years ago.

At the final convention session in Wrightsville Beach, Wilbur Hobby was installed as president and James Hart of the Communications Workers, Burlington, as secretary-treasureer and state COPE chairman.

Hobby had resigned his post as COPE area director late in August to run against W. M. Barbee, state federation president and secretary-treasurer. Hart was elected to the state COPE chairmanship to succeed Bob Brown.

Hobby is a former president of the Durham AFL-CIO and former editor of the Durham Labor News. He is a member of the Newspaper Guild and the Tobacco Workers.

Unions – N.C.

WE WANT JOBS

Thousands Join Unio

March Against CP&L

Lobor – N.C.

But Firm's Plans Are Unchanged

9-13-69

By RICHARD DAW
Associated Press Writer

RALEIGH — Several thousand union members, chanting "We want jobs," marched in Raleigh Friday to protest the hiring of an out-of-state firm for a $469 million electric power construction project.

The protest, aimed at Carolina Power and Light Co., disrupted traffic on Fayetteville Street, the city's main thoroughfare, for almost two hours.

It brought no changes in CP&L's plans to have the Brown and Root Construction Co. of Houston, Tex., build generating plants for it at Asheville, Roxboro, Lumberton, Wilmington and Southport.

A spokesman said no North Carolina firms submitted bids on the projects.

Union leaflets calling Brown and Root "a viciously anti-union" firm were passed out and a resolution was presented to Gov. Bob Scott's office, asking him to intervene.

The resolution said "We believe the workers will be brought to North Carolina to take jobs that rightfully belong to our people."

It asked Scott "to use your influence with Carolina Power and Light Co. to head off this economic loss to our workers, our merchants and our state."

Scott was not at the Capitol when the marchers, striding 20 abreast in a line that stretched almost four blocks, circled the building chanting, "Where's Bob Scott?

He was attending a meeting of the executive committee of the board of trustees of the Consolidated University of North Carolina of which he is chairman.

Wilbur Hobby, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO which organized the march, and other union officials met with representatives of CP&L during the demonstration.

Hobby said CP&L had rejected a list of union proposals, including one that the construction company favor.

See THOUSANDS, P. 18B, C. 1

AP Pho

Union Members Wave Signs In Raleigh
. . . They Jeer Carolina Power & Light C

and-or ...
refrain from
positions where
reveal fellow
face stricter

ifications raised

Small fry football is going to be fun to watch . . . that is if you have a good sense of humor.

Last Saturday, right in the middle of a game, the fans were informed that

Thousands Join Union March

Continued From Page 1B

North Carolina residents in hiring.

Albert Morris, CP&L director of public relations, said he had no specific comment on the proposals of the union leaders but that most workers already on the job were North Carolinians.

He said that at Asheville, the only one of the five projects on which more than a few workmen are employed at this stage, 98 of the 100 craftsmen were hired locally.

Morris said Brown and Root "is employing and will continue to employ qualified local craftsmen" whether or not they are union members.

Labor - N.C.

New President Flexes Union's Muscle

CO 9/14/69

An Observer Analysis

By RICHARD DAW
Associated Press

RALEIGH — The new president of the N.C. AFL - CIO is losing no time in setting a militant style for the labor organization.

The official, Wilbur Hobby of Durham, gave a demonstration of things to come with a march Friday by thousands of union members in downtown Raleigh.

It was the largest gathering of union members in the memory of Raleigh old-timers, and a sharp departure from traditional union tactics.

The theme of the march was a protest against Carolina Power and Light Company's awarding of a $469 million construction contract to a Texas firm which the AFL-CIO leadership consider, "viciously anti-union."

But Hobby left no doubt that the march was a demonstration of union strength, too.

"From now on, we're going to go first class," Hobby told his cheering listeners.

Statistically, the union movement in North Carolina appears extremely weak, with only an estimated 90,000 members out of a total labor force of about 2.3 million.

Hobby's task will be to make the weight of those few felt out of proportion while trying to swell the number.

His success in organizing Friday's march shows he's off to a good start.

The 43-year-old Durham tobacco worker gained his new leadership post last week after a dozen years of trying for it.

The theme he used in unseating the veteran Millard Barbee was the old political slogan, "it's time for a change."

But Hobby seems to be taking the slogan at face value.

A unionist who knows both Hobby and Barbee well puts it this way: "Barbee goes for the short gainer — Hobby will throw the long ball. Barbee will settle for an occasional drink of water — Hobby wants the whole bucket."

Friday's march brought no concessions from CP&L.

The union charged that the Brown and Root Construction Co., chosen by CP&L to construct five generating plants in North Carolina, "has a reputation of anti-union activity."

The demonstrators, in a resolution presented to Gov. Bob Scott's office, asked Scott "to use your good offices and influence with Carolina Power and Light Company to head off" the economic loss they claim will result from bringing in workers from outside the state.

Scott was not at the capitol when the marchers, striding 20 abreast in a line that stretched almost four blocks, circled the building chanting, "Where's Bob Scott?"

The governor was attending a meeting of the executive committee of the board of trustees of the Consolidated University of North Carolina. He is chairman of the board.

Trying to bring the governor into the picture was in keeping with Hobby's drive to make unionism more of a political force in North Carolina.

Labor - N.C.

Local Co Jobs Not Shut Down

9/13/69

Charlotte building trades unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO sent seven busloads "and a lot of cars" full of union members, to Raleigh Friday to participate in a march protesting a large building contract that went to an out-of-state firm, a union spokesman said.

The workers joined several thousands others from across the state in a march around the State Capitol to protest a $500,000 contract awarded by Carolina Light and Power Co. to Brown and Root Construction Co. of Houston, Texas. The unions claim the Texas firm is anti-union and will discriminate against union men in hiring.

Despite the number of Charlotteans participating, local contractors reported few projects, closed down for the day. Many builders, here have few, if any, union employes in construction.

Work was halted on the Jeffersop-First Union Tower on College Street, and slowed on some other large jobs, because of the "holiday" declared by the unions, but home building went on as usual, employers said.

One contractor explained, "None of ours went, Friday is payday."

LABOR - N.C.

Country Club Dinner Picketed In Wilmington

RAL 9-7-69

WILMINGTON — Union members picketed the Cape Fear Country Club Friday night where Brown and Root Construction Co., of Houston, Tex. was holding a "get acquainted" dinner for local leaders.

Brown and Root is in Wilmington to build two large projects for Carolina Power and Light Co. One is a $48 million addition to the Louis V. Sutton Plant at Mount Misery near Wilmington, and the other is a $300 million nuclear generating plant near Southport.

The pickets showed placards reading "CP&L unfair to organized labor."

Foster Parker, senior group vice president of Brown and Root, said most of the work force for the projects will be hired locally. He said Brown and Root position as an "open shop" organization which allows the company to hire laborers directly and not through a third party.

Parker said the company has no plans to change its open shop policy in Wilmington.

At a rally attended by 1,200 union members last Sunday, half a dozen labor speakers said Carolina Power and Light Company's action in hiring Brown and Root was part of what was called "a conspiracy to destroy the building trades unions in North and South Carolina."

MACHINISTS Co-Chairmen: FLOYD E. SMITH EUGENE GLOVER CHARLES F. WEST
NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL LEAGUE
MACHINISTS' BUILDING • 1300 CONNECTICUT AVE • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
VERNON JIRIKOWIC, Vice Chairman
W. G. FLINN, Secretary-Treasurer
W. DON ELLINGER, Director
232-6309 Ext. 372 after 4:30 pm 232-8038

Ocotber 6, 1969

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

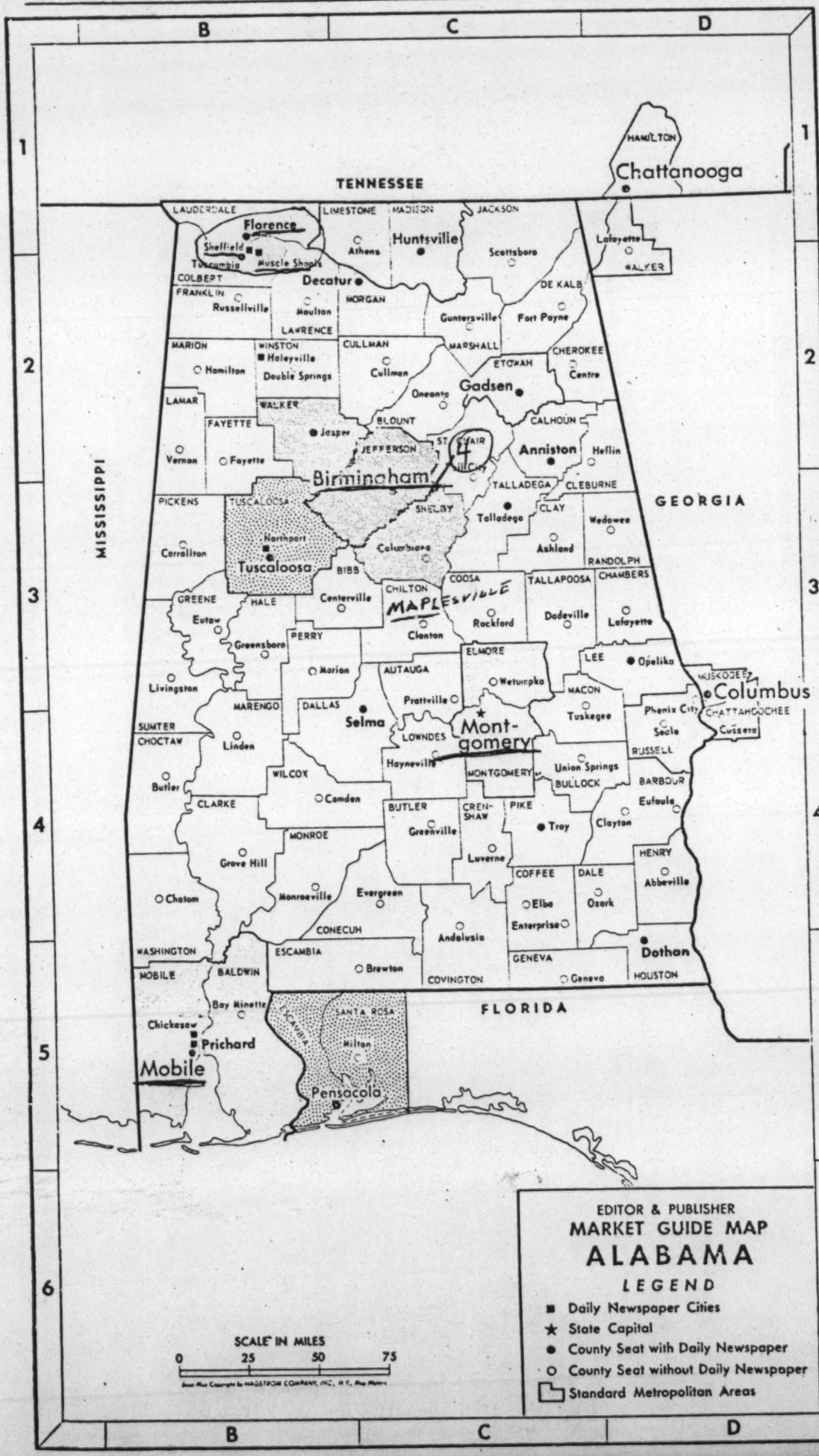
Will you please remove the name of Elmer Walker from your list and replace it with the following name: Mr. Eugene Walker, General Secretary-Treasurer
International Association of Machinists
and Aerospace Workers - Machinists Building
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Also add the following two names to your list.

Mr. W. Don Ellinger, Director
Machinists Non-Partisan Political League
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mr. Vernon Jirikowic, Director
Research Department
Internatinnal Association of Machinists
and Aerospace Workers
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

10-9-69



Decatur—Cont'd

5—BANKS:

	Number	Deposits
Sav. & Loan Assn.	2	$ 35,[illegible]
Commercial Banks	3	$200,[illegible]

6—PASSENGER AUTOS: County ...

7—ELECTRIC METERS: Residence ...

8—GAS METERS: Residence ...

9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES: City [illegible] Synthetic Fibers (Acrilan); Tire Fabric; [illegible] & Brass Tubing; Hexagon Steel Nuts; [illegible] Barges; Steel Fabr.; Prison Equip.; Air [illegible] Equip.; Cotton Seed Oil; Insecticides; [illegible] zers; Brick; Tile; Concrete Prod.; Pe[illegible] Prod.; Dairy Prod.; Pipe Coating; [illegible] Foodstuffs; Plywood; Aluminum [illegible] Boxes & Baskets; Poultry Processing; [illegible] building & Ironwork; Fluo-Chemic[illegible] Homes.
Principal Pay Days—Tues., Thurs., and [illegible]

10—CLIMATE: Min. & Max. Temp. [illegible] 36-95; Summer 67-101; Fall 52-[illegible] 23-75. First killing frost, Nov. 27. Last [illegible] ing frost, April 8.

11—TAP WATER: Alkaline, soft; fl[illegible]

12—RETAILING: Principal Shopping [illegible] 4 blocks on 2nd Ave.; 4 on Bank St.; [illegible] Moulton St.
Neighborhood Shopping Centers—[illegible] and Somerville Rd.; 5th Ave. W.; [illegible] ingside, 19th Ave. & 12th St. S.E.
Principal Shopping Days: Department [illegible] Mon., Thurs. and Sat. Food—Fri. and [illegible]
Stores Close: Wed. aft.; open Thu. [illegible]

13—RETAIL OUTLETS: Department [illegible] Warren's; Belk-Hudson; J. C. Penney; [illegible] rey's; David Lee's; Parisian.
Leading 5c-$1 and Variety Stores—[illegible] Woolworth; Grant's; Elmore's; Guice's [illegible] G. C. Murphy; McCrory-Economy; To[illegible]
Chain Drug Stores (CZ): Eckerd's; [illegible]
Chain Food Supermarkets: A&P; Ky[illegible] ler; Kwik Chek; Bruno's.
Other Chain Stores—David Lee's. Di[illegible] gel's; Singer Co.; Millers; South[illegible] Goodyear; Busch's Jewelry; Sherwin [illegible] Glidden Paint; Pittsburgh Paint; Gr[illegible]

Nearby Shopping Centers

Name of Shopping Center	Distance from Shopping District	Principal Stores
Locust St.	1 Mi.	
5th Ave. W.	½ Mi.	Nan[illegible]
6th Ave. S.E.	1 Mi.	Clem[illegible]
Morningside	2 Mi.	
Decatur	2¾ Mi.	Grant [illegible]
Westgate	2 Mi.	G[illegible]
Gateway	2¾ Mi.	Sears, [illegible]

14—NEWSPAPERS: DECATUR DA[illegible] 19,744; (S) 19,162; Mar. 31, 19[illegible]
Local Contact for Advertising and M[illegible] ing Data: Mrs. Elizabeth D. Sand[illegible]
Adv. Mgr. DECATUR DAILY.
National Representatives: Wallace Whi[illegible]

DOTHAN, ALA.

1—LOCATION: Houston County. E[illegible] D-5. 115 mi. SE of state capital. M[illegible] 215 mi. from Birmingham; 219 [illegible] Atlanta; 256 mi. from Jacksonville [illegible] mi. from Pensacola.

2—TRANSPORTATION: Railroads—[illegible] tral of Georgia; Atlanta & St. Ab[illegible] Hartford & Slocomb.
Motor Freight Carriers—15.
Intercity Bus Lines—Greyhound; Tra[illegible]
Airlines—Southern.

3—POPULATION:
Corporate City Limits, 60 Census [illegible]
City Zone-ABC: 31,440; (68) [illegible]
RTZ-ABC: (60) 176,824; (68) [illegible]
Houston County, 60 Census [illegible]
City RTZ-ABC: (60) 208,264; (6[illegible]

4—HOUSEHOLDS:
City Zone-ABC: (60) 9,026; (6[illegible]
RTZ-ABC: (60) 47,948; (68) [illegible]
City & RTZ-ABC: (60) 56,974; (6[illegible]

5—BANKS:

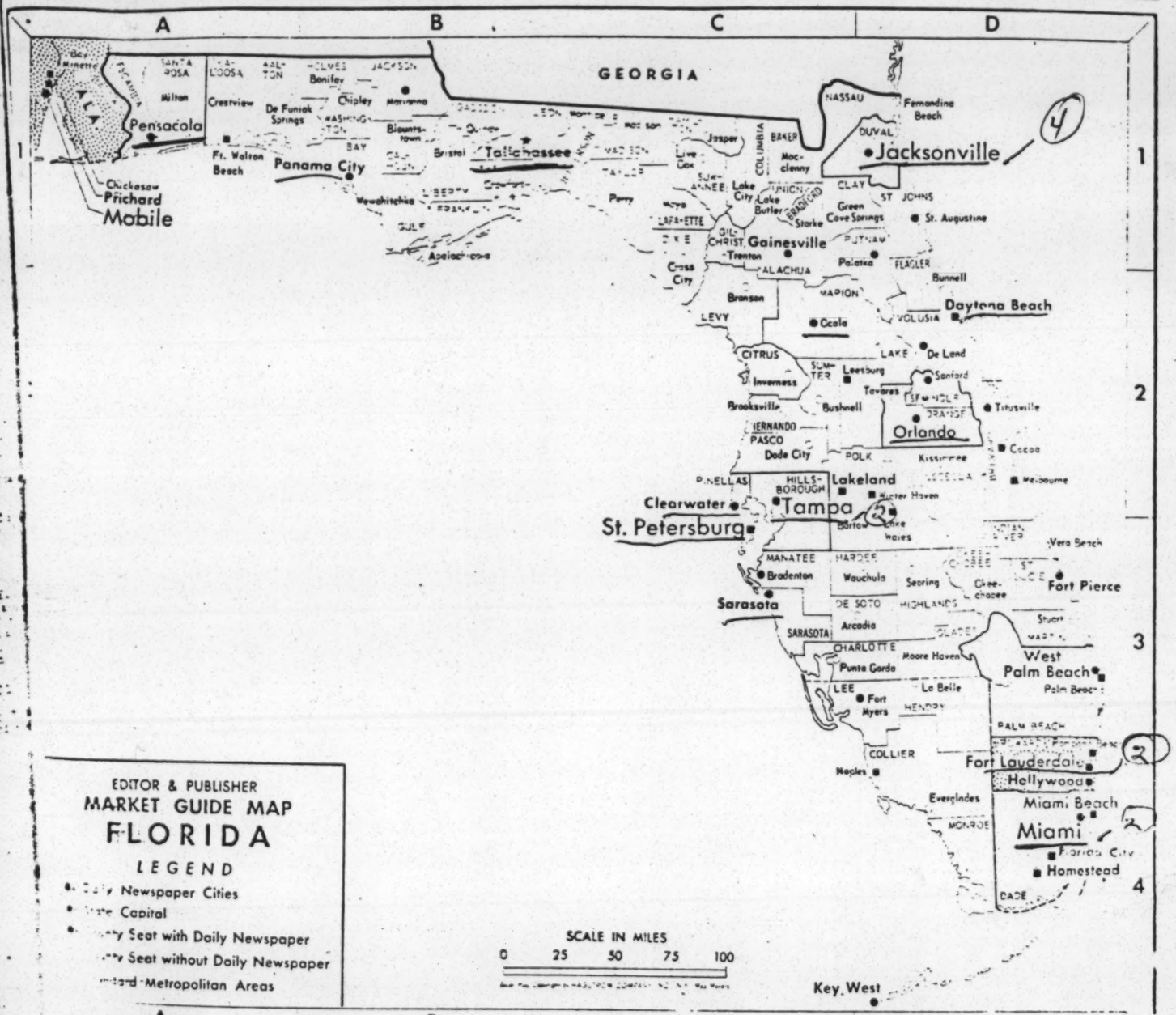
	Number	
Commercial Banks	3	[illegible]
Sav. & Loan Assn.	1	[illegible]

6—PASSENGER AUTOS: County [illegible]

7—ELECTRIC METERS: Resid[illegible]

8—GAS METERS: Residence ...

9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES (C[illegible] No. of Wage Earners Air Craft [illegible] Lumber 370; Metal Work 300; [illegible] Transp. 1,200; Tobacco 175; [illegible] Furniture 300; Wholesale & R[illegible] Services 1790; Textiles & A[illegible] Total Wage Earners 22,900 [illegible]
Principal Industrial Pay Day—[illegible]



...tising and Merchandis... Welch, Gen. Mgr.; ...tor, SUN NEWS. ...n H. Perry Assoc.

...DERDALE, FLA.

...ty. E&P Map ...) mi. S. of W. ...e Ocean. On In... No. 1.

...roads—Florida ... Line.

...of Trafficways. ...Beach; North-

...131,500
...214,400
...4,250
...133,946
...2,400
...850

...114,602
...50
...250
...500
...19
...21

7—ELECTRIC METERS: County ...

8—GAS METERS: County ...

9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES (County): Industry, No. of Wage Earners (Av. Annual Wages)—Food 5,500 (...); Apparel 2,400 (87S); Fur. & Wood ...; Printing & Publishing ...; Chem-Petrol-Plastics 1,000 (...); Elect. Mach. & Equip. 3,000 (...); Shipb. & Repairs 2,000 (NA); Misc. Mfg. ...

Principal Industrial Pay Days—Building Trades, Fri. Other Industries, Fri. & Sat.

10—CLIMATE: Min. & Max. Temp.—Spring 68-80; Summer 75-...; Fall 72-...; Winter 62-80.

11—TAP WATER: Alkaline, very soft; not fluoridated.

12—RETAILING: Principal Shopping Center—5 blocks on Andrews Ave.; 4 on SE 1st Ave.; 2 on SE 2nd St.; 4 on SW First Ave.; 3 on E. Las Olas Blvd.; 2 on W. Broward Blvd.; 3 on E. Broward Blvd.

Neighborhood Shopping Centers: City Store—Central Shopping Plaza; Coral Ridge; Crossroads; Galt Plaza; Gateway; Grandway; Harbor Beach Plaza; Jefferson's City; Lauderdale; Lauderdale Beach; Lauderdale-By-The-Sea; Lauderhill Mall; North Andrews Gardens; Oakland Park Blvd.; Plantation Village Plaza Ctr.; Riverland; Sea Ranch Village; Shamrock; 17th St.; S. Federal Hwy.; Sunrise; Times Square; West Broward; West Sunrise; Westgate; Wilton Manors; Zayre-Broward Blvd.; Zayre-North Andrews Ave.

Principal Shopping Days: Department Stores—Mon., Fri., Sat. Food: Thurs., Fri., Sat.

Stores Open Evenings: Det.—Mon., Fri. Food—Mon., Thurs., Fri., Sat.

13—RETAIL OUTLETS: Department Stores—Burdines; Sears; Hartley's; Dare's; Lynn's; H. Natwin & Son; Saks Fifth Ave.; Kinney; Jefferson's; Army & Navy; Neisner's; Sterling's; Jordan Marsh; Britt's; J. C. Penney; Grandway; Grants; Jackson Byrons; Zayre's; Richard's; Woolco; K-Mart, Gibson's.

Discount Stores (CZ): Jefferson Stores; Grandway, Zayre's; K-Mart, Gibson's.

Leading 5c-$1 & Variety Stores—Woolworth; McCrory; Ben Franklin; Broward; Neisner's; Ward's City.

Chain Drug Stores (CZ): Whalen 2; Broward 6; Walgreen 3; Liggett Rexall 2; Eckerd 4; Super ...; NS.

Chain Food Stores (CZ): A&P 4; Food Fair 10; Kwik Chek 10; Publix 7; Grand Union 6; Jackson's 22; Lil General 21; U-Tote-M 6.

Nearby Shopping Centers

Name of Shopping Center	Miles from Shopping District	Principal Store and/or Supermarket
Lauderdale	1	Publix
Searstown	1	Sears, Piggly Wiggly
Gateway	1½	Food Fair
Sunrise	2	Jordan Marsh, Food Fair
West Sunrise	2	Kwik Chek
Zayre-Broward Blvd.	2	Zayre's, Grd. Union
Jefferson Center	2½	Jefferson's
Wilton Manors	2½	Grand Union, Frederick's
Crossroads	3	Crossroads Mkt.
Central Shpg. Plaza	3	Publix
Riverland	3	Kwik Chek, A&P
17th Street	3	Kwik Chek, Publix
Coral Ridge	3½	Britts, J.C. Penney, Publix
Harbor Bch. Plza.	3½	Harbor Beach Mkt.
Zayre-No. Andrews	3½	Zayres, Grd. Union
Times Square	3½	Coral Ridge Mkt.
Galt Plaza	4	Broward Drugs
Grandway	4	Grandway Discount Jack Byrons
No. Andrews Gdns.	4	Food Fair
Plaza Center	4	Grant, Kwik Chek
Westgate	4	Kings, Food Fair
Plantation Vill.	5	Kwik Chek
Lauderhill Mall	5	Richard's, Woolco
Sea Ranch Vlge.	6	Publix

Other Chain Stores—Shoe: Miller's; Thom McAn; A. S. Beck; Goody; Mary Jane; Kinneys; Minna Lee; Butlers. Furniture: Helmay's; Mather's; Modernage; Pullman's; Grosse-Point; Rhodes. Auto: Western Auto; Goodyear; Firestone. Dairies: Sealtest; Borden's Foremost; Homemilk; McArthur's; Velda. Miscellaneous: Lerners; Three Sisters; Jefferson Stores; Miami Rug; Ray Allen; Schwobilt Clothes; Castro Convertibles; Duval Jewelry; Cunningham Jewelry; Weinkles Liquor; Mary Carter Paint; Glidden; Pittsburgh Plate Glass; Lindsley Lumber; Gas-Oil Prod. of Fla.; Cotton Shop; Hartley's Lane; Bryant; Singer Co.; Saks Fifth Ave.; J. C. Penney; Burdines; Jordan Marsh; Britt's; S&H Green Stamps.

(continued on page 101)

Bigant, J. C. Penney, J. J. Newberry, Grant, Belk-Gallant.

Stores (5 County Metro): Zayre 5; 7; Arlan's 2; Atlantic Thrift Center 1; 1; Treasure Island 4; Grant City 2; 1.

Sc-$1 Variety Stores: Woolworths; Kress; Forrest; Richards; Kresge.

Drug Stores (CZ): Walgreen 7; Jacobs Self-Lane-Rexall 4; Galaxy 9; Super-X 9.

Food Supermarkets: A&P 44; Kroger 25; 30; Big Apple 45; Simpson's 2; 5; Winn-Dixie 5; Associated Grocers

NEWSPAPERS: CONSTITUTION (m) D; JOURNAL (e) 201,900; comb. 459,418; JOURNAL & CONSTITUTION 8,190; Mar. 31, 1968 ABC.

Contact for Advertising and Merchandising: Ferguson Rood, JOURNAL-CONSTI-

Representatives: CONSTITUTION & Story & Kelly-Smith Co.; and The Co. (Fla.)

AUGUSTA, GA.

1—LOCATION: Richmond County, E&P Map D-3. In extreme eastern end and central portion of state at head of navigation of Savannah River, the boundary between Georgia and South Carolina; 171 mi. SE of Atlanta, 153 mi. NW of Charleston, and 80 mi. SW of Columbia. On U.S. Hwys. 1, 25, 78, 319, I-20.

2—TRANSPORTATION: Railroads—Southern; Georgia and Florida; ACL; Central of Georgia; Georgia RR.

Motor Freight Carriers—16.

Intercity Passenger Bus Lines—Atlantic Greyhound; Southeastern Stages; Service Coach Trailways; Smokey Mountain Trailways; Carolina Scenic Coach; Georgia-Florida Coach; Queen City Trailways; Southern Stages.

Airlines Serving City—Delta; Eastern; Piedmont; South Central.

3—POPULATION:

Corp. City 60 Cen.	70,626;	Loc. Est.	76,500
City Zone-ABC:	(60) 148,174;	(68)	179,375
RTZ-ABC:	(60) 288,553;	(68) ...	318,950
SMSA, 60 Cen.	216,639;	Loc. Est.	256,400
Richmond County, 60 Census			135,601
City RTZ-ABC:	(60) 436,827;	(68)	498,325

4—HOUSEHOLDS: SMA, 60 Cen. . 56,689
60 Census: City 20,543; County . . . 35,040
City Zone-ABC: (60) 41,254; (68) . . 49,925
RTZ-ABC: (60) 71,248; (68) 78,650
City RTZ-ABC: (60) 112,502; (68) 128,575

5—BANKS:

	Number	Deposits
Sav. & Loan Assn. . .	3	$ 92,825,000
Commercial Banks . .	10	$278,500,000

6—PASSENGER AUTOS: County 58,138

7—ELECTRIC METERS: Residence . . 60,852

8—GAS METERS: Residence 36,542

9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES: City Zone—Industry, Number of Wage Earners (Av. Wkly. Wage): Savannah River Plant—A.E.C. Const. 588 ($95); A.E.C. Clerical 220 ($68); Operations 6,500 ($80); Military 45,000; U.S. Govt. 7,300 (67); Textiles 10,500 ($77); Brick & Clay 4,300 ($84); Pulp & Paper Board 8,900 (119).

Principal Pay Days—Thurs., Fri., 1 & 15.

10—CLIMATE: Min. & Max. Temp.—Spring 54-75; Summer 71-90; Fall 55-76; Winter 39-60. First killing frost, Nov. 15. Last killing frost, Mar. 14.

11—TAP WATER: Neutral, very soft; fluoridated.

12—RETAILING: Principal Shopping Center—5 blocks on Broad St.; 3 on 5th and on 8th St. Neighborhood Shopping Centers—Broad & Milledge Rd.; Walton Way at 15th St.; Central Ave. at Monte Sano Ave., Central Ave. & Hickman Road; Southgate Plaza; Fleming; Daniel Village; North Augusta Plaza; National Hills; Holly Hill Plaza; Town & Country; Peach Orchard Center; Bowers-Bilo Center

Principal Shopping Days: Mon., Fri., Sat.

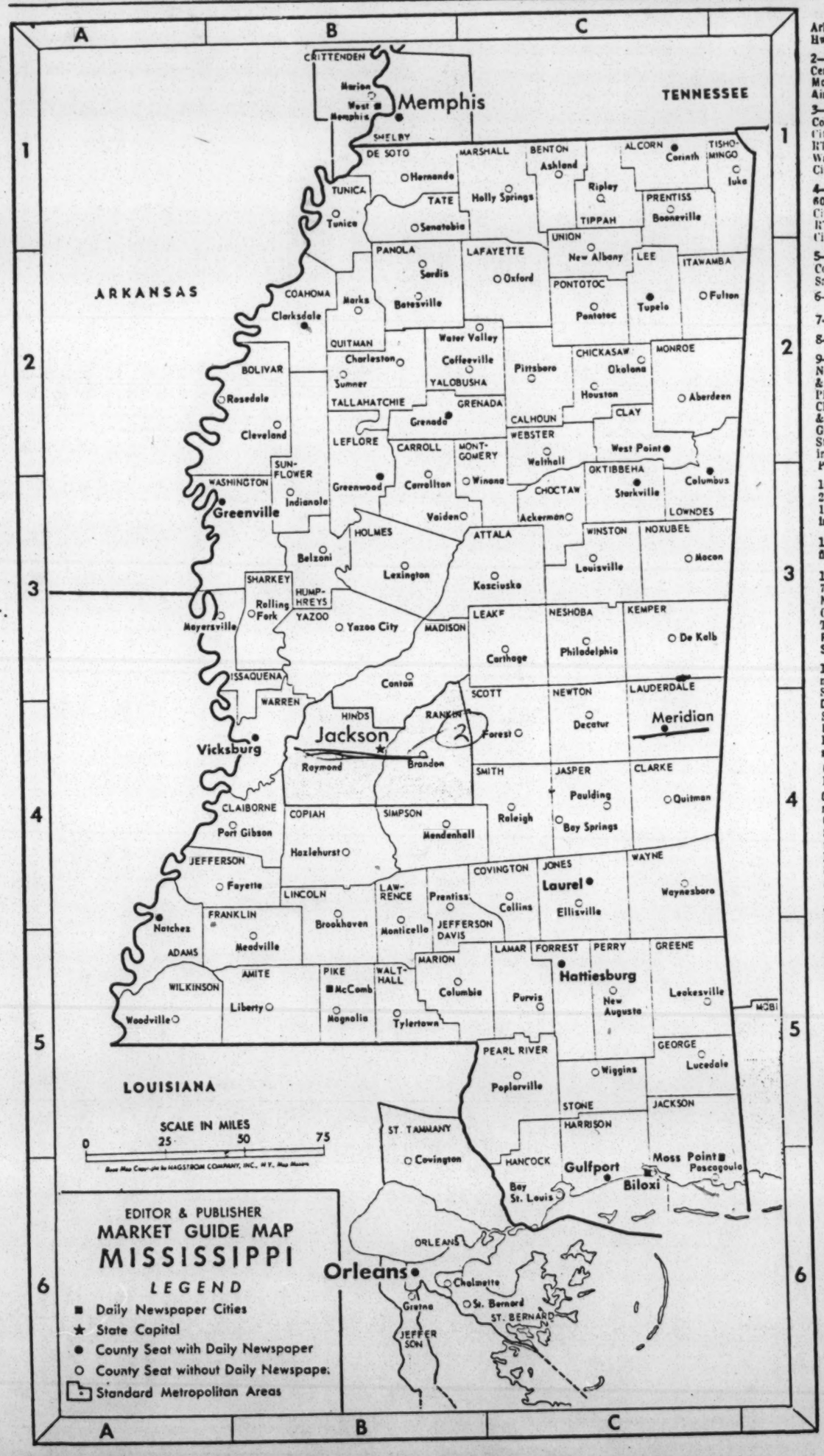
Stores Open Evenings: Department Stores—Mon., Thurs., Fri. Grocery—Fri.

13—RETAIL OUTLETS: Department Stores—J. P. White 2; Sears Roebuck; Davison's; Belles 3; Dale's; Penney; Belk's 2; Gallant Bear; Aiken, S. C.; Cullums; Raylass; Ruben's.

Discount Stores (CZ): J. M. Fields 2; Jones; K-Mart; Bowers 2; Pioneer; Freeway Natl.

Leading 5¢-$1 Variety Stores—Kress; Wool-

(continued on page 114)



Greenville—Cont'd

Arkansas; 40 mi. NW of Louisiana, on Hwy. 1.

2—TRANSPORTATION: Railroads—Central: Columbus & Greenville (freight). Motor Freight Carriers—9. Airlines—Southern.

3—POPULATION: Corporate City Limits, 60 Census City Zone-ABC: (60) 45,176; (68) RTZ-ABC: (60) 81,869; (68) Washington County, 60 Census City & RTZ-ABC: (60) 130,015; (68)

4—HOUSEHOLDS: 60 Census: City 11,491; County City Zone-ABC: (60) 12,154; (68) RTZ-ABC: (60) 20,698; (68) City & RTZ-ABC: (60) 33,152; (68)

5—BANKS: Number Commercial Banks ... 3 Sav. & Loan Assn. .. 2

6—PASSENGER AUTOS: Co. 1.

7—ELECTRIC METERS: Residence

8—GAS METERS: Residence

9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES (CZ) No. of Wage Earners—Textiles 1; & Wood Prod. 1,065; Paper & Plastics 175; Screws & Fasteners Clay, Glass & Concrete Prod. & Allied Prod. 255; Automotive Grain Processing & Storage 9; Stoppers 75; Steam Boilers 65; M ing 945; Shipbuilding 312. Principal Industrial Pay Days—Fri.

10—CLIMATE: Min. & Max. Temp. 21-92; Summer 57-97; Fall 4; 18-87. First killing frost, Oct. 1. ing frost, Mar. 23.

11—TAP WATER: Alkaline, not fluoridated.

12—RETAILING: Principal Shopping 7 blocks on Washington; 2 blocks Neighborhood Shopping Centers—Goyer Shopping Ctr.; Village Thomas Shopping Ctr. Principal Shopping Days: Mon. Stores Open Evenings: Sat.

13—RETAIL OUTLETS: Penney; Nelms & Blum; Sears Roebuck; S. Goodman Discount Stores (CZ): Stein Mart; Gibson's; Leading 5c-$1 & Variety Stores Kress; Greenville; Woolworth; Wiley.

Chain Drug Stores (CZ): Harris Walgreen.

Chain Food Supermarkets: ney-Jungle; Sunflower; Other Chain Stores—Singer Co.; Firestone; Western Auto; Goodyear; lin; West Bros.; Pitts Shoes; White Stores; gels; S&H Green Stamps.

14—NEWSPAPERS: TIMES (e ex. Sat.) Mar. 31, 1968 ABC.

Local Contact for Advertising Data: John T. DEMOCRAT-TIMES.

National Representatives:

GREENWOOD

1—LOCATION: B-2. County Seat. 7, 49W, 82; 97 mi. of Memphis; 50 mi.

2—TRANSPORTATION Central: Columbus & Motor Freight Carriers Intercity Bus Lines Airlines—Southern.

3—POPULATION: Corporate City Limits City Zone-ABC: RTZ-ABC: Leflore County. City & RTZ-ABC

4—HOUSEHOLDS 60 Census: City & City Zone-ABC RTZ-ABC: City & RTZ-ABC

5—BANKS: Commercial Sav. & Loan Assn.

6—PASSENGER

7—ELECTRIC

8—GAS METERS

9—PRINCIPAL

No. of Wage

...LETS: Department Stores—... Peoples; Leader Bros.; Wall's; ... Sears, Roebuck. ... Stores; King's. ... Stores—Eckard's Scottie; ...

...& Variety Stores—S. H. Kress; ... Woolworth; W. T. Grant.

...Supermarkets: A&P 3; Colonial; ... Winn-Dixie; Piggly-... 3.

...Montgomery Ward; Good-... Shops; Glamour Shop; ... Shoe; Larry's Shoe; Shoe ... Jewel Box; Firestone; ... Williams Paint; Hollis-... Western Auto; Richard's ... Stamps; Wise Shops; Kerr

...Shopping Centers

Distance from Shopping District	Principal Store and/or Supermarket
1½ MI.	Woolworth, Colonial
1 MI.	Mason's; Big Star
1 MI.	King's; Winn-Dixie
½ MI.	Sears, Roebuck

...PAPERS: NEWS-ARGUS (e ex. ...) 16,425; Mar. 31, 1968

...Advertising and Merchandis-... Turner, Pub, NEWS-ARGUS. ...Representatives: General Advertising

...ENSBORO, N. C.

...: Guilford County. E&P Map ... In center of State, 50 mi. S ... line. Manufacturing, transa-... center. 200 mi. from Rich-... from Atlanta; 324 mi. from ... U. S. Hwy. 29, 70, 421 & 220; ... & 15; State Hwy. 22 & 150.

...TATION: Railroads—Southern; ... Carriers—17. ... Lines—Southern Greyhound; ... Lines; Queen City Trailways;

...: Piedmont; United.

...: 133,574; 66 Sp. Con. ... 131,711 ... 110,781; (68) ... 185,852 ... 105,002; (68) ... 634,130 ... 60 Census ... 246,520 ... 754,283; (68) 840,515

...: City 33,550; County ... 69,128 ... (68) 41,270; (68) ... 52,335 ... 166,809; (68) ... 170,450 ... 208,079; (68) 231,825

	Number	Deposits
... Ann.	3	$ 132,913,656
...	4	$2,967,814,260

...ER AUTOS: City 80,359; Co.

...C METERS: Residence ..44,810

...METERS: Residence 18,171

...AL INDUSTRIES: Industry, No. ...1,000), (Av. Weekly Wage)—... 16.3 ($78); Durable Goods ... Lumber & Wood 1.1 ($69); ... Furniture 7.7 ($78); Household ... ($78); Stone, Clay, Glass .9 ...ary & Fabricated Metals 2.5 ...7 1.3 ($80); Non-durable ...13); Food Products 3.2 ($76); ...9 ($79); Textile Mill Prod-... Knitting Mills 6.2 ($59); ...ed 3.8 ($58); Printing & ...); Chemical Products 1.4 ... & Pub. Util. 6.0 (N.A.); ... 6.3 (N.A.); Retail 16.0 ...sur., & Real Estate 7.0 ...tion 6.7 (N.A.); Tobacco 3.2 ... 13.2 (N.A.); Service 12.9

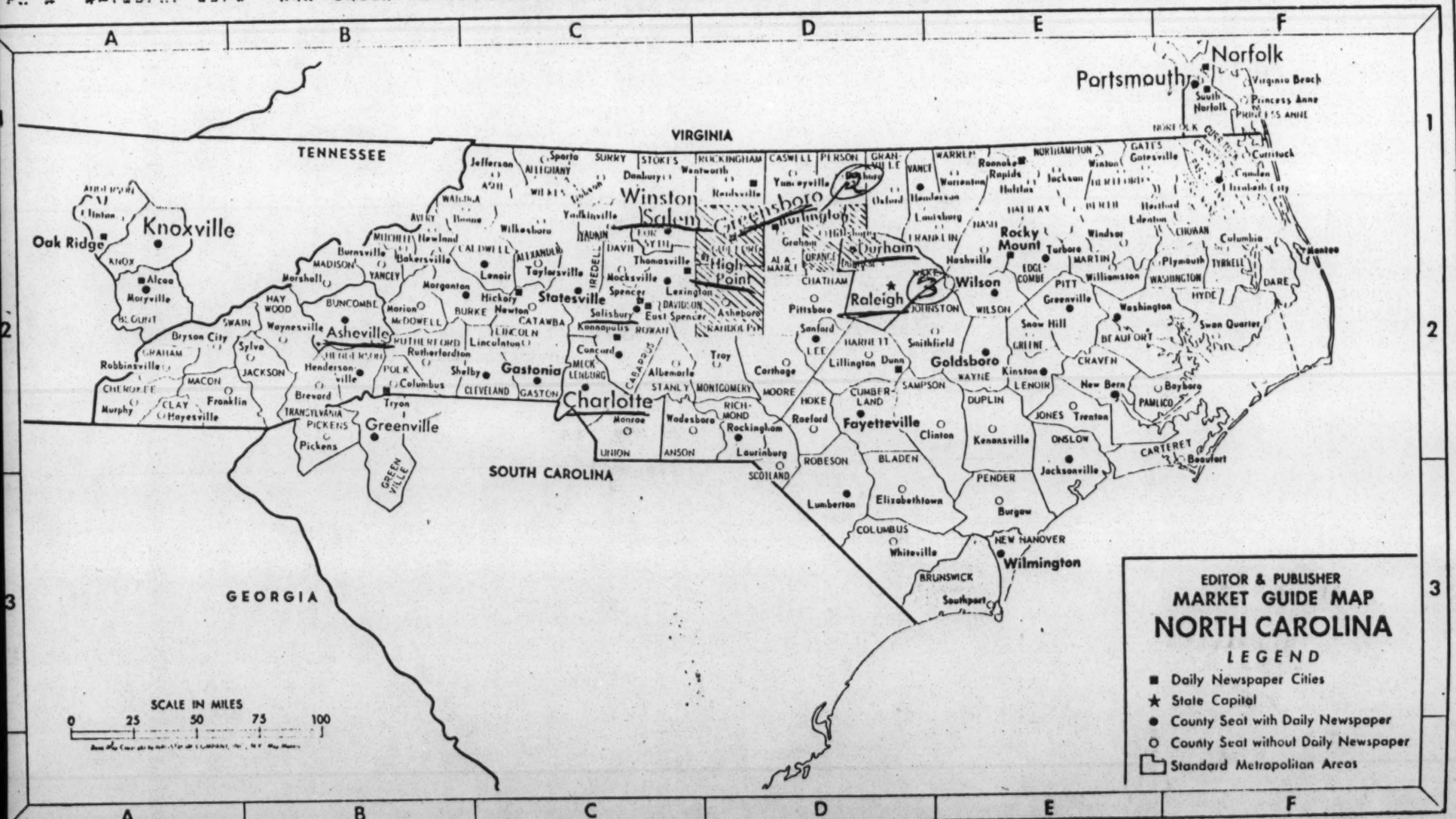
...: Min. & Max. Temp.—Spring ...r 44-100; Fall 20-93; Winter ...ing frost, Oct. 30. Last ...Apr. 10.

...ER: Alkaline, soft.

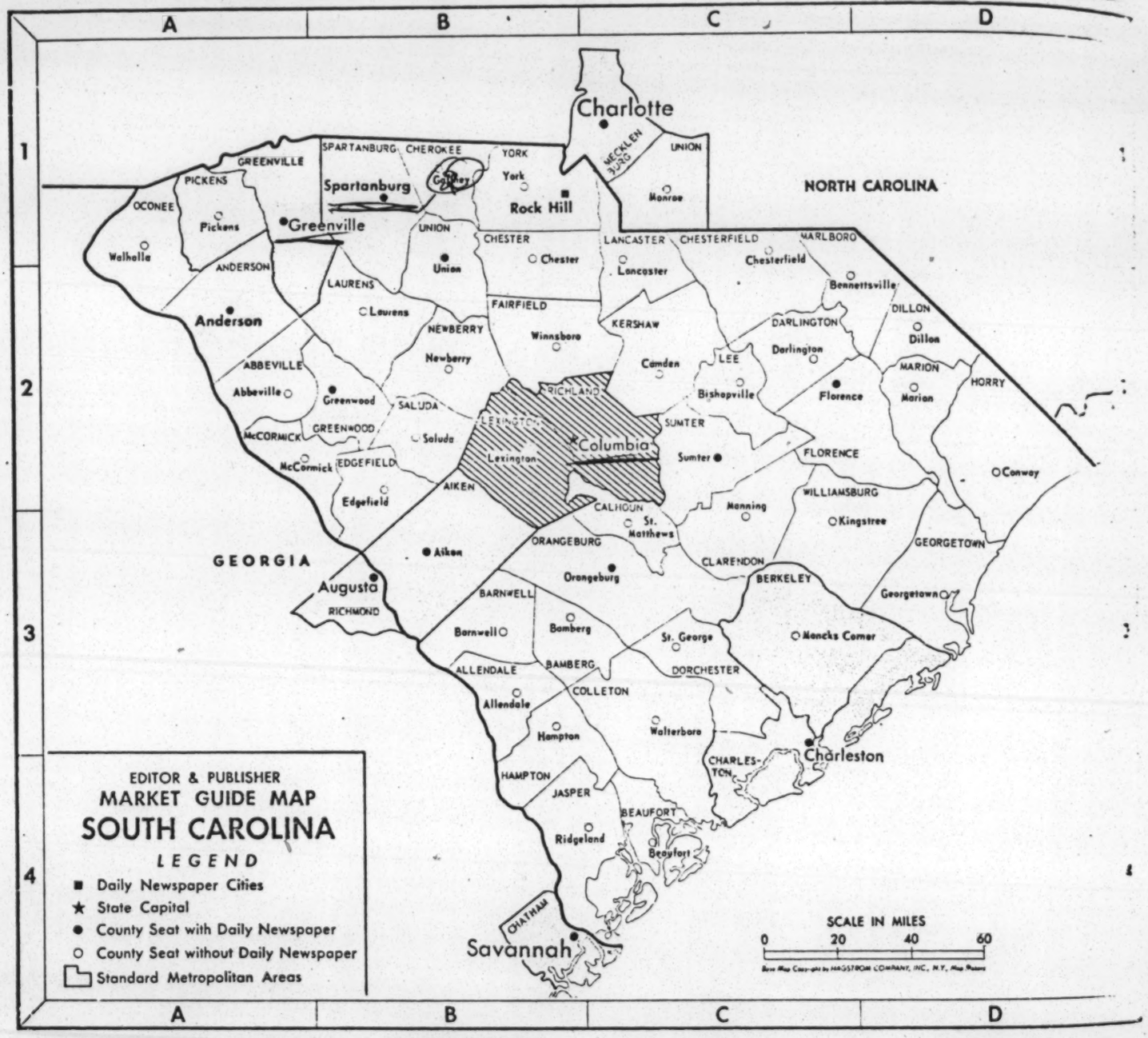
...ING: Principal Shopping Centers ... 4 blocks on N. Elm and S. ... E. and W. Market St.; 6 on ...ce St.; 2 on N. and S. Davie

...Shopping Centers—Northeast, ...Summit Ave. and E. Bessemer; ...t on Summit Ave.; Friendly, ...on Gate, 2 blocks on Church ...Dr.; Lawndale, 3 blocks ...; Plaza, 3 blocks on Battle-... Westlawn; Quaker Village, 1 ...y Ave.; Florida St., 1 block

...Shopping Days: Thurs., Fri., Sat. ...Sundays: Drug & 3 Discount ...Evenings: Sears: Mon., Thru Sat.; ...Thalhimers and Others: Mon.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE



SOUTH CAROLINA SURVEYS

SOUTH CAROLINA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS

AUGUSTA, GA.-S. C.—Richmond County, Ga.; Aiken County, S. C.
CHARLESTON, S. C.—Berkeley and Charleston Counties.
COLUMBIA, S. C.—Lexington and Richland Counties.
GREENVILLE, S. C.—Greenville and Pickens Counties.

SOUTH CAROLINA POPULATION ESTIMATES

(add 000)

Age Group	1960	1969	1970	1975
Under 5	295	308	309	315
5-9	286	329	335	360
10-19	498	596	608	667
20-34	464	419	412	378
35-49	430	495	503	542
50-64	260	317	324	360
65 & over	150	188	192	216
Total	2,383	2,652	2,683	2,838

Source: U.S. Pop. Census 1960; and Supp. Releases by Bureau of Census Since Then.

SOUTH CAROLINA RETAIL SALES ESTIMATES

(add 000,000)

Kind of Business	1963	1970	1975
Food	569	1,063	1,415
Gen. Mdse.	260	486	647
Apparel	127	237	316
Home Furn.	112	209	279
Auto	471	880	1,172
Drugs	74	140	187
Total Sales	2,273	4,245	5,654

Source: U.S. Business Census 1963, and Annual Releases by the Dept. of Commerce.

AIKEN, S. C.

1—LOCATION: Aiken County, E&P Map B-3. 17½ mi. NE of Augusta, Ga.; 120 mi. SW of Charleston. On U.S. 1, 78; State 19, 215.
2—TRANSPORTATION: Railroads—Southern.
Motor Freight Carriers—1.
Intercity Bus—Greyhound; Trailways.
3—POPULATION:
Corp. City 60 Cen. 11,243; Loc. Est. 14,150
City Zone 21,500
Retail Trading Area 45,000
County, 60 Cen. 81,038; Loc. Est. 101,500
City & Retail Trading Area 66,500
4—HOUSEHOLDS:
60 Census: City 3,254; County 21,649
5—BANKS:

	Number	Deposits
Commercial Banks	3	$106,073,621
Sav. & Loan Assn.	1	$ 23,599,944

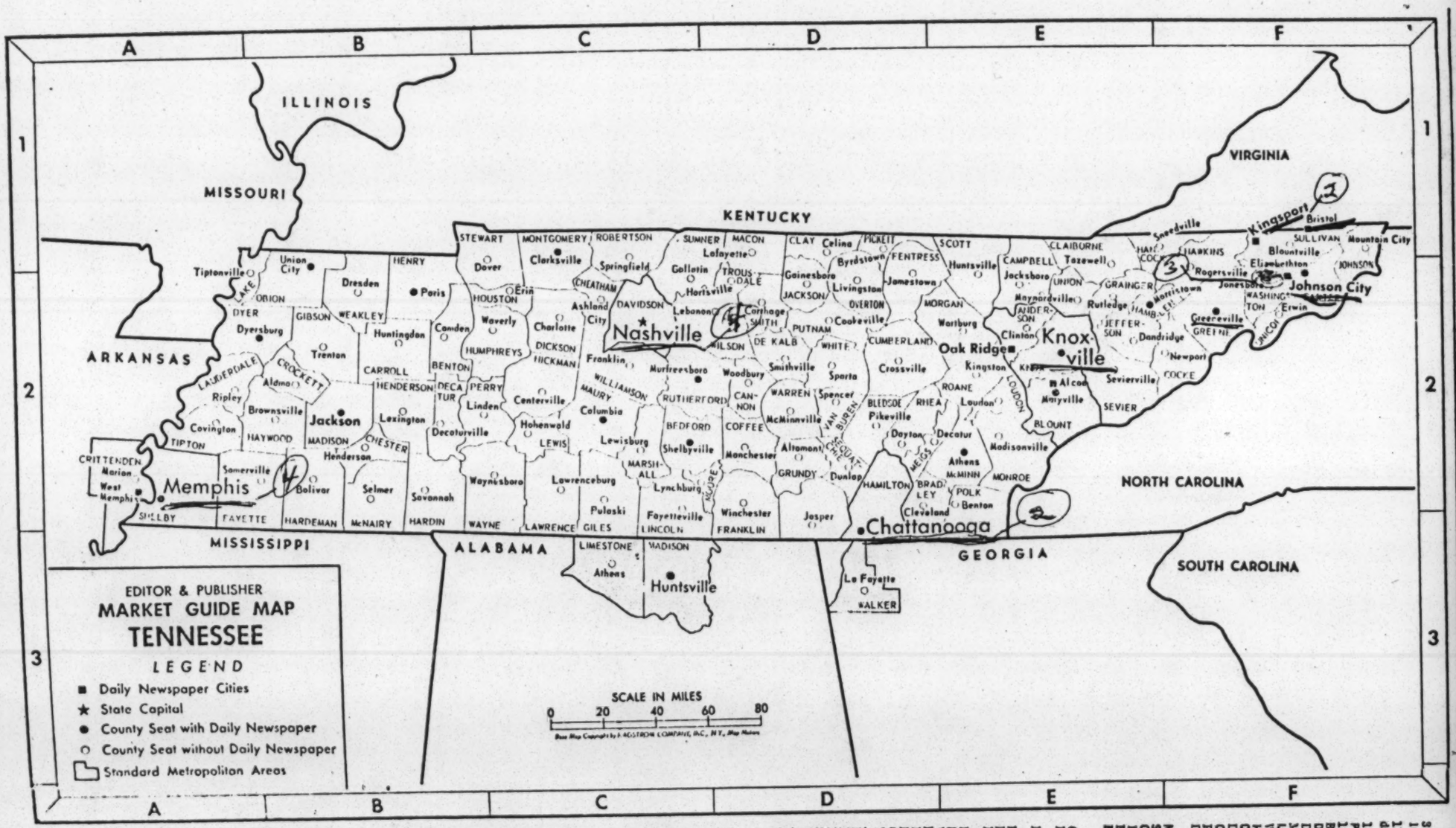
6—PASSENGER AUTOS: County 37,025
7—ELECTRIC METERS: Residence 6,769
8—GAS METERS: Residence 2,219
9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES (CZ): Industry, No. of Employes—Textiles & Fabrics 5,550; Shirts 600; Dresses 125; Clay Pdts. 330; Concrete 75; Fibreglass 1,200; Nuclear Power Materials 7,000; Lumber 75.
Principal Industrial Pay Days: Fri.
10—CLIMATE: Mean Jan. Temp. 47; Mean July Temp. 79. First killing frost, Nov. 14. Last killing frost, Mar. 20.
12—RETAILING:
Neighborhood Shopping Centers—Mitchell's; Graniteville.
Principal Shopping Days: Fri., Sat., Mon.
Stores Close: 1 p.m. Wed.; 8 p.m. Fri.
Stores Open Evenings: Fri.
13—RETAIL OUTLETS: Department Stores—Aiken White Store; Belk's; B. C. Moore; Edwards; Manning Owens.
Leading 5¢-$1 & Variety Stores—McCrory's; Mack's; United; Woolworth.
Chain Drug Stores in City Zone—Aiken 2.
Chain Food Supermarkets: Colonial 2; A&P 2; Winn-Dixie 2; Fulmer's Red & White; Piggly Wiggly.
Other Chain Stores—Moore; Firestone; Goodyear; Western Auto; Goodrich; Diana Shop; Mangels; Eleanor Shop; White; Edwards; Roses.
14—NEWSPAPERS: STANDARD and REVIEW (m ex. Sat.) 6,380; sworn Sept. 20, 1967.
Local Contact for Advertising and Merchandising Data: Annie H. King, Pub., STANDARD and REVIEW.
National Representatives: None.

ANDERSON, S. C.

1—LOCATION: Anderson County, E&P Map A-2. County Seat. Industrial Center. 130 mi. NE of Atlanta, Ga.; 136 mi. SW of Charleston. On U.S. Hwys. 29, 76 and 178; Intersects State Hwys. 28, 81 and 24.
2—TRANSPORTATION: Railroads — Seaboard Coast Line, C&NW-Southern, Piedmont Northern.
Motor Freight Carriers—20.
Intercity Bus Lines—Greyhound; Carolina Scenic Stages; Smoky Mtn. Stages; Carolina Motor; Trailways.
Airlines—Southern Airways.
3—POPULATION:
Corp. City, 60 Cen. 41,316; Loc. Est. [illegible]
City Zone, 60 Census ..... [illegible]
Ret. Trading Zone, Loc. Est. ..... [illegible]
County, 60 Cen. 93,457; Loc. Est. [illegible]
City & Retail Trading Area, ADC. [illegible]
4—HOUSEHOLDS:
60 Census: City 12,193; County [illegible]
Local Est.: City 20,980; County [illegible]
5—BANKS

	Number	[illegible]
Commercial Banks	4	[illegible]
Sav. & Loan Assns.	3	[illegible]

6—PASSENGER AUTOS: County [illegible]
7—ELECTRIC METERS: Residence [illegible]
8—GAS METERS: Residence [illegible]
9—PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES (CZ): [illegible] No. of Wage Earners (Av. Wkly. Wage) Textile 16,500 ($92); Fiberglas [illegible] Motor Prod. 885 ($92); Also Metal [illegible]


EDITOR & PUBLISHER
MARKET GUIDE MAP
TENNESSEE
LEGEND
Daily Newspaper Cities
State Capital
County Seat with Daily Newspaper
County Seat without Daily Newspaper
Standard Metropolitan Areas
SCALE IN MILES
0 20 40 60 80
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Nashville
Memphis
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Kingsport
Johnson City
Oak Ridge
Jackson
Huntsville
Tiptonville
Union City
Dyersburg
Trenton
Dresden
Paris
Huntingdon
Jackson
Brownsville
Covington
Ripley
Somerville
Bolivar
Selmer
Savannah
Henderson
Lexington
Decaturville
Waverly
Erin
Dover
Clarksville
Springfield
Ashland City
Franklin
Murfreesboro
Columbia
Lewisburg
Shelbyville
Lawrenceburg
Pulaski
Fayetteville
Lynchburg
Tullahoma
Winchester
Manchester
Cookeville
Carthage
Lebanon
Gallatin
Hartsville
Lafayette
Gainesboro
Livingston
Byrdstown
Jamestown
Huntsville
Jacksboro
Tazewell
Rogersville
Jonesboro
Greeneville
Newport
Sevierville
Dandridge
Morristown
Rutledge
Maynardville
Clinton
Alcoa
Maryville
Kingston
Crossville
Sparta
Smithville
Woodbury
McMinnville
Pikeville
Dayton
Decatur
Athens
Madisonville
Loudon
Jasper
Dunlap
Cleveland
Lebanon
Athens
Huntsville
Le Fayette
Bristol
Elizabethton
Bluntville
Mountain City
Erwin

NEWS and VIEWS

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN & ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

VOL. 2, NO. 1, JANUARY 1970

Announcing New Technical Section

The Board of Directors voted to discontinue printing of *AMERICAN PRESSMAN REPORTS* as of January 1, 1970 and to supplant it with inserts of two to four pages quarterly in NEWS & VIEWS, our official journal. In NEWS & VIEWS this section of two to four pages will be titled TECHNICAL REPORTS and will carry the latest information that can be gathered on technical changes, processes and methods in our industry. It is believed that these technical articles will be read not only by our craft members but also by our specialty members who work on presses of all types and also in offset preparatory departments who formerly were not recipients of *AMERICAN PRESSMAN REPORTS.*

The 1968 Convention voted to have one official journal and the Board reasons that NEWS & VIEWS, as our official journal, should have included in it the technical report section, formerly carried in *AMERICAN PRESSMAN REPORTS.*

Due to this change, which will be beneficial to all of our members, our International Union will save approximately $40,000 per year.

IN THIS ISSUE:

Paper Handler's Conference, pg. 3

Cause of inflation, pg. 5

Nixon appointments on NLRB, pg. 6

Supporting Hearst strikers, pg. 6

GE strike solid, pg. 6

Scholarship application, pg. 7

Technical Reports, pg. 8

District Councils, pg. 12

Board's Report, pg. 20

Quarterly Financial Report, pg. 22

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN &
ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / PHONE 202-293-2185

DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATION and INFORMATION
WALTER M. ALLEN, Director

February 12, 1970

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Center for Resources Development
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of February 9, in which you accept our invitation to be a discussion leader at our April seminar. You come highly recommended and I am looking forward to meeting you and seeing you in action at our seminar.

I am enclosing a copy of our January issue of News and Views which contains an article on our District Council programs and some of the problems Councils are having. This article is in the center spread.

So far we have not made any written appeal for local union merger but we are hoping that we can supply supporting information such as the enclosed breakdown on membership and maps showing where our locals are located. The enclosed material will show you the locals and their total number of members in the southeast area. As you can see, we are spread very thin in some states, with our greatest strength in the Atlanta area. The point that we will be trying to make is that there are some natural areas for merger, particularly when they are in the same metropolitan area. Since our goal is to establish effective local unions, we equate this with a sufficient number of members to support a fulltime operation. This material may give you a better idea of what we are talking about.

One other suggestion. In some of the seminars the discussion leaders have divided the subject matter and will run one session on the same subject to two different groupings. You may wish to follow that procedure with Al Kehrer.

Please feel free to phone me collect if you have any further questions or suggestions.

Sincerely,

Walter M. Allen

Director

WMA:rlg
Enclosures

March 13, 1970

Mr. Walter M. Allen, Director
Department of Education and Information
International Printing Pressmen and
Assistants' Union of North America
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Walter:

Could you meet with Emory Via and I sometime during the day of March 30th?

Very best regards,

Fraternally,

Al

E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

ETK:sjs
opeiu #2
afl-cio

✓cc: Emory Via

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN &
ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / PHONE 202-293-2185

DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATION and INFORMATION
WALTER M. ALLEN, Director

March 20, 1970

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Center for Resources Development
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am enclosing a copy of the subject outline for our seminar on April 18.

I thought you would like the opportunity of reviewing this before our meeting with Al Kehrer on Monday, March 30.

With best wishes and kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Walter M. Allen

Director

WMA:rlg
Enclosure

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN &
ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / PHONE 202—293-2185

DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATION and INFORMATION
WALTER M. ALLEN, Director

March 31, 1970

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Center for Resources Development
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is a copy of the seminar kit which I promised you. I also wish to remind you that I need a brief biographical sketch to be used in introducing you to the participants.

I enjoyed meeting with you and look forward to the Atlanta seminar.

With best wishes and kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Walter M. Allen
Director

WMA:rlg

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608 262-2111

School for Workers

April 13, 1970

262-1403

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have been invited to take part in the IPPAU Seminar in Atlanta this Saturday, the 18th, and understand you will be taking part also, so will look forward to seeing you.

I arrive in Atlanta at 6:40 on Friday evening and will be taking off again on Saturday at 6:00 P.M., but we should be able to find some time to get together and talk.

See you Friday or Saturday.

Sincerely,

Miles

Miles Galvin

MG:bjr

1970 IPP&AU SEMINARS

BUILDING EFFECTIVE LOCAL UNIONS

Background for Seminars:

The 1970 series of area seminars marks the beginning of an education and information program which was approved by the 1968 Convention.

These seminars are in answer to the need of local union leaders to learn ways and means of improving their locals and, also, a mechanism for International Union officers and staff to learn more about the day-to-day problems of the local unions.

From the beginning we have had the aid and support of the various Councils and Conferences in selecting the right time and place for the seminars, as well as priorities for the program subjects.

We have also had the very important help of experienced labor educators from the Education Department of the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labour Congress, and from various State Universities. Without their help, we would not have had the assistance of professional educators which we have brought to each seminar.

The original subject title of the seminars was "Building Better Local Unions". We have modified this title to "Building Effective Local Unions" because we believe we cannot afford to settle for just better locals. We want the best and most effective unions we can have.

In this opening seminar it will be our purpose to determine what the aims of a union are, or should be, and what is needed to obtain and operate an effective local union.

We will examine what is meant by:

1. Competent leadership
2. An active membership
3. A vigorous organizing program
4. Successful collective bargaining
5. Adequate financing
6. Recognition of union structure
7. Need for active affiliations

We will be covering a lot of ground in a brief period of time. Of necessity the discussion leaders will be trying to move along through each of these important subjects.

We will be avoiding lectures or speeches, but we want everyone to feel free to express his opinions and to share his experiences and problems.

Although you will hear a lot of talk and opinions at this seminar, we hope that we will be able to reach agreement on some actions which should be tried in order to gain effective local unions for our members. Talk without plans for action will mean that we have failed in the full purpose of this seminar.

We will be working hard, but we will provide coffee breaks and time out to eat. We think you will enjoy every minute and, when the seminar is over, will be anxious to try out what you have learned as quickly as possible.

The Discussion Leaders today are:

Public Empl. Union

Public Employees

Union organizing in private industry is moribund. Present membership (20 million) represents only 28 percent of the working force, down from a 1955 high of 33.2 percent. By contrast the campaign to organize 13.5 million government workers around the country is moving along briskly under the leadership of the Coalition of American Public Employees, consisting of the 1.2 million-member National Education Association, the AFL-CIO's 600,000-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the International Association of Fire Fighters (IAFF), also part of AFL-CIO, with 110,000 members. The coalition is preparing to lobby for federal guidelines for collective bargaining by government workers, their right to strike, repeal of the Hatch Act and similar state laws prohibiting political campaigning, repeal of government pension fund regulations that allow a government worker's retirement income to be taxed twice, and "adequate financing" of government operations and services.

The coalition is the brainchild of Jerry Wurf, president of AFSCME, who in 1970 asked for and was given the authority by his union to affiliate with other public employee unions. Letters were sent out and a warm reply received from the NEA, which represents almost four-fifths of the nation's school teachers. Negotiations between the NEA and AFSCME led to formation of the coalition in March 1971. A few months later the administration gave it a boost by imposing a wage freeze. Because many teachers are on a September to August fiscal year, the freeze was particularly painful where new contracts were about to go into effect.

AFSCME membership has grown 150 percent since 1960 and continues to grow at the rate of 1,000 per week. The union has organized about one-third of the nonmanagerial government workers in the country, doing it without benefit of the National Labor Relations Act, which formally recognizes and sets guidelines for organizing in private industry. If the coalition wins an equivalent law for its members or can bring them in under the NLRB, it will be open season on government workers, and every union in the country will try to organize them. The Teamsters are already going after such groups as the police.

The National Education Association brings a set of unresolved issues to the coalition, however. For the past 10 years the NEA has been fighting with the American Federation of Teachers (275,000 members) for exclusive representation of 2.1 million teachers. In the early '60s the conflict was muted because the NEA was a sleepy "professional" organization which shunned trade unionism's traditional rhetoric and tactics, and the AFT was an equally powerless and much smaller union trying to recover from years of "Red" smears. Then Albert Shanker, a Queens mathematics teacher, and David Selden, the current president of the AFT, won the right for the union to represent New York City's 45,000 teachers, and in succeeding years the AFT won representation rights in other cities and larger and larger wage increases. The AFT is not interested in the coalition, charging that it is an attempt by the NEA to secure the benefits of the AFL-CIO without paying dues.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the two principal organizers of the AFT, Selden and Shanker, are engaged in an open struggle for control. A few weeks ago Shanker, a union vice-president as well as co-director of the merged New York state teachers groups, won enough votes on the union's executive council to be nominated to fill the first available vacancy on the executive committee of the AFL-CIO. Selden has lashed out publicly against his old friend, accusing him of being a "Meany-man." A unified national teachers' organization would add greatly to the power of the Coalition of Public Employees; a bitterly divided AFT plus continuation of the AFT-NEA dispute could seriously damage it.

MAY 12, 1973

THE NEW REPUBLIC

-- SIZE* OF LOCALS --

S. E. DISTRICT-IPP&AU

	(1) Less Than 25 Members	(2) 25 or More But Less Than 50	(3) 50 or More But Less Than 100	(4) 100 or More But Less Than 500	(5) 500 or More But Less Than 1,000	(6) 1,000 or More
Alabama	1	4	2	1		
Florida	10	2	4	3		
Georgia	2	2	2	3	1	1
Mississippi	2		1			
North Carolina	4	5	2			
South Carolina	2	2				
Tennessee	5	2	6	6		
	26	17	17	13	1	1

-- *Dues-paying members

IPP&AU LOCALS AND MEMBERS

SOUTHEAST

	No. of Locals	No. of Dues-Paying Members
Tennessee	19	1,658
North Carolina	11	350
Mississippi	3	85
Alabama	8	438
South Carolina	4	130
Florida	20	790
Georgia	11	3,140
	76	6,591

-- SIZE* OF LOCALS --

S. E. DISTRICT-IPP&AU

	(1) Less Than 25 Members	(2) 25 or More But Less Than 50	(3) 50 or More But Less Than 100	(4) 100 or More But Less Than 500	(5) 500 or More But Less Than 1,000	(6) 1,000 or More
Alabama	1	4	2	1		
Florida	10	2	4	3		
Georgia	2	2	2	3	1	1
Mississippi	2		1			
North Carolina	4	5	2			
South Carolina	2	2				
Tennessee	5	2	6	6		
	26	17	17	13	1	1

-- *Dues-paying members

ALABAMA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 100	Mobile	45
P 121	Birmingham	117
P 211	Montgomery	31
P 349	Tri-Cities	19
SP 569	Birmingham	47
SP 667	Birmingham	62
SP 709	Maplesville	39
N 55	Birmingham	68

FLORIDA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 97	Jacksonville	59 (1)
P 180	Tampa	63
P 193	Tallahassee	36
P 207	Miami	58
P 236	St. Petersburg	10
P 277	Pensacola	22
P 444	Daytona Beach	23
P 517	Orlando	10
P 565	Sarasota	22
SP 600	Jacksonville	64 (2)
SP 628	Miami	171
P 693	Ocala	13
P 697	Clearwater	16
P 733	Panama City	10
N 57	Jacksonville	65 (3)
N 61	Fort Lauderdale	70
PH 46	Fort Lauderdale	18
PH 48	Tampa	16
PH 49	Jacksonville	34 (4)

GEORGIA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
✓ P 8	Atlanta	639
✓ P 110	Savannah	27
✓ P 158	Augusta	13
✓ P 174	Macon	16
✓ P 252	Columbus	93
✓ SP 527	Atlanta	1,707
✓ SP 604	Savannah	147
✓ SP 641	Newnan	267
✓ SP 760	Swainsboro	54
✓ N 10	Atlanta	137
✓ PH 28	Atlanta	39

MISSISSIPPI

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 215	Jackson	5
P 287	Meridian	17
SP 734	Jackson	63

NORTH CAROLINA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
✓ P 120	Raleigh	37
✓ P 131	Charlotte	48
✓ P 202	Asheville	16
P 318	Winston-Salem	25
P 319	Greensboro	28
P 339	Durham	25
P 457	Salisbury	9
SP 465	Greensboro	80
P 502	High Point	11
✓ SP 661	Raleigh	54
✓ PH 47	Raleigh	13

SOUTH CAROLINA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 177	Columbia	43
P 233	Spartanburg	14
P 249	Greenville	24
SP 725	Spartanburg	49

TENNESSEE

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
✓ P 18	Memphis	159
✓ P 37	Nashville	62
P 118	Knoxville	62
✓ P 165	Chattanooga	121
✓ P 253	Johnson City	17
✓ P 259	Bristol	12
✓ P 336	Kingsport	34
✓ SP 394	Chattanooga	431
✓ P 399	Memphis	72
✓ P 400	Rogersville	123
✓ SP 513	Nashville	165
✓ SP 685	Kingsport	6
✓ P 753	Greenville	30
✓ N 24	Memphis	128
✓ N 50	Nashville	60
✓ PH 9	Rogersville	16
✓ PH 23	Memphis	83
✓ PH 44	Nashville	771
✓ IW 4	Rogersville	6

Pres – Moore
1st Temporary
Secty – Tracy Rowan
will run for Pres
interested in
Content

Chartered small locals, small towns
lack of service (?)
disproportionate rep. to convention
1 to 50 2 to 100 1 each 100 after
max num of 10 delegates

740 locals
230 less than 25 members
400 less than 50
Conventions pre paid by Nat'l.

Final Summary session
will be by a
Bd. Member
Perhaps Rowan

Local autonomy in C.B.

~~Although~~ otherwise
is to instructors, Teaching

Trying to Sell: no longer time for bargain basement
or corner grocery economics —
Build towards base for a B.A.

Also to organize the territory —

How
break
some of
the barriers

Craft end of union
Newspaper & commercial
Industrial (Special. by local) — half of the organized
In Atlanta — Inside Paper — 2500 members — maybe to crafts
2–3 full time people — in various plants.
Tied into Dept Council with a bus. agt. not too far
who (Baron Watkins) serves Southeast — Nat'l will contribute

Dist. Jt. Council (no full time agt. yet. —
Newspaper + commercial + Industrial (Specialty)
Fla, Ga, N.C., S.C., Tenn
Merged locals are relatively new & untried —

① Newspapers — Pressroom is the Pressmen's jurisdiction
Control's number of men or machines etc.
Tryg. allows loafing if they get production when needed
Hire on overtime — keep numbers small —
Perhaps underpaid on hourly rate —
7 days week —

(2) Commercial —
Does not work as a crew — perhaps has a helper
Can work all the machines — ~~Sends~~ Sells his Skills
Conservative — not tightly knit (except the Chapel)
Chapel Chmn is important (or should be)
police the contract — but tends to be left to
full time officer —
Local product — local customers
└ he orders the product

(3) Speciality —
Packaging — printing —
changes in processing, materials, etc —
but skills are not broad —
This will be their (specialty) annual meeting
but the other groups invited in for education —

Classes will be mixed —
O.K. face differences of interest —
need for consolidation of some form
organizing territory
Policing contract
affording arbitration

Sat. April 18th — full day —

B. Weeks — will deal with affiliation & pol.

Instructors: Leadership development (lightly — but to encourage)
Leadership role in getting participation

Elements related to Cal. Bang. — how obtain successful
Takes a re-vamped structure — to think about size & tools
Use maps —
Do you deal from weakness —

PRINTING PRESSMAN'S INSTITUTE
(Check KM for another folder)

NEWS and VIEWS

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN & ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

SOLVING THE SEVENTIES

Theme of 1970 Seminars

Setting Our Sights

by Anthony J. DeAndrade, International President

What lies ahead in the 70s?

Will we still be making major changes in the way our Union operates, and in the way we tackle our problems, as we did in the 1960s?

Or can we expect relative calm and quiet in the 1970s?

Will the rapidly changing technology in the printing and allied industries, which we experienced in the 1960s level off in the 70s?

Or will it be accelerated?

How will we adjust to these changes?

Are we prepared,

Will our union members, in the 1970s, recognize that each worker and his family is directly affected by political decisions made at every level of government?

Will each of us become more politically conscious and active?

Will each union member make certain that he is properly registered, fully informed on the issues and the candidates, and using his vote at every opportunity?

As union members will we know about and support the AFL-CIO's political and legislative programs?

What kind of a job has your local union been doing?

Is your local properly financed, properly organized to do an effective job of bargaining for maximum wages and working conditions?

Are union members adequately informed about the role and goals of his union?

Is each member shouldering his responsibility in the program of his union?

Is your local affiliated with and active in a District Council or District Joint Council?

Is your local union attracting new members?

Hidden behind these many questions are the problems and promises which lie ahead. Individually, we cannot hope to answer very many of these questions or solve many problems. Collectively, however, there is little limit to what we can accomplish.

Active union members can invigorate a previously dormant and ineffective local union. Local unions joining with other locals can support and operate effective councils which can improve the conditions in a whole area. The International Union can lead multi-plant and multi-area bargaining programs which will achieve otherwise-impossible gains for all participants.

It is within this framework that the International Union is launching a series of educational seminars in 1970.

The theme of the seminars, "Solving the Seventies", assumes that union members, local, area, and international union leaders are aware of the union's problems and are confident that an educational approach will evolve solutions and programs to meet and overcome these problems.

In sponsoring these seminars (which will be described in detail elsewhere), the Board of Directors believes that the seminar approach is the best and most democratic way for the Union to take a great stride forward into the new decade. All locals are urged to prepare to send delegates to their area's seminar. Delegates should go prepared to exchange information and ideas and, hopefully, return to their locals proposing new approaches and programs for the benefit of all members.

These seminars offer us a great opportunity to begin the 1970s with a new burst of energy, with well-prescribed goals and a certainty of major progress.

Further Information on Page 12

For many weeks plans have been underway for a series of educational seminars in 1970. These are to be sponsored by the International Union with the cooperation and aid of various Conferences and District Joint Councils, and administered by the Union's Department of Education and Information.

Preliminary suggestions on the general intent and location of the seminars were approved by the Board of Directors in mid-September. Later, in October, the Committee on Education and Information made a number of suggestions on program content, dates, etc. The Director of the Department, Walter Allen, has been visiting a number of District Joint Council meetings to obtain suggestions of time and place and programs for each area.

Area and national Conferences, too, have also been contacted with the possibility that some may wish to schedule a seminar in conjunction with annual meetings.

Exact dates and places have not yet been determined, except in a few instances. Many others will be firmly scheduled, however, within the next few weeks. Dates and locations of area seminars will be announced in the News and Views as soon as plans are completed.

A point of view

A plan for all seasons

by Anthony J. De Andrade

Christmas time and the New Year causes us to reflect upon the past and ponder on the future. It is customary for the head of the household to evaluate the family's position "what has been gained in the past year" and "what shall we strive for in the coming year"? This is no less true for the head of an International organization because he too feels this same responsibility. As President of the International Printing Pressmen, I see many accomplishments and gains that have accrued to the membership in the past year.

We are well established in our International Headquarters in Washington, D.C. This has greatly expedited the overall operations of the officers, representatives and affiliated local unions.

News and Views has created enormous interest and involvement among the members, many letters of commendation have been received.

The new Education and Information Dept. is now operational and is moving toward establishing a series of seminars in the new year.

The Scholarship Fund could easily be considered the International Unions number one project for the year of 1969. Walter Allen, Director of the Education and Information Dept. informs me that he is ready to start the 1970 scholarship award program in January.

The Los Angeles Her-Ex lockout has caused much concern, it is incumbent upon each member of the union to support our brothers in this strike. The International Board of Directors approved continuing the payment of the strikers Health and Welfare program when Her-Ex refused to make any further contributions.

Looking forward into the new year, I would like to call attention to several areas. The Citizens' Job Protection laws or ordinances, more commonly known as anti-strikebreakers laws, need to be expanded. In a New Jersey strike some of the nations most notorious scabs found themselves caught in a crossfire between New Jersey's state law and a city ordinance. They panicked and left town.

The campaign for tax justice is sagging badly in the Senate. Mail to members of the Congress for genuine reform of the federal tax structure has dropped off sharply. At the same time, the Administration has proposed to undermine even the House-passed bill—a first-step that requires strengthening in the Senate, rather than gutting. And droves of lobbyists for the various loop-hole groups—oil, brokerage and investment houses, big cattle breeders and others—are working hard to destroy any remnant of genuine tax reform. Any hope for achieving a measure of tax justice from the Congress in the coming weeks requires an immediate revival of mail to members of the Congress, particularly to members of the Senate, where the tax issue is now.

The Senate Judiciary Committee voted 8-to-4 to allow competing newspapers to pool profits and operate joint printing, circulation and advertising facilities and rate structures. Greater vigilance must be exercised in this area by all of the printing trades unions.

The AFL-CIO has called up every union member in America to contribute $1 toward the support of General Electric strikers and started this national fund-raising drive with a donation of $50,000. This effort should be heartily supported by every member of the International Printing Pressmen's Union.

Since 1964, the cost of being sick has soared three times as much as the cost of living, a hospital room costs from $60 to $85 a day. Doctor bills are up 20%. And next year, experts predict, health care will cost 15% more—and the next—and the next—who can afford to be sick? Something must be done about Americans spending more for medical care and getting less for their money than any other people in the world.

Reflect on the past, work in the present, and plan for the future is a sound plan for all seasons. We heartily subscribe to such a program and advocate the same for our membership.

In this great and turbulent year of 1969, we send the warmest of Season's greetings to our members (active or retired), their families and loved ones everywhere confident in the belief that our thoughts represent those of each member of our Board of Directors.

Christmas is a time for reflection and expectancy. May the burdened be blessed and their burdens made easier to bear. Our thoughts and prayers go out to those members and sons and daughters of other members who are serving our country in the armed forces in many places in the world. We have prayed that this Christmas would bring a season of peace. If only we could unlock a door to a new kind of world in 1970, where "Peace on earth good will toward men," would indeed be a reality. How we have departed from the plan of our Master who admonished us to love one another. Our great country has made wonderful scientific strides. We have gone to the Moon and walked upon its surface, and yet how sad it is to think that we on Earth have not learned to live together in harmony.

Christmas is a beautiful time, if we reflect upon the hope that it brought to the world some two thousand years ago. Let us all renew that hope in our hearts. Let us strive to do our part in bringing about a better world in which to say again, Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Facing the Facts on the National Economic Situation

by Thomas W. Smith

This is the holiday season and the time to be jolly and all that sort of thing. But it is also a time of continuing economic difficulty, if not crisis, and thus it is a time to be realistic. We should have a sound understanding of our economy and where the place of labor finds itself in these periods of drastic changes, both technological and economic.

One of the most useful books issued every biennium is the Report of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. This report makes an appraisal of the present and future outlook with regard to the welfare of organized labor. The report goes further; it makes an assessment of the economy and our society in an effort to appraise the future potentials, not only for organized labor, but for all the people.

It has always been the tradition of the union movement to work for all the people. AFL-CIO President George Meany always stresses this fundamental fact in his addresses to labor and to other groups when he makes public appearances. Labor has always worked for the welfare and advancement of all the people.

At the recent convention the Report of the Executive Council to the delegates had much interest and significance to all. Perhaps no section was more vital to the present and future welfare of labor than that devoted to the nation's economy. Since this section is of such great value, it merits a second look.

We have been living in a period of inflation, but this, in the words of the report, was "no classical inflationary condition." And indeed it has not been. In the usual inflation there usually exist too many dollars chasing too few available goods. In our domestic situation such has not been the case. We have not had widespread shortages and our industry has been operating at about 84 per cent of capacity with new plants being set up to meet rising consumer demand. Thus the basic conditions of inflation demanding Government restrictions were not present.

The report notes that several factors operated to dampen the economy such as:

—passage of a temporary surtax which withdrew about $11 billion from the economy;

—a hold-down by Congress on Federal outlays;

—an increase in Social Security taxes, effective in 1969, drawing off some $1.5 billion a year from business and the citizen;

—a shift in the money policy of the Federal Reserve from one of expanding the money supply to a tight money policy.

With this as a background, other things began happening. The prime interest rates began climbing and on June 9, 1969 the major banks raised the prime rate to 8½ per cent—an unprecedently high figure. This new level, says the report "brought up the basic price of money 31 per cent in a year."

Now what happens when the interest rates go up? Everybody loses. One of the most immediate effects is felt in construction where builders' loans and mortgage rates skyrocket. In this situation homebuilders postpone building new houses and commercial buyers put their blueprints back on the shelf until more favorable rates return. The postponement goes far beyond homes, it extends to schools, hospitals, roads, all sorts of public buildings and the whole range of business, commercial and industrial construction.

This all means bad news for all of us. The whole economic machine slows down. The Council's report looks over the first half of the year and views the following trends as clearly evident:

"The real volume of total national production in the first half of 1969 increased at the yearly rate of only 2.6 per cent—down from 6.2 per cent annual rate in the first half of 1968 before the slowdown started.

"By July, housing starts were down to a yearly rate of 1.3 million—from 1.8 million rate in January—and they were heading down.

"Retail sales expenditures, in the April-June quarter were only 1.4 per cent above the level achieved in the previous summer. And that small increase was less than the rise in retail prices of consumer goods—indicating a slight decline in the real volume of goods sold by retail stores.

"The buying power of the average non-supervisory worker's weekly after-tax take-home pay, in June, was slightly less than a year before. Actually, the rank and file workers' real weekly take-home pay in the early months of 1969, was less than in the year 1965.

(Continued on page 19)

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AFL-CIO calls for all-out support of striking GE workers

The AFL-CIO has taken the unprecedented step of asking each member of its 121 affiliates to contribute $1 to support the nationwide strike against General Electric.

AFL-CIO President George Meany announced that a $13.6 million goal has been set and added: "If it takes more, we'll raise it."

He said other fund raising devices will be used as the strike continues.

A total of 150,000 GE workers are involved in the strike which began Oct. 26. They are members of 10 AFL-CIO affiliates plus three unaffiliated unions.

"This is a struggle against a company which, as the second U.S. Court of Appeals has declared, is determined to destroy not only the unions but the whole process of collective bargaining," Meany said.

"Therefore, this is not just a fight for justice by the GE workers; it is a fight for survival by the American trade union movement. And the American trade union movement intends to survive."

Meany's announcement followed a meeting with a special committee of the Federation's Executive Council, named to mobilize union financial resources for the strike. The committee comprises Steelworker's President I. W. Abel, Longshoremen's President Thomas W. Gleason, and IBEW Secretary Joseph D. Keenan.

Meany said he had instructed William L. Kircher, AFL-CIO Director of Organization, to place his nationwide network of regional offices at the disposal of the GE strikers.

Meanwhile, the strike remains solid at 280 GE plants in 33 states. It is the first time that the 13 unions involved have presented a solid front in 23 years of struggling against GE's policy of laying down its own contract terms on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, long known as "Boulwarism" after Lemuel Boulware, an ex-Vice President at GE.

GE's first and only offer was a pay hike of 20 cents an hour plus an additional five to 25 cents for skilled workers, and wage reopeners in two succeeding years.

Ability to pay is not an issue as the company admits to a 14.8% after taxes increase in profits between 1966 and 1968, plus a 5% per year increase in employee productivity.

The unions point out that the wage increases won three years ago have been wiped out by rising living costs to which GE has contributed by raising prices.

The 13 unions involved have a combined membership of some 8,700,000. They include the IUE and the United Electric Workers which together have the largest GE representation, the Machinists, the IBEW, the UAW, the Teamsters, the Carpenters, the Flint Glass Workers, the AIW, the Plumbers, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Steelworkers and the Technical Engineers.

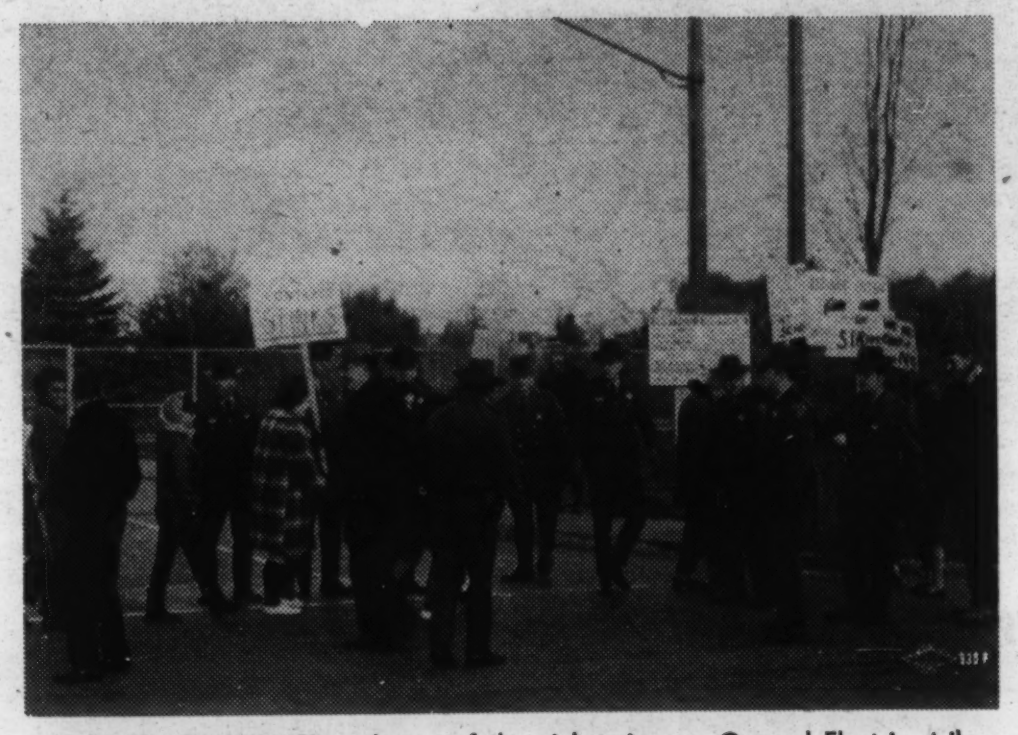
Advice for GE

President Nixon had some sound advice for General Electric Co. the other day, advice that GE might well take to heart.

The President was talking to the Inter-American Press Association in Washington about the necessity for achieving a "mature partnership" of all the nations of the Americas, a partnership that should be guided by a simple principle:

"Give-and-take is better than take-it-or-leave-it."

We're not sure if this constitutes government interference in labor-management relations, but we would urge GE to heed the President's very sound advice.



'CONTRACT STINKS' reads one of the picket signs as General Electric strikers at IUE Local 320 picket the big Syracuse, N.Y. plant. Almost 150,000 workers, members of 13 international unions, are striking GE across the country.

"Don't buy G E"

On Friday, November 28, the AFL-CIO launched a nationwide boycott against all General Electric products including Hotpoint Products.

This boycott action is taken in the hope that GE will abandon its take-it-or-leave-it position and bargain in good faith.

A successful conclusion depends upon the whole-hearted cooperation of every union member including his family, friends and neighbors.

President George Meany has called upon the International Labor Unions to rally their entire memberships behind the GE strikers by mobilizing their purchasing power on behalf of decent union contracts.

Here are some of the things that need to be done:

1. The message—"Don't Buy GE"—should be spread by every possible means. Meetings, bulletin board notices, etc.

2. Retailers should be informed of the boycott, urged to stop selling GE products and allocate advertising and promotion to products of other manufacturers. We do not want to hurt retail sales. We want consumers to purchase what they need but not to purchase GE products.

3. Informational picket lines should be established in front of all retail outlets featuring GE products.

4. Senior Citizen and women's auxiliary groups should be contacted to man these informational picket lines during peak shopping hours, especially during the day when members are working.

5. The buying public should be urged to halt all purchases of GE products from light bulbs to Color TVs.

6. Purchasing agents at every level of government should be urged to halt all buying of GE products.

7. GE has forced the boycott to take place, just as it has forced 150,000 workers to go on strike.

Under Two Flags?

IPP&AU gives $25,000 to GE strikers

The Board of Directors of the International Printing Pressmen's Union has authorized a contribution of $25,000 to striking employees of General Electric. This action was in response to an appeal by AFL-CIO President George Meany to all International Unions.

President Meany is also asking all AFL-CIO unions to contribute $1.00 per member to the G.E. Strikers Relief Fund. President DeAndrade in a special letter to all IPP&AU local union officers and members requested that each local take steps to reach the National goal, as set by President Meany, $1.00 per member, quickly, either by direct contribution from the treasury or by individual solicitation.

Coast to coast rallies are presently being held and others are being organized. We urge our members to take an active part in this effort.

President DeAndrade called attention to the fact that the International Printing Pressmen's Union has a special obligation in this particular strike. These same union brothers, who are now involved in an all out strike not only to preserve the Union but the process of collective bargaining itself, came to our aid immediately in both the Her-Ex and Kingsport Press strikes, giving substantial sums of money and lending moral support to the members, as well as serving on the picket line.

Please make checks payable to GE Strike Relief Fund and forward to President Anthony J. DeAndrade, IPP&AU, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. They will in turn be forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO.

What is Boulwarism?

The term "Boulwarism" refers to a company program to thwart normal collective bargaining. It was devised by Lemuel Boulware, a Vice President of General Electric Company, and used successfully for nearly twenty years, until this year's show-down.

This policy calls for continuous and intensive communications with workers, all year round, never acknowledging the existence of unions except at contract time. It prescribes a "bargaining" technique under which GE listens to union proposals for weeks or even months prior to contract expiration, making no substantive response; and then, at a time it chooses, GE presents a start-to-finish "first and final" offer which it refuses to improve by so much as a penny. The company offer is merchandised direct to workers by massive use of the communications system.

Net Profit Record Set

A record net profit of $96.4 million in the first nine months of 1969 has been reported by Weyerhaeuser Co. This amount was up $16.2 million, a 20 per cent increase over the same period of 1968. Earnings per share of common stock was $1.60 during the period, a 26 per cent increase over the like period of 1968.

Sales were $877.2 million, up $110 million (14 per cent) over the first nine months of 1968.

Third quarter sales of $301.5 million set an all-time quarterly sales record and compared with $282.7 million for the third quarter of 1968.

The Education and Information Committee met at International Union Headquarters on Oct. 28-29, 1969 for the second time this year.

Attending the session are: Howard Sullivan (left), director of the Technical Education Dept.; Leo Vohsen, St. Louis Pressmen's Union No. 6; Tom Cohoon, Chicago Printing Specialties Union No. 415; Frank Calderone, Los Angeles Pressmen's Union No. 78; Eddie Volotko, Houston Newspaper Pressmen's Union No. 43; Daniel McPherson, Boston Newspaper Pressmen's Union No. 3; Thomas W. Smith, Managing Editor News and Views.

Chairman John Dopp, Chicago Pressmen's Union No. 3; Walter Allen, director of Education and Information; Ralph Scott, director of the Research Dept.; Michael McNally, Denver Pressmen's Union No. 40; William Roberts, Chicago Paper Handler's Union No. 2; Tom Osborne, Toronto Pressmen's Union No. 10; John Steele, Toronto Printing Specialties Union No. 466, and James O'Keefe, New York Paper Handler's Union No. 1.

Education & Information Committee meets in Washington

The 11-man Committee on Education and Information met on October 28 and 29 at the International Union headquarters, reviewing activities of the E. & I. Department and making recommendations for future programs.

The Committee heard a progress report from Walter Allen, Director of the Department, which listed various meetings attended and some educational sessions conducted. Director Allen discussed the administrative experience of processing the IPP&AU Scholarship Awards contest. He also reported on various articles prepared and published by *News and Views* and some of the educational and organizing materials printed and distributed.

Supplementary reports on related education and information matters were reported by Ralph Scott, Research Director, Howard Sullivan, Director of the Technical Education and Apprenticeship Department, and Tom Smith, Managing Editor of News and Views.

The Committee spent several hours evaluating current problems related to education and information. Some dealt with services of the Research Department. Recommendations included new newspaper manning charts, and the Department serving as a clearing house for arbitration decisions.

The Committee expressed general satisfaction with the contents of the unions journal, *News and Views*. It viewed with favor the possibility of incorporating the American Pressman Reports as a section appearing quarterly in the *News and Views*.

Progress was noted and approved in the updating of commercial apprentice course material and recommended top priority be given to revisions in the newspaper apprentice courses. It also requested that the Apprentice Department prepare a set of instructions for operation of joint union-employer apprenticeship committees along with appropriate standards.

The E. & I. Committee devoted several hours in a planning session on the projected educational seminars in 1970. The meeting concluded with a discussion of needed future programs and activities of the Department.

Fred Roblin retires, editor for 17 years

Fred Roblin, managing editor of American Pressman Reports, retired October 31 after serving 17 years on the International Union staff.

Roblin, former editor of the Harriman (Tenn.) Record, joined the International staff in February 1952. For the next nine years his duties included public relations work, associate editorship of The American Pressman, writing institutional and organizational material and for an interim period, serving as director of the Apprenticeship Department.

He was appointed editor of The American Pressman by the International Board of Directors in May 1961, and served in that capacity until the publication was discontinued in December 1968.

For the past year he has been managing editor of American Pressman Reports, the quarterly technical journal of the International Union.

During his 17 years on the staff, Roblin authored numerous booklets and promotional materials. Two of his best known works are: "A Keepsake of the IPP&AU," written in 1964 to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the International Union, and "The Development of the Printing Press, 1450-1965," which appeared in the 75th anniversary edition of The American Pressman.

President Anthony J. DeAndrade, commenting on the retirement, expressed his appreciation to him for his years of faithful and loyal service and wished him the very best in the years to come.

At present, Fred Roblin and his wife are living at Pressmen's Home but expect to move into their recently purchased Morristown (Tenn.) home in the near future.

Court dismisses Kingsport Press complaint against Detroit School Board

On February 20, 1967, Kingsport Press, Inc., following the adoption by the Detroit School Board of a resolution which the Company thought discriminatory and damaging, filed a complaint in Federal Court which sought a declaratory judgment and injunctive relief.

Spoksemen for the Detroit Allied Printing Trades Council, the Wayne County AFL-CIO, the AFL-CIO Union Label Department, and the Allied Kingsport Press Unions (which had been on strike since March 11, 1963), each had asked the Detroit School Board not to purchase school text books produced in the struck plant. The Board agreed to what could be interpreted as a partial boycott of Kingsport Press-produced books.

The Company sought a declaration that the Board action was illegal. The Allied Kingsport Press Unions moved to intervene as party defendants and asked dismissal of the complaint. The Board presented ten arguments answering the allegations and sought a summary judgment.

The hearing on the motions was heard on March 5, 1969 (more than two years after the complaint was filed). On July 28, 1969, the Court granted the unions' motion to intervene as party defendants.

On November 20, 1969, United States District Judge Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, filed a seven-page Memorandum Opinion and Order granting motion for summary judgment and dismissal.

CLC Personnel Changes

OTTAWA (CPA)—Donald MacDonald, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, has announced a series of changes in the national staff of the CLC.

Charles Bauer, 42, becomes assistant director of the public relations department. Rheal Bastien, 52, Buckingham, Que., becomes assistant director in the organization department. Arthur Kube, 34, of Kingston, becomes co-ordinator of white-collar activities in the department of organization. Miss Dawn Ventura, 29, of Ottawa, has been appointed an associate in the research department.

Mr. Bauer was assistant public relations director for the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

Mr. Bastien was a travelling auditor with the Congress. He held various offices in Federal Local Union 165 at Buckingham, before joining the staff of the Trades and Labor Congress as an organizer in 1953.

Mr. Kube was born in Poland and was active in the trade union movement before coming to Canada. He has worked as a CLC representative in Sudbury and Kingston. He will be stationed in Ottawa.

Miss Ventura, a specialist in statistics, has been on the staff of the Economic Council of Canada.

Case load hits new high

The case load of the National Labor Relations Board which has been growing steadily ever since the agency was established in 1935, hit a new high record during the second quarter of this year.

The Board reported that during the April-June period, 8,693 unfair labor practice charges and election petitions were filed as compared with 8,068 during the same period a year ago.

The 5,168 charges of unfair labor practices were the highest ever filed in the 34 year history of the Board. Of these, 3,276 were filed against employers and 1,892 against unions.

CWC director challenges Canadians to meet low-income housing needs

OTTAWA (CPA)—The Canadian government has contributed over three and a half billion dollars in direct mortgage lending of publicly raised funds to private developers, according to Michael Wheeler, Research Director of the Canadian Welfare Council.

Most of this money has been used to build homes for the middle and upper income groups who don't need it, he said, and this in fact involves a substantial subsidy to these groups.

The paradox is that there has been no public outcry about this help to people with money, but there is repeated pressures against public housing for low income groups.

Money is being channelled into homes for the middle and upper income groups raises no protest "on the contrary a repeated refrain of the Federal-Provincial Conference on Housing in December 1967 and of numerous housebuilders' conventions is the need for more of the same.

"The public housing program, on the other hand, which has received one-tenth of the amount, but which is directed to low-income families, is under repeated pressure to justify itself."

This amounts to a prejudice against providing housing for lower income families.

At the root of this prejudice is the indifference of Canadians to the housing dilemma of low-income people, Mr. Wheeler said.

One possible answer, he thinks, is the establishment of citizens' housing associations that will fight for the point-of-view of low-income people.

Concludes the CWC Research Director: "The humanity of social policy depends on the courage, the imagination, the persistence and the success with which the ideals of social justice are promoted."

These citizens' housing associations could act as a spur to political action.

"For the failure to act on the housing needs of people is a failure of political will."

Union Label Dept. issues Yule fund appeal for Hearst strikers

Striking and locked-out unionists at Hearst's Los Angeles Herald-Examiner will be facing their third Christmas on the picket line since the strike began Dec. 15, 1967. But for the second year in a row, the AFL-CIO Union Label Department will be working to see that the strikers' families have a merry Christmas.

This year, as last, the Union Label Department is sending a special "Tri-Hardship" fund appeal for Christmas to 30,000 local unions (including Guild locals) and state and central labor bodies.

Contributions will be divided evenly between the Herald-Examiner Joint Strike-Lockout Council, strikers at Kingsport (Tenn.) Press and California grape strikers.

In Los Angeles, meanwhile the Strike-Lockout Council sent out an appeal for additional funds to intensify its advertising boycott activities during the Christmas season.

The strikers' appeal, issued by Strike-Lockout Director William R. Robertson, said that the striking unions are "desperately short of funds needed in the all-out fight against the rich Hearst empire."

With the advent of the holiday season and its "lush newspaper advertising potential," Robertson said, "the money we appeal for now would be earmarked for a new and vigorous radio-television ad campaign supporting our other efforts.

"It would be tragic if we missed this golden opportunity to keep our enemy from cashing in on Christmas advertising," Robertson added, calling for a "Christmas offensive" in the struggle against Hearst.

Joint bargaining between Hearst and representatives of the striking and locked-out unions continued Oct. 30. The session was devoted to a discussion of issues the company said represented a common thread running through the contract dispute, including Hearst proposals for non-union foremen, a no-strike clause and weakening of hiring and jurisdiction clauses.

Hearst told the unions it would not fire employees now working behind picket lines to make room for union members on strike or locked out nor would it require them to join a union.

Discussion of Hearst's proposal for a no-strike clause was continued at a joint bargaining session Nov. 12.

Strike supporters are taking to the airwaves to give Los Angeles-area residents the Strike-Lockout Council's message over three television stations and seven radio stations. Speakers have included Sigmund Arywitz, executive secretary of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, and a number of other Los Angeles union leaders.

Pickets at the struck Los Angeles Herald-Examiner plant get a welcome break as wives of striking and locked-out unions take over and parade across a main driveway. The strike is in its 24th month.

Meat cutters file charges against Iowa Beef Packers

Chicago—The Meat Cutters filed unfair labor practice charges accusing Iowa Beef Packers, Inc., of forcing a strike and slandering union leaders.

The union's complaint, filed with the National Labor Relations Board, involves a dispute at an Iowa Beef plant in Dakota City, Neb., where union members have been on strike since Aug. 24.

The Meat Cutters filed a petition charging that Iowa Beef conducted a "sustained campaign of vilifying and slandering leaders of the union," circulating false propaganda among other meat packers, union members and the public; spreading "deliberate libels and slanders, including false association of the union with criminal acts including murder."

The petition also charges Iowa Beef with a "scheme and plan designed to chill unionism" at plants outside Dakota City and designed to demonstrate the futility of picking the union as their bargaining representative.

The union charged the company illegally locked out its Mason City, Iowa, workers Oct. 6; and required employees in other union-represented plants to "work in an armed camp."

The AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City in October backed a boycott of Iowa Beef Products and put the company on the "do not patronize" list.

Building trades wage scales averaged $5.67 an hour on Oct. 1, reports the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The all-trades average rose by 1.5 percent during the third quarter of 1969 matching the corresponding quarter in 1968. Plumbers had the highest average hourly scale among the six leading crafts at $6.38.

Health crisis major concern of trade union movement, Meany says

Deteriorating health care and skyrocketing medical costs have become a major concern of the trade union movement, according to AFL-CIO President George Meany speaking at an AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department conference on the "Crisis in Health Care."

The two-day meeting was held November 13-14 in Washington, D. C. Over 340 representatives of national and international unions, central labor bodies, and state federations heard experts in the medical care field underscore the problems of health care which have reached crisis proportions in the United States.

President Meany noted that Americans are now paying more than $60 billion a year for health care—nearly 7% of the nation's Gross National Product. This is a larger percentage than any other country in the world pays for this essential service.

Yet, infant mortality has been increasing. In 1950 the U. S. was the sixth ranking country in the world. By 1960 this rating had dropped to 11th, and currently the U. S. has dropped to 18th place.

In terms of life expectancy our country has dropped from 13th to 22nd place for males, and from seventh to 10th place for females in recent years.

Medical costs have been going up faster than any other item in the Consumer Price Index. From 1963 to 1968, the daily expense of community hospitals went up by 59% (wages went up only 35% during the same five year period) and soon hospital charges will average $100 a day.

"So, as compared with other countries," President Meany continued, "our record is getting worse instead of better. Yet we are devoting to health care more and a larger proportion of our resources than any other country."

Meany called National Health Insurance, financed through the social security system, the only answer. "It is one the labor movement has advanced for many years but we are more determined to achieve it today than ever before," he said.

IUD President Walter Abell, conference chairman, joined with Meany in urging a national health insurance program, calling it "inevitable."

Unions must expand upon their negotiations with employers for prepaid group health plans, but collective bargaining will never fully meet workers' health needs, Abel pointed out.

"Ultimately," he said, "we must combine labor-management contract provisions on health care with government action, as has been done on privately-negotiated pension plans and social benefits."

Abel, like Meany, emphasized the need for controls on exorbitant doctors' profits and for expanded hospital facilities, reasonable drug prices and the availability of health care for workers and their families.

He said the conference, with its exchange of ideas by panels of experts in the health field scheduled for later sessions, "could very well be a landmark in the rising tide of interest which will develop into major health-care reform in the next few years."

Although the two-day meeting took no actions and was not intended to, views expressed by speakers, panels and participants talking from the floor showed a clean consensus for:

- Enactment of a national health insurance system as the only way of achieving a "right" Congress has often spelled out—the right of all citizens to adequate medical care.
- Government action to expand the nation's hospitals and health facilities, train more doctors and nurses, control skyrocketing medical costs and increase health research.
- Greater emphasis by unions on negotiating new health plans and improving existing ones, with special consideration given to optional prepaid group health programs.

Conference delegates were charged with the responsibility of alerting their members to the health crisis and developing comprehensive programs to take care of the nation's health care needs.

Run-Away Plants Train Mexicans

MEXICALI, Mex.—Mexican newspapers report that a mobile training unit from the United States, property of the Office of Economic Opportunity, has been loaned to a private U.S.-Mexico Commission to train Mexican workers for employment in run-away American plants along the border here. The training has been in electronics presumably to provide workers for electronics companies that have crossed the border to take advantage of low-wage labor.

Community role widens range of union services

ATLANTIC CITY—Active labor participation in community affairs was cited by the convention as a force in helping to make communities "more representative of the people and more responsive to the people's needs."

To make this more effective, all AFL-CIO affiliates were urged to establish community services committees and to designate full-time community services directors whenever possible.

Personal and family needs not met by union contracts must be met by extending services "beyond the plant gates and the collective bargaining agreement into the neighborhood and the community as a whole," the convention said.

But while such voluntary efforts were lauded, the convention declared that the government must assume "full responsibility" for meeting "the basic health, welfare and educational needs of the American people."

The Administration's current campaign to stimulate voluntary citizen action in American life, while "laudable," should not "divert the people from this hard truth," the convention said.

Voluntary agencies were urged to make clear to the Administration that "only major governmental action and substantial appropriations of government funds will basically solve many of the social and economic problems confronting our people."

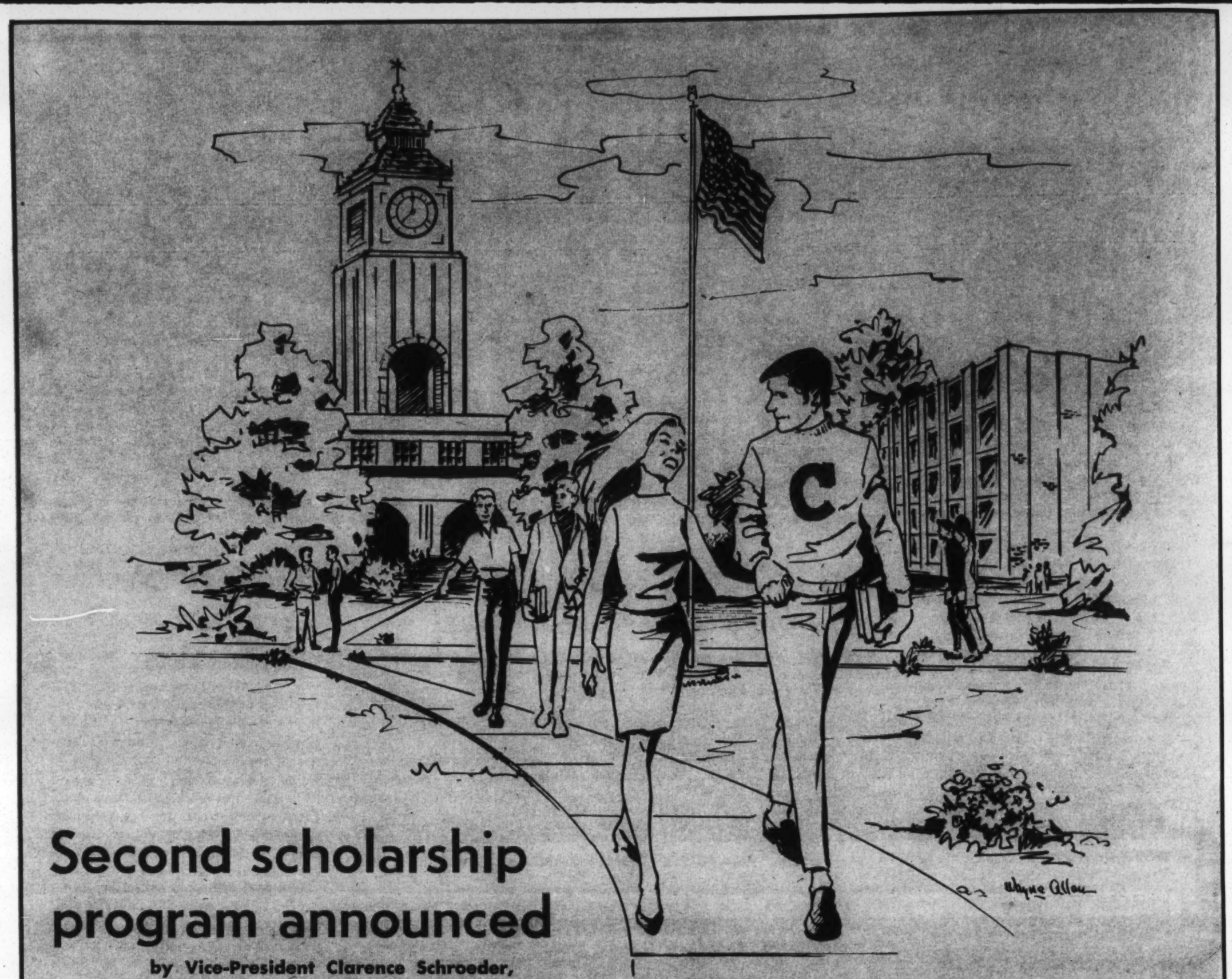
DO NOT BUY

All trade unionists and their families are requested to support consumer boycotts now in effect against the products and services of the following companies:

IOWA BEEF PACKERS, INC.
(Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen)

MOBIL OIL CO.
(Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers)

POULTRY PACKERS, INC.—
Blue Star label products
(Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen)



Second scholarship program announced

by Vice-President Clarence Schroeder,
Scholarship Committee Chairman

If you have a son or daughter graduating from high school in 1970 who plans to continue his or her education, you particularly should be interested in this announcement. If you are among the thousands of members who are not presently faced with the serious problem of financing your children's higher education, you should be sharing a feeling of pride that our Union is helping some parents cope with this responsibility.

We are pleased to announce that the International Union, for the second time, is awarding five scholarships of $500 each to children of members for study at any accredited college, university, school of nursing, or any other institution of higher learning. The award winner may select any field of study.

Awards will be made on a competitive and regional basis according to the location of the local union of which the parent is a member. The five regions will embrace the following broad areas: Eastern States, Central States, Southern and Mid-Atlantic States, Western States and a region consisting of Canada, Alaska and Hawaii.

Any student completing high school requirements and entering college or some other institution of higher learning in the fall of 1970, and whose parent or guardian has been an I.P.P. & A.U. member in continuous good standing for one year prior to December 15, 1969, is eligible to make preliminary application for a scholarship award.

The scholarship application form when completed, must be signed by the President or Secretary of the local union in which the parent or guardian is a member. The deadline for preliminary applications is February 15, 1970. Applications received after that date will be disqualified.

Prospective candidates must take the Scholastic Aptitude Test offered by the College Entrance Examination Board, a non-profit organization that provides tests and other educational services for schools and colleges.

The awards will be granted on the basis of scholastic ability, without regard to the course of study the winner chooses to follow.

Applicants who qualify for the second screening will receive a final application form to be completed and returned to I.P.P. & A.U. Headquarters prior to April 1, 1970. In addition to a transcript of grades, this form also requires a letter of recommendation from the applicant's high school principal. Letters from other officials or public persons are optional.

Winners will be selected by an impartial and independent Selection Committee composed of three staff members from the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C. The Director of Education for the AFL-CIO, will serve as Chairman of the Selection Committee.

The IPP.&A.U. Scholarship Program was initiated by the Board of Directors of the International Union and obtained the approval of the delegates attending the 1968 Convention. The program is to be financed with monies from the Memorial and Endowment Fund. Serving on the Scholarship Committee of the Board of Directors are Vice Presidents J. Frazier Moore, Don McCaughan and Clarence G. Schroeder.

The Scholarship Award Program attracted more than 150 entries last year. It is anticipated that twice that number will apply this year.

Winners will be announced as soon as possible after final entries are completed. However, the award becomes official only when the student enters the college of his or her choice in the fall semester of 1970.

Rules and application form on next page.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Rules for scholarship award competition

1. The 1970-1971 scholarship awards competition of the International Printing Press and Assistants' Union (hereafter referred to as the I.P.P.&A.U.) is open to high school seniors to be graduated in January or June of the current school year, and recent high school graduates who, by September 1, 1970 will not have completed more than a half-year of college. Previous scholarship winners are not eligible to enter this contest.

2. To be eligible, the applicant must be a son, daughter, step-son, step-daughter, or legally adopted child of a member of the I.P.P.&A.U. with continuous membership for at least one year prior to December 15, 1969. Children of officers or of employees of the International Union are not eligible to compete for a scholarship.

3. Five awards of $500 each will be made on a competitive (regional) basis according to the location of the local union of which the parent is a member. One award only will be made in each of five regions. The regional areas, based on membership concentration, are as follows:

REGION 1—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

REGION 2—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa.

REGION 3—New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Ohio.

REGION 4—Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri and Texas.

REGION 5—Canada, Alaska and Hawaii.

Applications

4. All applications and inquiries relative to the Scholarship Program should be forwarded to the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, Department of Education and Information, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

5. The first step to be taken by each applicant is to fill out the preliminary application appearing on this page, obtaining appropriate signatures of local union officers. Upon receipt of this form, the applicant will be sent a final application with other instructions.

6. All applicants must take a Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) if available, or the equivalent where such tests are not available. Arrangements for this examination should be made with high school counselors or principals. If an applicant is entering an institute of higher learning, other than college, which does not require scholastic aptitude tests, this information should be stated with the preliminary application.

7. It shall be the applicant's responsibility to make certain that SAT scores, or other such college entrance test scores, are included with scholastic records from the applicant's high school.

8. The period of application shall be from December 15, 1969 to February 15, 1970. The application below must be returned by February 15, 1970.

9. The awards will be made on the basis of the applicant's grades achieved on College Board Admissions Tests which include the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and Achievement Tests in various subjects, and on high school grades, school evaluations, and recommendations concerning the student. All final forms, test information and final applications must be furnished to the International Union Headquarters no later than April 1, 1970.

10. Selection of the winners will be made by a committee composed of three staff members of the AFL-CIO. The Director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Education, will serve as chairman of the committee.

11. The winners of the I.P.P.&A.U. Scholarship Awards will be selected as quickly as possible after the closing date, hopefully no later than May 1, 1970.

Selection of College by Winners

12. The recipient of a scholarship award may attend any accredited college or university, school of nursing, or any other institute of higher learning. Application for a scholarship does not constitute application for admission to college. The winner of a scholarship must conduct his own negotiation with the college of his choice for admission to the school.

Payment of Scholarships

13. Upon the enrollment of a a scholarship award winner at an accredited college or university or other school of his or her choice, the amount of the scholarship award will be deposited with the school, in the name of the student and will be disbursed on his or her behalf to cover authorized expenditures.

The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America cannot accept any responsibility for the conduct, personal affairs, debts, or obligations of a scholarship winner, and therefore, the Union shall not be liable for same in any manner.

Obligations of Scholarship Winners

14. The scholarship winner must enter the school of his or her choice not later than the fall of the year in which his or her scholarship is awarded. Except for military service, illness, or other exceptional and extenuating circumstances, the scholarship winner will be required to continue his courses without interruption.

Military Service

15. If the studies of the scholarship award winner are delayed or interrupted by military service, the award will be held in abeyance during such military service. The scholarship recipient should apply for reinstatement of his scholarship within three months after discharge and enroll in a college not later than the next succeeding year.

Illness

16. An illness, accident, or any exceptional and extenuating situation which delays the scholarship recipient from commencing or continuing his college studies will be regarded as an acceptable reason for holding the scholarship in abeyance.

Scholarship winners who may be prevented from starting or continuing their college courses because of illness or accident should promptly advise the I.P.P. & A.U., Department of Education and Information in Washington, D. C.

If the scholarship award is forfeited by a winner, the award will be given to the next highest eligible contestant.

Permanency of the Program

17. The Scholarship Program has been established with the confident expectation that it will be continued indefinitely. It is recognized that conditions may require changes or modifications. The right to modify or terminate the program, in whole, or in part, is reserved. In the event of such change, however, scholarships in effect will be continued for their duration.

I.P.P. & A.U. SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

Preliminary Application Form

• • •

I hereby apply for an I.P.P. & A.U. Scholarship Award. I agree to be bound by the rules of the Scholarship Program and the decision of the judges.

Name_____ **Date of Birth**_____

Street Address_____, _____, _____
(City) (State) (Zip)

I am enrolled as a student at_____
(Name of School)

_____, _____, **graduating**_____
(City) (State) (Date)

Name of Parent or Guardian:_____

Member of Local No._____ **I.P.P. & A.U.**

I plan to attend_____ **in 1970-71**
(Name of College, University, or other institution)

_____
(Signature of Applicant)

• • •

Date_____

I hereby certify that _____ **has been a member in good standing**
(Name of Parent or Guardian of Applicant)
of Local No. _____, **I.P.P. & A.U. of N.A. for at least one year prior to December 15, 1969.**

_____, _____
(Signature of Officer) (Position)

AFFIX LOCAL UNION SEAL HERE

Return to: International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America
Department of Education and Information
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS FORM MUST BE RETURNED BY FEBRUARY 15, 1970

RIGHT TO WORK

NEWS

From the NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE
1900 L Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE: 296-0720—AREA CODE 202

RELEASE: Friday, 3:00 p.m. Oct. 31, 1969
Contact: Hugh C. Newton

GEORGIA SENATOR KEY TO CLOSING OF BILLION DOLLAR UNION TAX LOOPHOLE

WASHINGTON, D.C., October 31, 1969 -- A vote which will be cast this weekend by Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Georgia) will break an 8-8 Senate Finance Committee deadlock and decide the fate of a proposal designed to close a major tax loophole by denying tax exemptions to labor unions engaging in partisan political activities.

The absence of Senator Talmadge this afternoon produced a tie vote on Senator Paul Fannin's (R-Arizona) proposed amendment to the tax reform bill, according to a spokesman for an organization which is urging support for the amendment.

Executive Vice President Reed Larson of the National Right to Work Committee said, "We are informed that the Finance Committee's record will be kept open through the weekend, even though its final executive session on the tax reform bill was held today. Many of our Georgia members have expressed confidence that Senator Talmadge will vote for the Fannin Amendment.

SENATOR TALMADGE FAILS TO VOTE

"Senator Herman Talmadge, a Democrat from the Right to Work state of Georgia was the only Senator who did not vote and his failure to vote killed the amendment (tie votes kill amendments in Committee). Senator Talmadge was at the Committee meeting in the morning but left before the Fannin amendment came up for vote and did not return."

-MORE-

How Open Shop Crowd Tries to Coerce Votes

At left is an example of how the fine hand of the National Right to Work Committee was (1) behind the Fannin amendment, and (2) tried to coerce a vote for it—and failed. The segment above the jagged line is a picture of an NRTWC news release October 31, the day of the tie vote on the Fannin amendment in the Senate Finance Committee. It is a clear effort to coerce, or embarrass, a U.S. Senator into voting for the amendment. The segment below the jagged line is from an NRTWC press release November 3 and is a direct quote of Reed Larson, NRTWC executive vice president. It is retribution for the senator's failure to vote as the NRTWC had said publicly he would.

Halloween Trick

Sen. Paul Fannin (R-Ariz.) had a trick, not a treat, for the labor movement on October 31, the day of Halloween night. He is not "The Great Pumpkin."

He brought before the Senate Finance Committee a proposed amendment to the tax bill that would deny tax exemption to labor organizations for engaging in political activities.

A registration and get-out-the-vote drive, if funded in any way by dues or assessments, would be out.

Candidate support would be out.

Lobbying, presumably, would be out.

Other political activities: Out.

All of this at all levels—national, state and community.

The amendment was staved off in committee by a tie vote, 8-8, but Fannin is expected to bring it to the Floor anyway.

Fannin, in his continuing harassment against unions—he has in the past introduced a series of other restrictive measures—apparently is doing the work of the National Right to Work Committee and like-minded groups.

Millions may be cheated on wages

The number of workers cheated out of their pay due under the Federal Wage and Hour Law may well reach into the millions.

Rudolph Oswald, an economist for the AFL-CIO's Department of Research, declared that while investigators for the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division had discovered that about half a million workers were being underpaid, he pointed out:

"The investigators visit only about three percent of the establishments covered by the act. They respond to complaints and make investigations in areas where they suspect violations. But the total number of violations is much larger than those actually uncovered—perhaps three to four times as many as those actually discovered by investigators."

Vigorous enforcement of the Federal wage-and-hour law is the only way to curb employer violations that most often victimize workers at the lowest end of the economic scale, an AFL-CIO economist declared.

"In spite of the talk of law and order," charged Rudolph Oswald, "the employer who robs a man of $50 in his paycheck often gets away with it." Oswald said that the official tally of Federal wage and hour violations in 1968 was $89 million in underpayments.

Oswald rejected the contention that boosting the minimum wage from the present $1.60 to $2 an hour, as strongly urged by the AFL-CIO, would lead to an even higher level of violations.

"The violations come largely from chiseling employers who under-cut," he said, and raising the minimum wage would not necessarily add more to that group. Most employers, he said, do try to comply with minimum wage, overtime pay and equal pay for equal work requirements, and they should be concerned about employers who evade the law.

"Those who cheat are unfair competition to employers who do try to abide by the law," he declared.

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPT., AFL-CIO

Unions must be in politics

The arguments for unions engaging in political activity are legion and have been advanced not just by unions, but by many parties without any ax to grind. For example:

"Political activity is a legitimate if not indispensable means of advancing the cause of organized labor."—*Yale Law Journal*, 1956.

"Political activities may be germane to collective bargaining insofar as favorable legislation, or the defeat of unfavorable legislation, strengthen the union's bargaining position."—*Virginia Law Review*, 1959.

Limits to bargaining

Unions have "an inherent interest" in lending financial support to certain political causes."—*Villanova Law Review*, 1958.

"It is often debated whether unions should 'go into politics.' Really, they have no choice in the matter. They are automatically in politics because they exist under a legal and political system which has been generally critical of union activities. The conspiracy suit and the injunction judge have been a problem for unions from the earliest times. A minimum of political activity is essential in order that unions may be able to engage in collective bargaining on even terms."—Yale Prof. Lloyd G. Reynolds, 1959, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations*.

In his book, Reynolds discusses two other practical reasons for labor political activity.

Legislation quicker

First, certain objectives in which labor has an interest cannot be achieved at all through collective bargaining. These include public education, social insurance of various kinds, adequate housing, effective anti-depression measures.

Labor must also lobby

Secondly, certain objectives which might be achieved through collective bargaining can be achieved much faster through legislation. Among these: minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor laws.

Reynolds assigned prime responsibility for the progress of social legislation to "the increasing political awareness of trade unions."

Also, in his book, he pointed out that lobbying activities by interests directly opposed to labor had increased significantly. And since the book was written, such interest groups as the medical profession, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and various coalitions of right wing organizations, have gone whole-hog into election activities.

Yet, there seems no parallel pressure from Fannin and friends to restrict the political activities of non-labor groups.

The American Medical Association, for example, can block a nomination, as it did that of Dr. John Knowles earlier this year. Its political arm, AMPAC, can kick in nearly $700,000 to senatorial and House candidates (a tip-of-the-iceberg figure since it reflects only national AMPAC spending—state AMPAC groups are estimated to spend five times that much politically) and not get a whisper of recrimination.

The NAM can form and fund BIPAC—the Business-Industry Political Action Committee—which pours money into political campaigns.

Fannin and friends should take a little look at history. They'll learn that trade unionism's political activity has a long and honorable record, that no single group in the nation has done as much to involve American citizens in the democratic process as the labor movement.

New Mexico Rejects 'R-T-W' Plank

ALBUQUERQUE—The New Mexico Constitutional Convention voted 49-18 to reject a "right-to-work" provision in a proposed new state constitution.

The margin of defeat was the largest ever recorded on the anti-union measure in this state. Foes of union shop agreements have tried repeatedly to get the measure through the legislature, New Mexico AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Neal Gonzalez reported. He said 17 of the 18 convention delegates from the Albuquerque area voted against the compulsory open shop proposal.

How right is the Right-to-Work law?

The sham of so-called "right to work" laws is being illustrated by unionists in Utah who are opposed to the compulsory open shop statute now on the books in this state.

In leaflets, they are answering employers, the Retail Trade Association, American Medical Association and other groups which have been backing the "work" law.

Here is the leaflet:

I don't want a "right-to-work" law, but if there is to remain such a law in this state, here are a few other things I would like to have included in it:

1. If I were a businessman, I would want to use all the facilities of the Chamber of Commerce and the Retailers Association without belonging to them or paying any dues or fees to them.

2. If I were a manufacturer, I would want to use the facilities of the National Manufacturers Association without cost.

3. If I were a doctor, I would want to be free to practice medicine anywhere I wish without belonging to the American Medical Association.

4. If I were a dentist, I would want to be able to practice dentistry without belonging to any Dental Association.

5. If I were a lawyer, I would want to practice my profession without hindrance from a state law requiring me to belong to the Bar Association.

6. However, I am just a working man. But if the state can keep a law which will protect my "right" to ride the coat tails of my labor association without paying my share of the expenses, I think the same law should entitle me to live in a community and enjoy all the benefits of city facilities without paying taxes to the city. It seems to me to be the same principle exactly.

As a matter of fact, if I can be a free-rider of the labor union I should also be protected by state law in my "right" to be a free-rider of any collective enterprise, be it city, county, state or national government, club, church or whatever it may be.

Taxes on rising company profits down as Canadian personal income taxes increase

OTTAWA (CPA) — Company profits are being revised upwards in a report being prepared for publication by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Another DBS report, already public, shows that taxes on company profits have been decreasing as a percentage of the tax bill while personal income taxes have been increasing.

The DBS report on company profits which should soon be released will be based on company reports to shareholders rather than to the tax collector as formerly.

The new method of calculating profits will indicate that the 1968 total, reported to the tax collector as $2,754,000,000, was actually $3,987,000,000 as reported to shareholders, that is, about 45 percent higher.

A similar discrepancy shows up in 1967—profits reported to the tax collector of $2,421,000,000, reported to shareholders as $3,690,000,000.

However the year-to-year rate of profit increase will be lower with the new method of calculating.

Company reports to the tax collector exclude various items such as capital cost allowances, which permit them to write off the value of machinery and equipment faster than they actually depreciate; deferring allowances from loss years when no taxes are payable and so on.

The report by DBS already issued shows that Canadian companies have been paying a decreasing share of Canada's total income tax bill. At the same time personal income taxes have paid an increasing share.

DBS figures show that corporate profits were 35 percent of all income taxes in 1965. By 1967 they were down to 29 percent of the total.

In 1965 Canadian citizens paid $3,913,000,000 in personal income tax while corporations paid $2,225,000,000 on their income. The corporation share is 35 percent of the total of $6,138,000,000.

By 1967 individuals paid $5,493,000,000 in taxes and corporations $2,208,000,000, totalling $7,701,000,000. The corporate share dropped to 29 percent.

However during the period corporate profits reported dropped about two percent while taxable personal income rose about 21 percent, from $38,902,000,000 to $47,202,000,000. The tax collected on that personal income rose 40 percent.

Company taxes as a percentage of total taxes have dropped because of the way corporations are taxed. It's known as a two-tier system—21.54 percent to 23.54 percent on reported profits up to $35,000, rising to 51.41 to 53.41 percent on profits over $35,000.

But 80 percent of company taxes are paid at the lower rate.

Personal income taxes however are paid on a sliding scale upwards, from 11 percent on the first thousand dollars or less up to 80 percent on amounts over $400,000.

Moreover more and more people have been moving up into the higher tax brackets, being taxed at higher rates on more income.

As the tax table has remained constant since 1960, the effect has often been that people earning more have been paying more and so only maintaining the same standard of living.

This effects lower wage earners too.

A family of four with two children who make $2,000 a year pay no tax. But if the income goes up to $3,000, the tax is 11 percent on the amount above the exemption level.

Rising wages therefore push earners into higher tax brackets with the result that their standard of living may not necessarily improve very much.

Hurting All Over

Everyone seems to be feeling the pinch of rising prices in this country which have shot up 20 percent the last 10 years.

However, according to the International Monetary Fund, other industrial countries have been hit harder the last decade, prices increasing 64 percent in Japan, 47 percent in France, 39 percent in Italy, 36 percent in the United Kingdom and 25 percent in West Germany.

P and I Commission seeks wage-price deal

OTTAWA (CPA)—Labor sources here say the Prices and Incomes Commission is dangling a 5 percent annual wage-increase guidepost before unions on the condition business holds price increases to 2½ percent.

The "2.5 for 5" formula, as these sources are calling it, is what the commission feels will curb runaway inflation.

The formula first became public when Ed Finn, public relations director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, divulged it in his Toronto Star column last month.

Other sources confirmed that commissioners are toying with the 2.5 and 5 formula.

So far, labor seems to be resisting.

Business leaders the commission has met with are not nearly representative enough, labor feels, to commit the entire private sector to holding down prices.

Rents and transportation are notable areas that labor feels need restraint. Unions doubt the commission can accomplish much there with guidelines.

The automobile industry may be in for a Canadian government investigation if rumored price increase for 1970 cars take effect.

Where There's Help, There's Hope

And both are in your hands to give.

The March of Dimes believes that birth defects (a quarter of a million annually) should not rob a child of the chance for a full, satisfying life.

It has taken the lead in supporting programs of research, education, patient care and community services to make this goal a reality. It reminds you that the total can be reduced through use of rubella (German measles) and Rh vaccines now available.

Please help.

Give to the MARCH OF DIMES

Prevent Birth Defects

New labor law in Saskatchewan

REGINA (CPA)—Saskatchewan's Liberal government renewed what labor feels is an anti-union campaign when it proclaimed (Aug. 15) amendments to the Saskatchewan Trade Union Act that it pushed through the Legislature last spring.

The most contentious amendment grants any striking employee permission to apply for a vote to be conducted after 30 days of a strike to determine whether workers favour accepting the employer's last offer.

Another amendment bans secondary boycotts, and another makes it possible to sue a trade union as a corporate entity.

The amendments were opposed bitterly by New Democratic Party opposition members, who argued that if the amendments passed there would never be a strike of less than 30 days.

Management would have no incentive to reach a settlement until that period of time had elapsed.

The obvious intent of the provision was to take advantage of the financial pressure exerted upon workers and their families when they had been without a pay-cheque for a month, labor argued.

The government majority prevailed, but it was understood that the amendments would not be proclaimed if the province enjoyed relative industrial peace.

It was also understood that they would not be proclaimed before a labor-management review committee had made a report to the government. These implicit agreements have been ignored.

Deputy Opposition Leader Allan Blakeney (NDP, Regina Centre) said, "It is unfortunate that the provincial government chose this time to bring into force contentious amendments to the Trade Union Act.

"Trade unionists have consistently argued that the amendments were unwise and unneeded, and they will damage, not help, labor-management relations. . . . One needs only to look at Quebec and Newfoundland, provinces which have suffered protracted and costly strikes, to know that punitive labor legislation does not bring industrial peace."

Walter Smishek (NDP, Regina North East) also issued a strong protest.

He said, "We now have virtually complete industrial peace in the province. The government committee, composed of government, management and labor, is still studying the Trade Union Act and industrial relations generally.

"The committee has not even submitted an interim report. Thus there can be no justification whatever in proclaiming this notorious, union-busting bill."

Employment rate unchanged

The nation's unemployment rate which shot up to its highest level in two years in September was virtually unchanged in October the Labor Dept. reported.

Although the rate dipped from 4 to 3.9 percent between the two months, The Bureau of Labor Statistics termed the change insignificant. The rates in both months were higher than in any month since October 1967.

George L. P. Weaver, former Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs and Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization, has been named Special Assistant to ILO Director General David A. Morse. Based in Washington, Weaver will handle ILO relations with international, regional and governmental organizations which have headquarters there.

1985: Will collective bargaining bring housing allowances and guaranteed employment?

by Ralph Scott, director
IPP&AU Research Department

What will employee benefit plans be like in 1985? In 15 years what fringe items will be finding their way into the contract proposals of unions?

A study released by a Connecticut-based research firm makes an attempt to view into the crystal ball and answer these questions. The underlying basis of the survey was that outside social and economic developments determine the thrust of employee benefit plans. For example the WWII freeze on wage increases is credited with the rapid growth of fringes during that period in our history.

The views of 24 experts, drawn from many varied fields, were solicited in two major steps.

Firstly, each participant made a forecast of several social and economic developments thought to influence fringe benefits, i.e., weekly hours of work, percentage of working women in the labor force, the number of white collar workers in relation to the total labor force, to name just a few.

Secondly, those same experts were asked to forecast benefit developments and continuing trends based on the projections obtained earlier.

The panel came up with a list of ten areas likely to show the greatest expansion in the next 15 years. It is significant that unions will provide the major push for accomplishing this impressive list of benefit improvements:

- The employee's attitude that benefits are *rights*.
- Elimination of expense to the employee for major medical benefits.
- Inclusion of dental coverage.
- Inclusion of preventative medical care.
- Increased pension income.
- Increases in pensioners' income during retirement to reflect cost-of-living rises.
- Pension portability.
- Use of group purchasing power to obtain favorable insurance rates for employees.
- Longer vacations.
- Increased flexibility in scheduling time off.

Benefit innovations we will witness over the next 15 years, as reported by the survey, are:

—Minimum annual income guaranteed by government.

—Guaranteed employment.

—New types of medical coverage: unwed mother maternity benefits; custodial care; and organ transplants.

—Pensions extended to include costs of recreation, education, medical care, residence and legal fees.

—Cost-of-living adjustment for disability insurance.

—Employer involvement in community affairs.

—Subsidized housing for employees.

—Receive advanced degrees during regular hours of employment.

—More generous time off with pay provisions (25% increase).

—Payment for nonworking travel time.

—Widely available educational leave pay (weeks to a year).

—Several shorter weeks during year.

19 paid holidays for Puerto Ricans

How would you like to have 19 paid holidays every year? The 400 workers at the Puerto Rico Water Resources Authority now have that many under a new contract recently negotiated by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. BRAC says the 19 holidays constitute a new record.

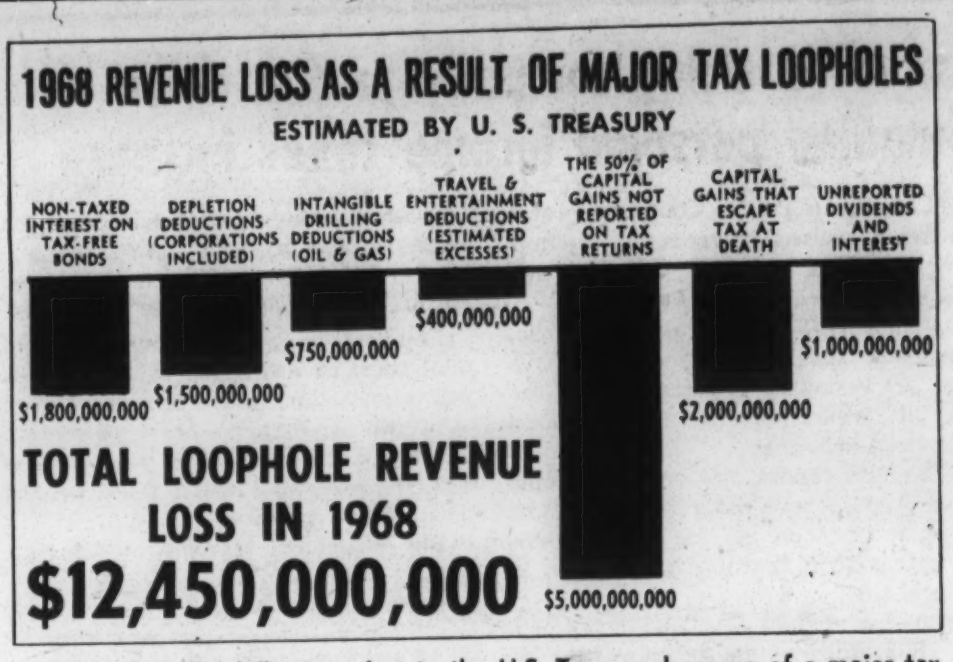
The unusual package provides all of the normal paid holidays enjoyed by most union members in the United States along with some celebrations which are peculiar to Puerto Rico. These include such holidays as the Feast of the Epiphany (Jan. 6); Abolishment of Slavery Day (March 22); and days set aside to honor numerous Puerto Rican heroes. (The Labor News)

How Uncle Sam Spends Your Money?

The average American family paid a total of $2,834 in all types of Federal taxes during 1968, including income taxes, Social Security taxes and excise taxes.

The breakdown below shows that the Federal government spent the lion's share of each family's money for national defense purposes. The breakdown indicates how much the average family pays to support various government expenditures:

National Defense	$1,230
Social Security	495
Interest, Nat'l Debt.	201
Health Services	135
Veterans	116
Commerce & Transportation	110
Education & Manpower	109
Agriculture	82
Public Welfare	79
Space	63
Medical Research	36
Housing & Communities	36
Foreign Aid	.31
International Affairs	29
Natural Resources	27
Tax Collection expenses	16
Post Office	14
Miscellaneous	26



More than $12 billion was lost to the U.S. Treasury because of a major tax loopholes which let the wealthy get by without paying their fair share.

News for and about labor

The U.S. Dept. of Transportation reports that 11.5 percent of both 1968 and 1969 vehicles tested, failed to meet one or more safety standards required by Federal law.

A bill to protect consumers from injury by any of the nation's 200 credit bureaus has been passed by the Senate. The bill, sponsored by Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) allows damages for consumers injured because of incorrect information given out by credit bureaus, requires credit bureaus to tell persons they are being investigated and requires credit files to be kept up to date and confidential.

More money for health care services for the nation's migratory farm workers and their families, has been requested by the AFL-CIO. Legislation being considered by the Senate's subcommittee on health would continue the program an additional five years — to 1975 — and more than double the dollar ceiling on federal funds. The expansion is needed, the federation said in a statement to the subcommittee, because only one-third of the nation's migratory workers now live or work in areas where health facilities are available.

General Electric's latest announcement of price increases shows "that GE's pricing policy, like its labor relations policy, is based on simple greed," AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany charged. The company announced that it is raising prices on electric housewares by an average 3.3 percent. The announcement followed an earlier one of increases on appliances and other products ranging up to 8.5 percent.

The slow down in the economy which has begun to show itself in the unemployment statistics, is now beginning to show in personal income. For the second month in a row, personal income in general showed a slowing down in growth. It was up some $2.5 billion on a seasonally adjusted basis, but the rate of growth was about half the average monthly expansion from January through August.

Veteran screen actor Edward G. Robinson—he has been an actor for 60 years—has been honored by the Screen Actors Guild "for outstanding achievement in fostering the ideals of the acting profession".

The Greater Washington Central Labor Council has graduated seven consumer counselors from its first course to develop such specialists for local unions. The new experts will aid union members on problems ranging from credit contracts to shoddy merchandise.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports new cars will cost an average of $107 more than last year's models. About $46 of this amount is accounted for by "quality improvements", says the BLS.

Lee Pressman, veteran labor lawyer and a controversial figure, both within the Roosevelt Administration and the early days of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is dead at the age of 63 after a long illness.

The strike lasted four months but some 18,000 Canadian Steelworkers have won a 93-cents-an-hour package from International Nickel Co. The 32-month contract calls for average wage increases of 88 cents an hour plus an additional 5 cents if living costs continue to rise.

The California State Agriculture Department has banned the use of the pesticide DDT on 47 different commercial crops including artichokes, celery and peaches. But table grapes were not included on the list, although the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has complained that farm workers have been poisoned by DDT sprayed on grapes.

Hearst Ad-Boycott List

The following national advertisers have most consistently supported the struck Los Angeles Herald-Examiner with their ads, according to the Herald-Examiner Joint Strike-Lockout Council.

SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO.

J. C. PENNEY

THE MAY CO., with department stores in these cities:

Los Angeles—The May Co.
San Diego—The May Co.
St. Louis—Famous-Barr
Baltimore—The Hecht Co.
Washington—The Hecht Co.
Pittsburgh—Kaufmann's
Hartford—G. Fox & Co. and Brown Thomson Inc.
Akron—M. O'Neil Co.
Jacksonville—May-Cohens
Cleveland—The May Co.
Portland, Ore.—Meier & Frank
Youngstown—Strouss-Hirshberg
Denver—May D. & F.

GENERAL TIRE & RUBBER CO.

FIRESTONE TIRE & RUBBER CO.

GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER CO.

B. F. GOODRICH TIRE CO.

AMERICAN TOBACCO CO.: All brands, including Lucky Strike, Pall Mall, Herbert Tareyton, Montclair, Carlton, Half & Half and Colony Cigarettes; Bull Durham tobacco, and La Corona, Bock y Ca., Antonio y Cleopatra and Roi Tan cigars.

KRAFT FOODS: All products, including Miracle Whip dressings and spreads, Parkay, Deluxe and Miracle margarines, Kraft cheeses, and other dairy foods.

GENERAL MOTORS CORP.: All divisions, including Buick, Cadillac, Chevrolet, Oldsmobile, Pontiac, Vauxhall and Opel automobiles; A.C. spark plugs, Delco auto batteries and radios, and Frigidaire home appliances.

College Education Financing Booklet Now Available

Just off the presses is a new booklet designed to help union members finance their children's college education.

The costs of higher education for eligible and deserving young people are

now recognized as a major economic problem to working people, second only to purchasing a home. And yet we would all agree that no child of a fellow union member should be deprived of an opportunity to gain the benefits of higher education because of lack of necessary funds.

Our members can be very proud of our Union's action in providing five $500.00 scholarships each year. At the same time, it is a fact that most of those who did not win are in need of financial aid which the Union cannot provide. This booklet may be a partial answer to all our young who are aspiring to go to college.

The booklet is the result of an inter-union cooperative effort which greatly reduced the cost of printing. Special credit is owed to Miss Ruth Wiencek, Education Coordinator of the Department of Social Action of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who edited the booklet and arranged the printing.

A single copy of the booklet will be sent to any union member upon request, at no charge. Your request should be addressed to the Department of Education and Information, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

Trade Unionism is Industrial Democracy

The fact that trade unions themselves bring industrial democracy into economic life has gone largely unnoticed, according to Canadian Labour Congress President Donald MacDonald.

Speaking to the convention of National Defense Employees in Halifax, the CLC head pointed out that when employees of a corporation or a government are organized into a trade union, "a very profound change takes place."

"The employees who had previously accepted an authoritarian rule no longer have to do so.

"By virtue of their trade union organization, they have become partners in the determination of their conditions of employment."

This is evident, the CLC president went on, from their participation "in deciding what they should be paid, how long they should work, what holidays and what fringe benefits they should have.

"They enjoy due process by virtue of a grievance procedure. They are protected against arbitrary dismissal or discipline or layoff.

"In other words, to use the analogy of government, they have a franchise and they are involved in the legislative process."

This very important form of industrial democracy is one which needs to be more universally applied, said Mr. MacDonald, "as it will be with the continued growth of the labour movement and the extension of collective bargaining to those who do not as yet enjoy its benefits."

New Booklet on Union History

FROM THE BEGINNING;
The Rise of American Labor

A 36-page booklet titled "From the Beginning—The Rise of American Labor" has been prepared by the International Union. The well-illustrated and attractive booklet was particularly designed for distribution to new members and apprentices. A copy has been forwarded to each local secretary with instructions to order additional copies from the Department of Education and Information.

How To Fasten Seat Belts

William A. Woodcock, Chief Engineer, General Motors of Canada, says, "The proper way to wear a restraint system is to have the lap belt snug and worn low on the hips so it does not ride over the hip bone. It should be pulled up really taut and particularly when you've got on bulky clothes, such as overcoats and things. . . .

"The shoulder belt should be worn with some slack so that you do commence a jackknife and consequently, it helps to prevent submarining tendency if your upper torso moves ahead. . . .

"I think we're not going to lick this thing until putting on seat belts becomes such a habit that we just don't feel properly dressed for driving unless we're wearing our restraint systems."

National Labor College in offing

The AFL-CIO is taking its first step toward the building of a national labor college with the opening of the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center.

Sessions at the Center's temporary headquarters in Washington, D.C. will start after December 1, 1969. Its future depends largely on the reaction of labor's leadership.

The Center's first institutes will be open to national leaders, full time officers of state and central bodies and full time staff. Rank and file members and local union officers will be able to attend later as the physical facilities expand and the center finds out what its students want to study.

"We don't know what the market is yet," says Fred Hoehler, executive director of the Center and former professor of Industrial Relations for Michigan State.

The Center's first catalogue shows it plans to go beyond the standard classes offered at many labor educational institutes held in past years.

For example, the Staff Development Program for full time representatives, features an "effective reading" program in addition to classes on labor history, economic principles and American society and civilization.

Top level leadership—members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and Civil Rights Committee members—will engage in an intensive think-tank on policy issues on civil rights. There are two other civil rights oriented institutes for other groups.

The Building Trades business agent has his own institute which will study the economics of the construction industry, labor law and the equal opportunity programs along with current labor problems.

Technical staff will be able to sharpen their skills at a research staff institute and another on health care planning.

A valuable institute in leadership will be the one on teacher training. Arbitration and labor law institutes are also scheduled.

A leadership training course for farm workers is in the planning stage along with another institute on vocational education.

Applications and further information can be obtained from the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Retirement Fund Reprints Available

The IPP&AU of NA-Employer Retirement Fund

What it covers and how it operates

Reasons for negotiating pensions

Reprints of the articles explaining the IPP&AU-Employer Retirement Fund which appeared in the May issue of News and Views are now available. Local unions considering negotiating the Retirement Fund for the first time or negotiating the higher contribution level, may obtain reprint copies by writing to the Department of Education and Information at the International Union's headquarters.

September Strike Sanction Report

In September strike sanction was requested by nine unions in 11 disputes. The International Board of Directors granted 10 requests. One dispute was settled before sanction could be granted. Sanction was used in two disputes, eight were settled without use of strike sanction, and one was not resolved as of this report.

Union	Company	Date requested	Date	Disposition of sanction
North Jersey PPA&OWU 31	Interstate Printing Co.	9/5	9/15	Settled
Syracuse PP&AU 66	Oswego Palladium Times	9/27	Rep. Callahan assigned . . . not settled as of this report	
Peoria PP&AU 68	Muirson Label Co.	9/19	9/25	Settled
Las Vegas PP&AU 284	Las Vegas Sun	9/2	10/2	Settled
St. Louis PS&PPU 409	Inland Container Corp.	9/15	9/23	Sanction used, Settled
Kalamazoo PS&PPU 505	Saniwax Paper Co.	9/22	9/25	Sanction used, Settled
Atlanta PS&PPU 527	Dittler Brothers Ruralist Press and Curtiss Ptg. Co.	9/24	10/13	Settled
Twin Cities PS&PPU 610	Midwest Business Forms	9/8	Request withdrawn	Settled
New Jersey PS&PPU 634	Sun Chemical Corp.	9/29	10/8	Settled

Time and Place of Seminars

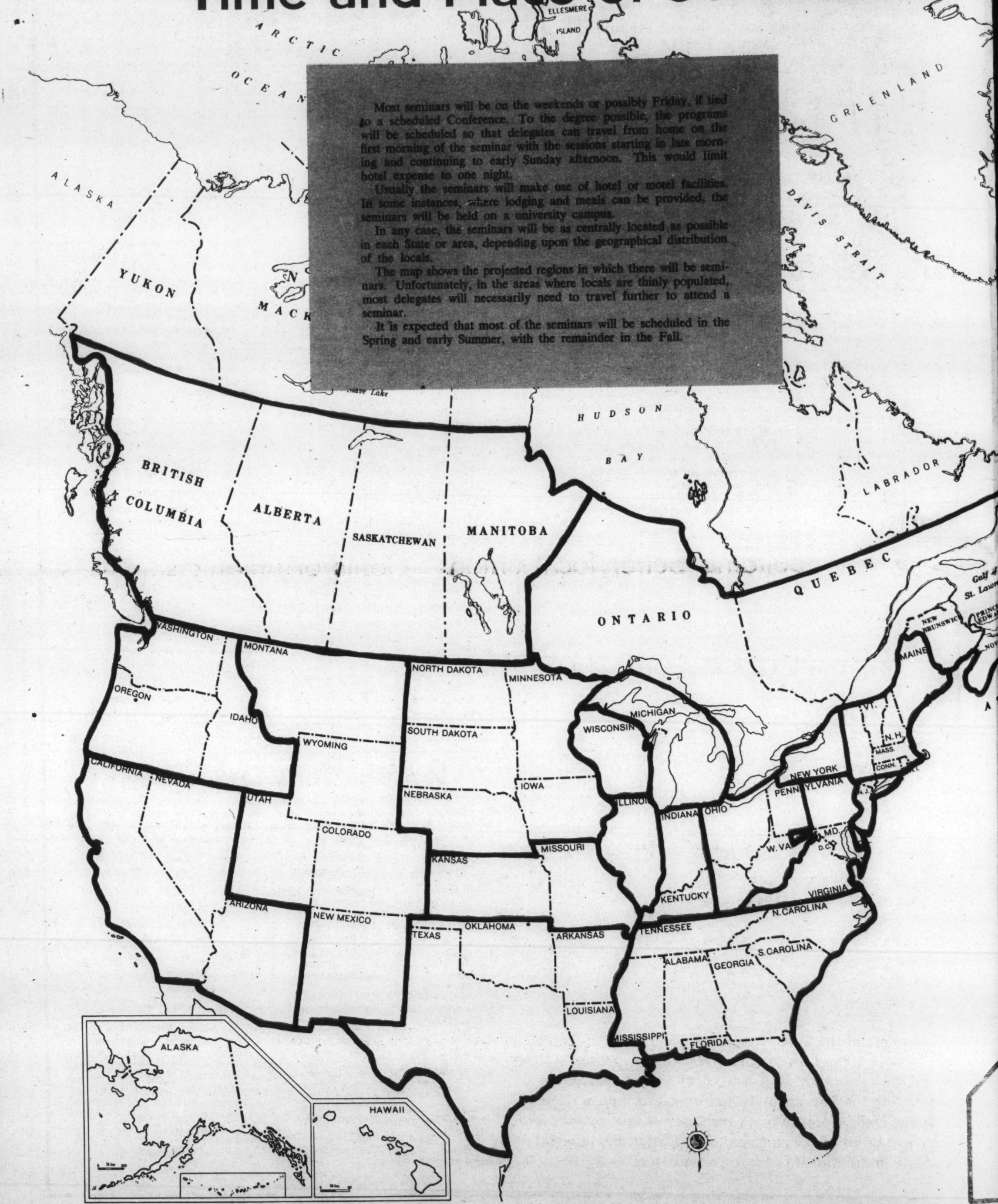
Most seminars will be on the weekends or possibly Friday, if tied to a scheduled Conference. To the degree possible, the programs will be scheduled so that delegates can travel from home on the first morning of the seminar with the sessions starting in late morning and continuing to early Sunday afternoon. This would limit hotel expense to one night.

Usually the seminars will make use of hotel or motel facilities. In some instances, where lodging and meals can be provided, the seminars will be held on a university campus.

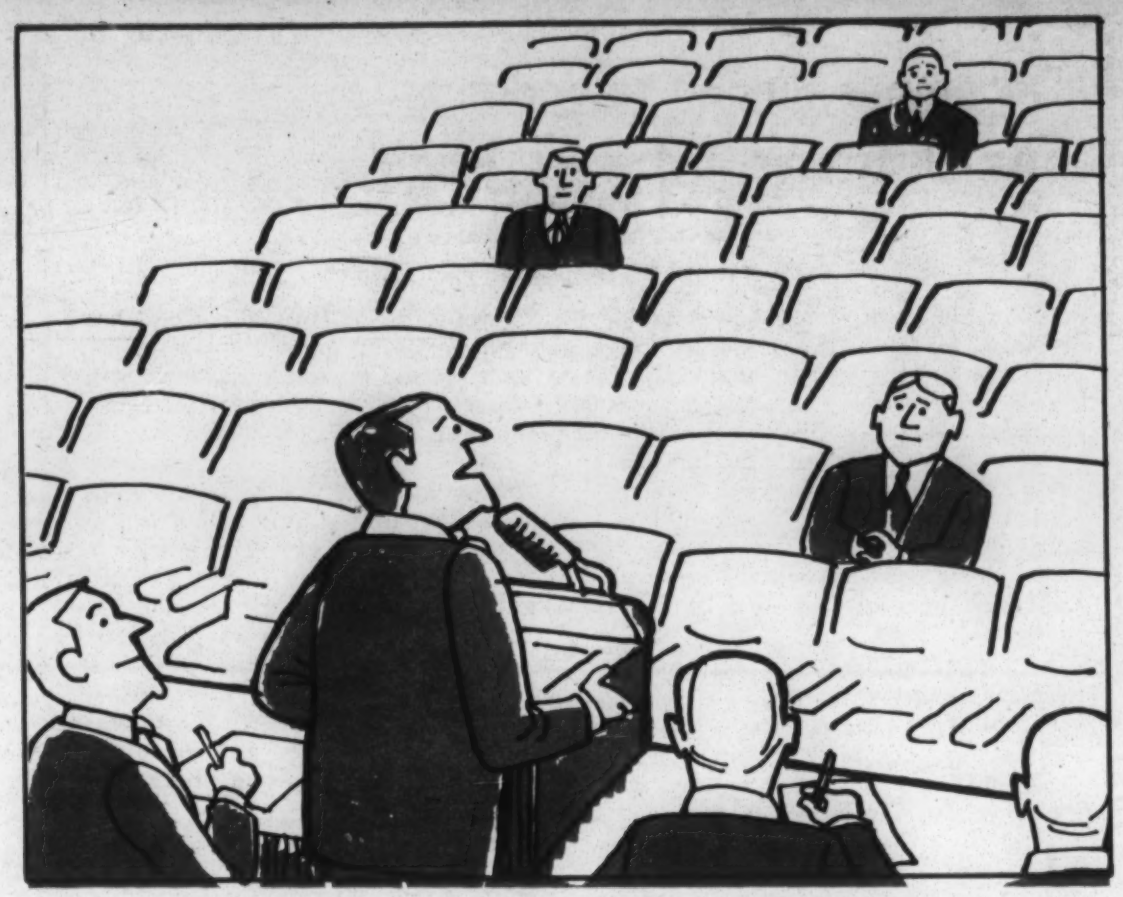
In any case, the seminars will be as centrally located as possible in each State or area, depending upon the geographical distribution of the locals.

The map shows the projected regions in which there will be seminars. Unfortunately, in the areas where locals are thinly populated, most delegates will necessarily need to travel further to attend a seminar.

It is expected that most of the seminars will be scheduled in the Spring and early Summer, with the remainder in the Fall.



Seminar Programs Have Broad Goals



"The subject of our meeting is 'Apathy of Union Members'."

The subject matter of the IPP&AU seminars will be covering three broad areas:

1. Technical developments of the printing industry, apprentice training, and worker retraining programs.
2. Political education and action.
3. Trade union education.

These general subjects will, in most instances be refined to specific subjects such as:

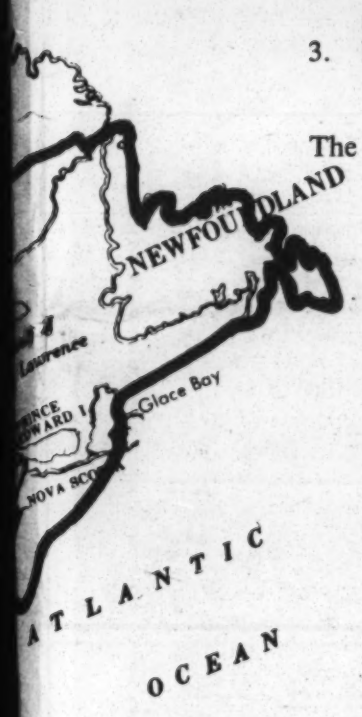
1. Recent Technical Developments in the Printing Processes or
   a. Ways to Upgrade Local Apprenticeship Training Programs
2. The Issues in the 1970 Elections, or
   a. How to Activate Your Local Politically.
3. How to Build a Better Union, or
   a. Preparing for Your Next Contract Negotiations.

The exact subject matter will be governed in part by the requests of area locals or Councils and by the availability of well-versed discussion leaders.

The discussion technique will be used as much as possible, limiting lectures and demonstrations to the introductory phase of the sessions. Whenever possible, groups will be limited to 15-20 persons to encourage maximum discussion.

Discussion leaders will be drawn from the Board of Directors, the AFL-CIO, the Canadian Labour Congress and some universities.

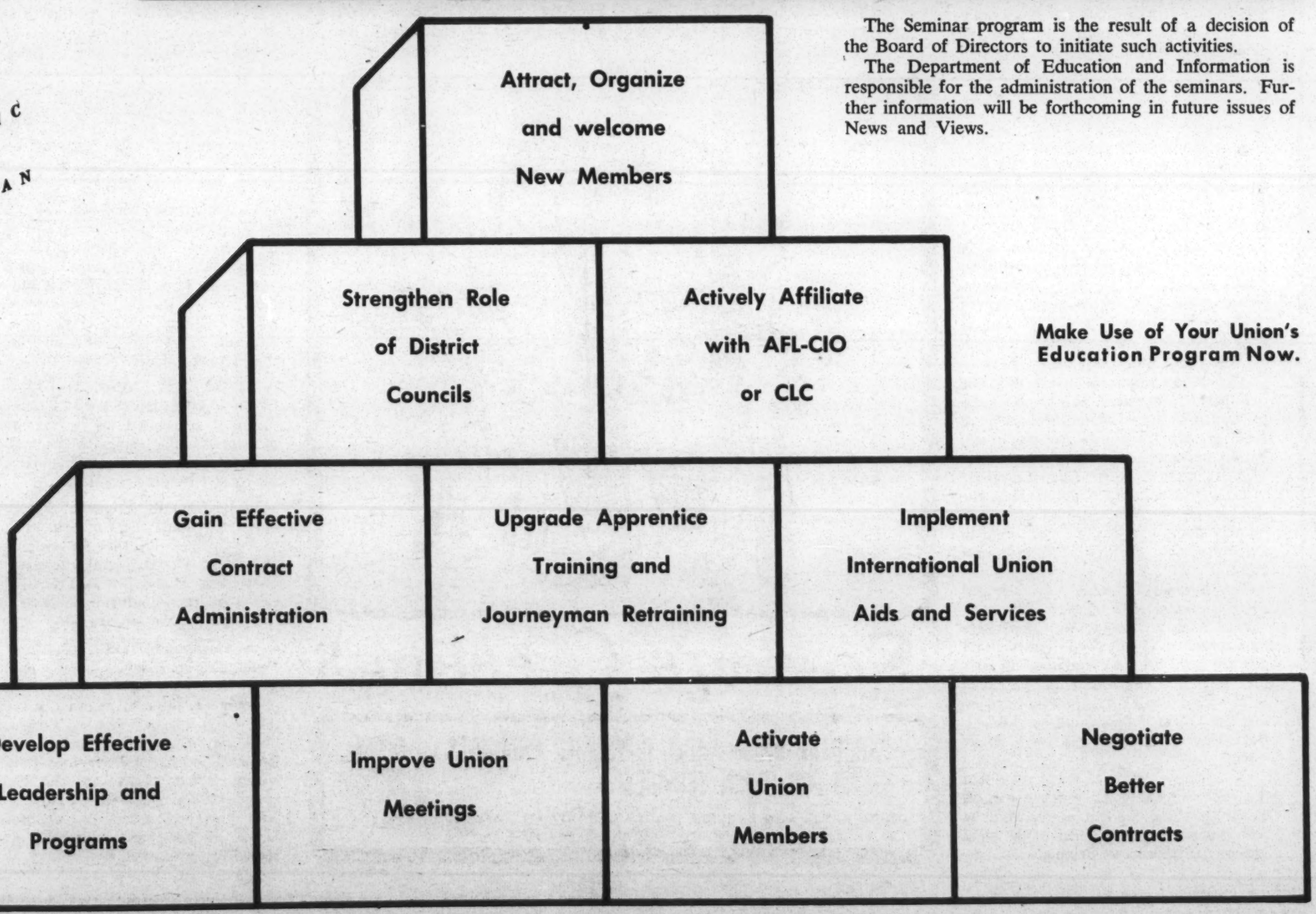
Special attention will be given to the needs and interests of younger union members. Locals will be urged to send some younger members as seminar delegates.



Building better local unions—Goals of union's seminars

The Seminar program is the result of a decision of the Board of Directors to initiate such activities.

The Department of Education and Information is responsible for the administration of the seminars. Further information will be forthcoming in future issues of News and Views.



Make Use of Your Union's Education Program Now.

December buying calendar:

The Christmas gift price jungle

by Sidney Margolius
News and Views Consumer Expert

While many of the TV-advertised playthings have gone up 10 to 25 per cent this year, on top of last year's 10 per cent rise, clothing gift items are still comparatively reasonable. The popular durable-press shirts for men and boys, for example, have gone up very little—50 cents in some cases. Sweaters and knit shirts, outstanding values last year, are priced at close to last year's levels.

Women, on the other hand, are being pushed through a real fashion munipulation and forced obsolescence. Blouses are fussed up with ruffles, jabots, big sleeves, big bows, psychedelic prints and imitation hippie styles such as fringed ponchos.

All these are aimed at making your present simpler wardrobe obsolete while the new styles themselves will look dated in another year. Their extreme fussiness also limits their usefulness and versatility while raising their price.

The best values for gift giving, for versatility and enduring style, as well as reasonable price, are knit tops and skirts, knit vests and the many attractively-styled sweaters on the market this year. Sweaters are more dressy than ever.

There is one group of toys available at sharply reduced prices which show how exaggerated the original prices were. Some manufacturers are still unloading leftovers and closeouts of last year's playthings. Among those prominently featured are "Little Lost Baby," "Baby Crawl-Along" and "Baby Giggles." These originally were list-priced at $10 or more and now are being offered for as little as $4 and $5.

Another of last year's heavily-advertised toys that some stores are trying to unload at cut prices is the "Mighty Mike Astro Train." It had a mighty $12.88 price last year. This year you can buy it from $3 to $7. In games too, last year's $4.99 "Knock the Clock" is now offered at 99 cents.

When you shop for toys this year you will find even more of a jungle of exaggerated claims of value, sharply varying prices among stores, and competing models of similar toys with varying equipment making it difficult to compare prices.

The variation in equipment and prices is especially noticeable in the popular road racing sets. If you're out to buy a "Johnny Lightning" or "Hot Wheels" track set, be sure you know which model you are shopping for and how many pieces it has.

The claims of value by some stores are grossly exaggerated even though their prices may be comparatively reasonable. Some stores, for example, claim the "Johnny Lightning 500" set (the bigger one) is "regularly $20." Actual prices in various stores range from $9 to $11.

The selling emphasis, and with it the interest of youngsters, has turned more to road racing sets which develop speed from gravity ("Johnny Lightning") and battery-powered impellers (the "Hot Wheels" supercharger). These are more suitable for younger children than the slot-racing sets which are plugged into household current, require more care to keep the slots dust-free and also cost more.

The hazards of some toys revealed by the hearings of the National Commission of Product Safety make it imperative that parents and other gift givers select carefully. In my own opinion, all toys that plug into household current, such as electrical housekeeping toys, have an inherent hazard for younger children. Battery-operated playthings are basically safer.

In buying a tricycle, make sure that the rubber hand grips won't come off easily. One little boy lost an eye when he fell against the unprotected metal hand grip of the trike he was riding.

Scooter boards obviously are hazardous because the small wheels do not permit the scooter to pass over even small objects in its path. Sharp stops have been another frequent cause of accidents.

Scrutinize carefully the toys you think of giving to very young children, including so called "crib toys." One young couple barely rescued their six-months old baby in time when he twisted the cord of his toy telephone around his neck. The telephone had been advertised as a "crib" toy, the product safety commission reports.

FOOD BUYING CALENDAR: Beef prices have come down from last summer's highs, but still cost 10-15 cents more than a year ago. Broilers are in heavy supply and more cut-price specials are available.

Budgets over people?

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. (PAI) —Sandra Vitorelo, a 22-year-old sufferer, wrote President Nixon protesting his proposed cuts in Federal funds for medical research, including cancer.

A reply came from the White House, explaining the budget cuts and wishing her a "speedy and complete recovery." Sandra was too weak even to open the letter. A few days later she died.

Christmas Is Beautiful

Down through the years there have been literally thousands of stories written about Christmas. They have all varied in style, purpose, wording and fact! However, they all portray the happiness and joy which glistens and brightens all people around the world during that time.

Union members and their families and friends, have all participated in the traditional celebrations which appropriately observe the season honoring the coming of the Christ child. It is during Christmas when the words "Peace on Earth, Good Will towards men" actually ring loud enough to let hostile men reflect seriously on the real meaning of brotherhood.

As the Christmas Season approaches, every trade union member should ponder the impact his purchasing power has on our economy and his fellow brothers and sisters. All the colorful and decorative items involved in the Christmas Season; the artificial tree, lights, bells, artificial snow, nativity scenes, bulbs, are all made by union members. But, they are also being made by cheap labor overseas and imported into this country. Will a Union member buy the cheap imported products this Christmas only to eliminate the job of a fellow union member by next Christmas?

The Christmas shopping list is full of items: radios, TV's, shoes, sweaters, suits, ties, wagons, dolls, etc.—all of these are made in America—they are also made by cheap labor and imported into this country and sold!

This is America and we do have a choice, the right to buy or not to purchase. We can select the cheap import and save pennies now and then slowly but surely watch all the benefits and the wage scale and working conditions slip away—it will be too late to scream then!

Christmas is Beautiful—let it be the blessing of our fellow brothers and sisters and not the downfall of them. This year a lot of families may not be able to enjoy Christmas because purchases of cheap imports put the workers out of jobs!

Season's Greetings

• PURCHASE UNION LABEL CONSUMER PRODUCTS
• SPEND FOR UNION SERVICES

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
815 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

CAVIL-CADE

by Les Finnegan

—IN MONTREAL, CANADA, the world's first trade union of professional diplomats not only got itself successfully organized, but, more astonishing, actually signed a 39-month collective bargaining agreement with the Canadian government. More than 400 diplomats, representing Canada in 85 foreign countries, ratified a contract calling for a 20% pay increase over three years—with overtime provisions, yet! The two-year-old union, the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, actually retains the right to strike but relinquished it as a practical matter in return for major government concessions. One of these was overtime pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. Only Ambassadors aren't eligible for the union and its benefits; they're considered part of management.

—IN LONDON, ENGLAND, the National Union of Seamen signed a new contract that will bring its members all the comforts of home—or at least one important comfort. Wives, the agreement specifies, may now voyage with their seafaring husbands. There are not many restrictions. The merchant seamen must first work 24 months for the company; they must be 23 years of age or more and their wives must be at least 21. And finally, the agreement provides that the wives may spend a total of 65 days a year on the high seas with their husbands. Said one union official, "we've finally realized that age-old sailor's dream of a wife in every port—but we never guessed we'd get it this way!"

—In Washington, D.C., a business magazine found that President Nixon has equalled President Eisenhower in surrounding himself with an affluent society. Of the 12 members of Nixon's cabinet, the magazine found, nine are millionaires.

—In Sacramento, Calif., if you don't think that big business discriminates against women, you have a shock coming, in a study recently completed by the School of Business Administration of Sacramento State College. The study covering 71 industrial corporate giants listed among the top 100 in assets in 1945 and 1967 said the report: "Out of 1300 executives—chairman of boards, presidents, and vice presidents—we could not find one woman listed."

—In Kilmarnock, Scotland, union members responding to a dry summer, agreed to have their tap water cut off for 18 hours each day. They made their sacrifice for the local Scotch Whisky Industry. "But we will have to drink something," said a union spokesman. "We expect the company to recognize this and provide the necessary liquid."

—In Tel Aviv, Israel, Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, could easily claim, if it wanted, to be the world's most democratic labor movement. Eleven political parties had candidates in the National Histadrut elections.

—In Portsmouth, England, the world's oldest democratic labor movement started to catch up with the American labor movement. Two thousand delegates to the convention of the British Trades Union Congress (representing 8,500,000) voted for equal pay for women.

—In Washington, D.C., the American Federation of Teachers doesn't have the word "International" in its name but it's undoubtedly the most international of all AFL-CIO unions. The AFT now has units on Wake Island and Guam, in England, Spain, the Philippines, Italy, the Virgin Islands, Germany, the Netherlands, Turkey and Japan. How come? AFT members teach the children of U. S. civilians and members of the armed forces abroad.

Hook It Up!

New ally in the campaign to cut military spending

When a pillar of the business establishment like Fortune Magazine argues that defense expenditures (now $80 billion a year) are too high and should be slashed, that makes news of the "man bites dog" variety. Fortune's position is spelled out in an article entitled "The Case for Cutting Defense Spending" and in an editorial entitled "It's Time to Audit the Defense Department."

Both are carried in the Aug. 1 issue of Fortune and have caused wide repercussions on Capitol Hill where senators like William Proxmire (D., Wis.) and others have been battling for cuts in military outlays. Proxmire and other senators hailed the magazine's analysis on the senate floor.

The Fortune article declares that the defense structure has grown like topsy "in the absence of a clearly stated national security policy laid down by the White House."

"Furthermore, under pressures of the Vietnam war, civilian control over military spending has diminished, efficiency has decreased, and a large amount of 'gold plating' of the forces has taken place under the guise of meeting the needs of the war," the article adds. "Unless brought under control, these trends can easily drive the defense budget to more than $100 billion within a few years. . . ." It should be slashed to $61 billion, the magazine said.

Fortune spells out suggested cuts to reach that level. These include a cutback of the 800,000 military men; cuts in naval ships and Air Force tactical squadrons added since the Vietnam buildup in 1965; slashes in forces deployed in Europe and Asia; "a paring down of weapons systems of low cost effectiveness," greater overall efficiency in use of manpower, "a crackdown on wasteful procurement of new weapons," and various other reductions.

"After the proposed cuts. the U.S. would still have the most powerful and diversified military force in the world," Fortune asserts. It adds that this figure could be further reduced if the ABM is not deployed and if disarmament talks with Soviet Russia succeed, or it could be increased if Russia accelerates its defense buildup.

The Fortune editorial backstopping the article warns that "the U.S. is in the grip of a costly, escalating pattern of military expenditure that could well keep rising even after Vietnam." It declares a reassessment of the nation's defense structure is "urgently needed" and says the Nixon Administration has begun such a review.

"At a staggering cost the military has repeatedly bought weapons and deployed forces in ways that have added only marginally to national security," according to Fortune. "Moreover, in the procurement of new weapons, both the military and its corporate suppliers have been guilty of wasteful practices. . . ."

The editorial endorses suggestions contained in the article that the defense budget, after the Vietnam war, "could immediately be cut by more than 20 per cent, to about $61 billion, without compromising either the nation's security or its present commitments.

Also, the editorial calls for a complete reappraisal of U.S. military policy and structure so as to bring about "a balance between military needs and the other priorities." The editorial concludes that "in redefining the goals of the military and its place in the governmental structure and in society, Congress and the Administration have a chance to exert a profoundly constructive influence on the character of American life in the 1970s. They should seize the opportunity." We heartily agree.—*Labor.*

$5—What it bought in 1913 and in 1968

WASHINGTON (PAI)—Back in 1913 it took a manufacturing production worker over 22 hours to earn $5 compared with 1 hour and 40 minutes in 1968.

But here's the difference between what that $5 will purchase in the market place, then and now:

What $5 bought in 1913

3 lbs. Round Steak	$0.67
2 lbs. Cheese	.44
10 lbs. Flour	.33
2 lbs. Rice	.17
2 Loaves of Bread	.11
5 lbs. Chuck Roast	.80
2 lbs. Sliced Bacon	.54
4 qts. Milk	.35
1 lb. Butter	.38
15 lbs. Potatoes	.26
5 lbs. Sugar	.28
1 doz. Eggs	.35
1 lb. Coffee	.30
	$4.98

Plus 2¢ left over for candy

What $5 bought in 1968

2 lbs. 13 oz. Round Steak	$3.22
2 lbs. Cheese	1.78
	$5.00

All this is spelled out in a handy desk reference on labor statistics issued by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, "The Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1969."

Washington Window

Trying to start a fire or something?

Every Administration has its own tone and the Nixon Administration after a slow start has taken on its own coloration—conservative-business-banking.

For a time it appeared that Nixon had no hard and fast domestic program all ready to put into effect despite the fact that he had been running for the Presidency for 20 years and presumably had worked out his answers to most of the nation's problems. He created numerous councils and committees to advise him on the issues and even now has appointed a series of Task Forces to advise him on the course that the nation should take in the 70's which lie ahead.

Yet, already he has pretty well charted the course that he wants the nation to take under his Administration.

- The Supreme Court: The President's two nominees, Judges Warren E. Burger and Clement Haynsworth, Jr. clearly come from the conservative wing of the Judiciary, in the Haynsworth case is more than well-documented in the field of labor-management relations and civil rights.

The President himself has made it perfectly clear that he intends to remold the Court in a far more conservative spirit than the Warren Court which aroused so much conservative ire.

- Inflation: The President has surrounded himself with conservative, business-oriented economists and bankers and has readily made the war on inflation a major priority of his Adminstration. Despite soothing reassurances to the contrary to organized labor, jobs are to be sacrificed, are already being sacrificed by cuts in the Federal budget and a deliberate slowing down in the economy.

How far Nixon will go in accepting unemployment remains to be seen, but his closest advisers have warned that as much unemployment will be accepted as is needed to halt inflation. Under the last Republican Administration, that of President Eisenhower, unemployment hit 7.4 percent at one point and was 5.5 percent when Eisenhower left office. It is now 4 percent as compared with 3.3 last January when Nixon took office.

- Budget cuts: As part of his drive on inflation, the President has called for sharp cuts in the Federal budget, military as well as civilian, notably many of the social services. How far the latter cuts are purely budgetary and how far they respond to Republican dislike for many of these services is anyone's guess. There can be little doubt, however, that from the conservative view the two go nicely together.

- States Rights: The Nixon Administration has repeatedly made it clear that it wants the emphasis on many programs to be placed on the States rather than on the Federal Government. It has supported State authority in such fields as industrial safety, training programs for the unemployed; Federal contributions to the States without any strings and a softening of the school integration drive by the Federal Government in the South where State's Rights are a shibboleth.

- Tax Reform: The President avoided the problem of Tax Reform as long as he could eventually coming up with a program of minor reforms and averted eyes for the major ones. When the House came through with a fairly strong reform bill, the President found it too harsh on business. He sought to restore tax benefits and take them away from middle-income taxpayers.

- Labor-Management Relations: The President and Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz have adopted a hands off policy with respect to labor-management conflict, at least for the present. This is something that both labor and management have called for in the past so both sides are satisfied. His refusal to go in for wage price guidelines also has met with favor by both sides. However, both Shultz and Housing Secretary George Romney have clearly sought to by-pass the apprenticeship system in the building and construction trades. As yet, the President has made no appointments to the National Labor Relations Board, long the target of the business community. The kind of appointment he makes will go a long way in establishing his attitude toward NLRB decisions of the past.

Obviously the Nixon Administration is bound to have a great similarity in its general philosphy to that of President Eisenhower. After all, Nixon was Eisenhower's Vice-President for eight years. Nevertheless, there are important differences.

Eisenhower was largely content to let the country continue pretty much along the course that it had been following for many previous years. The Nixon Administration, on the other hand, is far more "activist" and apparently determined to change the nation's domestic course, to fashion it more along the lines of conservative Republican philosphy. To that end, it would turn the clock back.

Union holiday

In White Plains, N. Y., a local of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers Union negotiated a new holiday for local bus drivers. From now on the drivers won't work on Union Membership Day—which will fall each year on the anniversary of the day they joined the union.

"Pretty cute and pretty clever," commented the president of the Central Labor Council, "because obviously you've got to join the union to get the holiday."

Labor Calls for Enactment of Job Health and Safety Standards

In 1968 the Johnson Administration proposed legislation, which for the first time in our history, would mount a national program to reduce the shocking rate of job connected deaths, injuries and illnesses.

This legislation died in the 90th Congress. Consequently the deaths, injuries and illnesses on the job were at the same level in 1968 as in 1967: killed, 14,300; injured, 2.2 million; cost in loss-time, lost production, and insurance totalled about $7.9 billion.

We can expect the same killing and losses on the job in 1969 and 1970 if the 91st Congress fails to enact a comprehensive program of occupational health and safety standards.

Thousands of workers every year die slow, often agonizing deaths from the effects of asbestos, beryllium, carbon monoxide, coal dust, cotton dust, cancer-causing chemicals, dyes, unusual fuels, pesticides, radiation, and other occupational hazards such as heat, noise, or vibration, many without ever knowing the relationship of the disease to their job environments.

State laws and enforcement procedures have done very little to stop the killing of Americans in the work place. According to a fact sheet issued by the Bureau of Labor Standards only four states met the health and safety standards of the American Standards Association. Federal agencies with occupational health and safety responsibilities have also failed to deal adequately with health and safety standards.

The AFL-CIO for many years has urged action on a strong, broad-based federal program to control or eliminate any on-the-job hazards endangering workers' health and safety.

Pending legislation

Two of the several bills currently pending in Congress are worthy of note. One, the O'Hara-Williams bill (H.R. 3809 and S. 2193) is endorsed by the AFL-CIO. The other is the Nixon Administration's Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1969 introduced by Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Rep. William Ayers (R-Ohio).

Both bills are laudable in their intent—to protect the health and safety of the American worker—and share the following major characteristics:

1. Provide for federal standards in both occupational health and safety.
2. Provide a system of enforcement and penalties, including closing down of unsafe plants and cancellation of federal contracts.
3. Encourage and assist states to develop effective occupational health and safety programs.

The major differences between the bills occurs in five areas, effective date, coverage, standard setting, enforcement, and relationship to other federal programs. In all these crucial areas the O'Hara-Williams bills (H.R. 3809 and S. 2193) present a stronger, more realistic and more comprehensive program of worker health and safety legislation.

The following analysis lists some of the differences between the principal legislation—the proposal of the Nixon Administration (Ayers-Javits bills) and the program endorsed by the AFL-CIO, the O'Hara-Williams bills (in bold face type).

Coverage

AYERS-JAVITS (effective date, July 1, 1972)—Program exempts from coverage federal, state and local employers; employers with 3 or less employees; and an agricultural employer using less than 500 man-days of hired farm labor in a peak quarter.

O'HARA-WILLIAMS (effective date, July 1, 1970)—Bill covers all employers except federal, state and local.

Standards

The safety and health standards will be set by a National Occupational Health and Safety Board. The Board is a five-man independent agency appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The Board is restricted to dealing only with applicable "national consensus standards." Unfortunately the only two organizations issuing such standards are the USA Standards Institute and the National Fire Protection Association. Neither is responsible to the government or to the worker but to the private industries they serve.

The safety and health standards are set by the Secretary of Labor. The Secretary of HEW, after consultation with the Secretary of Labor will undertake programs to produce occupational health criteria to be used by the Secretary of Labor to produce standards.

In setting the standards, the Secretary is under no hampering restrictions. He may use the "consensus" method or he may promulgate his own as he determines necessary to protect workers.

Enforcement

In case of violations of standards or regulations, the Secretary must petition the Board for a hearing, "to determine if a violation has occurred." The Board may then issue an enforcement order. Inspection can only take place after presenting written notice.

No employer will be found in violation if he can prove that he has provided "substantially equal" health and safety provisions to those found in applicable standards under this Act.

If the Secretary opposes an action of the Board with respect to enforcement under this Section he has recourse to the federal District Courts, and is represented by his solicitor, while the Board is represented by the U.S. Attorney General.

If the Secretary determines there is a violation of standards, then he is directed to hold a hearing and issue necessary orders to enforce. An aggrieved person has recourse in the federal courts.

There is a penalty provision against advance warning of an inspection.

Profit problem

NEW YORK (PAI)—Officials of General Electric, for once, were unhappy about reporting expanding profits—up a whopping 11 percent the third quarter of the year.

It makes it awfully difficult for GE to cry "poverty" in its critical negotiations with 11 unions. The big IUE contract expires October 26.

Imminent danger situation

The Secretary may petition a federal court for an injunction or temporary restraining order. The restraining order is good for only five days, after which he may petition the court for an injunction. This injunction is only good until such time as the Board holds a hearing "to determine if a violation has occurred." The Board then determines the action that shall be taken.

The Secretary may issue an abatement order without a prior hearing, the order remaining in effect during a subsequent hearing on the order.

Relationship to other federal programs

Prohibits the Secretary from regulating working conditions of an employee in an industry where any other federal agency regulates such conditions by statute.

Provides that the Secretary can use the procedures of this Act to regulate the health and safety in an industry already covered by existing federal regulations, by rescinding them and bringing them under the terms of this Act alone.

Effective administration of the Nixon program is hampered by the "extra layer" of bureaucracy. The effect of the Board is to hamstring vigorous and effective administration of the law by the Secretaries of Labor and HEW. In addition, the standards are not set by the government but by private organizations who are primarily concerned with being responsive to their private business clients.

The AFL-CIO has concluded that the O'Hara-Williams bills (H.R. 3809 and S. 2193) provide a superior program of worker health and safety. Union members are urged to write their Congressmen requesting their support of the O'Hara-Williams bills.

Drive Carefully
A look at the accident picture

With the coming of winter, driving becomes more hazardous and the need for extra care becomes vital. A few facts from the Auto Dealers Traffic Safety Council, Washington, D.C. may be of interest to those who wanted to contribute in an effort toward accident prevention.

- A total of 55,200 persons lost their lives in motor vehicle accidents in 1968—an increase of 4 per cent over 1967.
- Some 2,000,000 were disabled beyond the day of the accident during the year.
- The economic loss due to motor vehicle accidents is estimated at more than $11 billion.
- Figures show that 93 per cent (more than nine out of ten) accidents happen in the driver's own state and 79 per cent (nearly four out of five) happen locally or within 25 miles of the drivers home.
- Almost 7 out of 10 crash deaths last year occurred in rural areas.
- More than one-half of all crash deaths occurred in night accidents.
- Improper driving was a factor in 80.3 per cent (eight out of ten) of all fatal accidents.
- Too much speed for conditions of road or traffic was blamed for three out of ten accidents.
- Alcohol was involved in at least half of all fatal auto accidents.
- The top ten states in motor vehicle fatalities were: California—4,853; Texas—3,481; New York—3,081; Ohio—2,550; Illinois—2,499; Pennsylvania—2,410; Michigan—2,388; Florida—2,100; Georgia—1,778 and Indiana—1,519.

Unity essential for social progress

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., (PAI)—Benjamin Franklin's warning to his comrades of the American Revolution that they would all hang separately if they did not hang together, was given a 1969 version by Michael Harrington, widely known writer on American poverty to the International Labor Press Convention here.

Harrington warned against the polarization of antagonisms between the poor and the ex-poor, the organized and the unorganized and the whites and the blacks, reaching the conclusion:

"If labor and Negroes do not get together, both will be defeated," he declared.

In his talk, which wound up the ILPA Convention, Harrington said that the great hope of the future was the unity of American workers and declared that the Labor Press could play a vital role in achieving that unity.

Harrington said that the United States today "has the wrong President, is getting the wrong Supreme Court and next year may get the wrong Congress," at a time when the nation is facing great difficulties which have been accentuated by the Vietnam war.

The writer, whose book "The Other America" shocked the country when it was published, said that it was a mistake to separate the United States into the poor and the rich; that more than half of the American population does not have the "modest but adequate" income set by government standards and that at least a third are badly housed.

As a result, he said, American social legislation should be designed not merely for a segment of the population but for all workers. All Americans, he said, have common goals, and should work together to achieve them.

In this struggle, he declared, "there can be no social progress without the labor movement, which in turn must have the support of all workers."

Harrington also made a plea for greater understanding of the American youth movement, which, he said, was not represented by a small radical minority which engaged in violence and defiance of society. Rather, he declared, there were many millions of young Americans in the colleges and universities who were inspired by high motives.

Finally, he declared, organized labor must fight for the real right to work," that is, jobs for all Americans. He also warned against the "old reactionary" trick of pitting white and Negro workers against each other.

Jump in living costs cuts workers' buying power

Washington—The buying power of workers' paychecks was below year ago levels for the ninth consecutive month in October as the cost of living continued to soar higher, the Labor Dept. reported.

A four-tenths of 1 percent jump in living costs sent the Consumer Price Index to 129.8. That means it cost $12.98 in October to buy goods and services that cost $10 in the 1957-59 base period.

The October rise was smaller than the five-tenths of 1 percent increase in September and a similar one in July, but identical to the increase in August.

On the earnings side, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that gross average weekly earnings of production and non-supervisory workers fell by 86 cents between September and October to $116.94.

The decrease, BLS said, was due to a four-tenths of an hour reduction in weekly hours, which more than offset a 1-cent gain in hourly earnings.

Officers of Elizabeth Local 99 and North Jersey No. 31 at work preparing the merger proposal for presentation to their respective memberships. At left: Peter Ortuso, No. 99 vice-president; William Faulkner, No. 31 secretary-treasurer; No. 99 officers Peter Gega, treasurer; Jack Shields, secretary; Ray Thompson, president, and Local 31 Director of Organization Sam Kaspar.

Merger proposal approved by Elizabeth 99 and North Jersey 31

The merger bandwagon continued to roll in Northern New Jersey last month with Elizabeth (N.J.) Local 99 electing to join forces with North Jersey Pressmen's Union No. 31.

Local 99 is the fourth union to affiliate with No. 31 in the past three years, the others being Locals 34, 94 and 442. North Jersey Pressmen now have jurisdiction over an area extending from Newark to the Northern tip of the state and down to the Pennsylvania border.

Talks between the officers of the locals had been carried on for some time with the thought that better wages, hours and working conditions could be achieved

Taking their oath of obligation at a recent Local 31 membership meeting are: Victor Scevola (left), Rocky Ienna and Charles Calabrese.

if the two organizations were one. President Raymond Thompson, Vice-President Peter Ortuso, Treasurer Peter Gega and Secretary Jack Shields represented Local 99, and Secretary-Treasurer William Faulkner and Director of Organization Sam Kaspar spoke for No. 31 during the negotiations.

The officers were rewarded for their efforts when the memberships of both unions voted approval of the merger proposal and sanction was unanimously voted by the International Board of Directors.

A warm and cordial welcome was given No. 99 members when they attended their first regular monthly meeting in November. Officers of No. 31 expressed pride in the merger achievement and voiced confidence that the "new members will surely reap the rewards of the seed they have sown."

Secretary-Treasurer Faulkner expressed appreciation to International Vice-President Sol Fishko for his guidance and advice on merger procedures, and "for the time he devoted to further the area of understanding by which the merger was consummated."

International Representative William Torrence was cited by Director of Organization Kaspar as a "source of information, advice, and direction, and for his appearances to bridge the scope of these mergers when frequent meetings between the locals were not possible due to prior commitments."

In other Local news: the recent death of Frank Nilan, the first president of Newark Press Assistants' Union 19, brought to mind the early trade union struggles of the Twenties. Brother Nilan, who worked at the old Osborne Co., will be missed by his compatriots. His son, John, is an active member of No. 31 and is employed by the Prudential Insurance Co.

Tom Klasko, Clarkwood Corp. chapel chairman and a dedicated Scoutmaster, is currently presenting a program on graphic arts education to a group of Scouts. The boys expressed an interest in printing when they learned of Brother Klasko's trade.

Patrick Blacer, Glen Davis, Terrence

Army veteran Robert Kerr an active member of Local 31, recently returned to his job at Clarkwood Corp, after seeing action in Vietnam.

Hall, George Kalian and Anthony Palmeri have been welcomed as new members of the local.

Many of the candidates backed by labor in the recent New Jersey elections were defeated at the polls. However, the state AFL-CIO, in a never say we are out manner, is taking a positive stance by keeping all unions informed as to the voting records of local and state officials.

In keeping with the Holiday tradition and for the the sake of members' families, Local 31 urges union members to set the example for the Holidays by making it a safe one, both on and off the job, through the New Year.

Atlanta No. 527 negotiates master contract with five printing firms

They said it was impossible to negotiate a master agreement with three different companies at the same time.

Atlanta (Ga.) Printing Specialties and Paper Products Local 527 did one better and negotiated agreements with three companies at the same time and negotiated essentially the same agreement with two other companies.

For a number of years, the officers of Local 527 have been trying to improve the contracts of Foote & Davies (a division of McCall Printing), Ruralist Press, Dittler Brothers, Curtiss Printing and Superior Printing.

Three years ago, Local 527 President Ralph M. Meers met with the members from these five companies to establish their goals and determine the methods to obtain them.

The members made tremendous gains at that time by establishing additional classifications, adding much desired language, and negotiating substantial wage adjustments, but to the leadership as well as the members these gains were not enough.

Atlanta Local 527's negotiating committee (Foote & Davies) are Benny Hickey (left), Henry Crawford, President Meers, Thomas Bailey, Luther Young and Willie Gilbert.

Reviewing details of the Dittler Brothers, Ruralist Press and Curtis Printing master agreement are negotiating committee members Willie Surry, James Willis, President Meers, Joe Bray and Harold Banks.

In early 1969, President Meers started laying the ground work for future negotiations with these five companies.

Finally, after many hurdles were overcome, he was able to persuade the five companies to agree to negotiate a master contract with Local 527.

The officers and the negotiating committee then spent a total of 37 days in negotiations with the companies, sometimes working long hours into the night.

As a last resort they were to use strike action granted by the International Union. But with determination and strike sanction, they were able to obtain a satisfactory agreement.

The three-year master contract calls for wage increases from 30¢ to 55¢ across-the-board the first year, 23¢ per hour the second year and 32¢ per hour the third year.

Other benefits include: 4 weeks vacation after 17 years service (members already enjoyed 2 weeks for 1 year and 3 weeks for 4 years); nine paid holidays; a 37½ hour work week; 7½ hour day; 7½ hours reporting pay; double time after 10½ hours; double time after 7½ hours on Saturday; triple time after 7½ hours on Sunday; and triple time for holidays worked.

In addition to the above improvements, Local 527's negotiating committee also gained: a shift differential of 12¢ for second shift employees and 20¢ for the third shift crew; a cost-of-living clause; and an instant arbitration clause.

The company will also pay the total cost of the improved insurance program, including major medical; $5,000 life insurance; $75 per week accident and sickness insurance; and $26 per day room and board while in the hospital.

Correspondent Charles Mattingly, expressing his opinion on this great achievement noted, "yes, some felt it was impossible to obtain but with much determination and support not only from the membership of Local 527, but from the Board of Directors of the International Union as well, we were able to obtain the kind of agreement we were able to live with for the next three years. The members employed at the five plants are justifiably proud of their local union."

Hoosier District Joint Council plans seminar

The bi-monthly meeting of the Hoosier District Joint Council was held at the Antelope Club, in Indianapolis, on Saturday, October 11, 1969. The meeting, called to order by President Martin Pickell, was attended by 24 delegates and guests representing 10 locals. Also in attendance were two International organizers, Paul Graham and Walter Abel, and special guest Walter Allen, Director of the Department of Education and Information of the International Union.

The regular business of the Council was conducted in the morning session along with Business Agent Donald Montague's activity report. In the afternoon Walter Allen led a discussion on the need for continuing educational programs at the Council and local union level. He discussed the possibility of the International Union scheduling a week-end educational seminar in cooperation with the Council to be held in late Winter or early Spring of 1970. Delegates offered their opinions and suggestions and a committee was appointed to make definite plans for such a seminar.

This meeting concluded with the financial report by Secretary-Treasurer Gale Weaver.

Local 415 Chicago Organizes 2 plants

Western Kraft Corporation and Colbert Packaging Corporation are now organized and under contract to Printing Specialties Local 415.

The Western Kraft plant located in Melrose Park has a present work force numbering about thirty people. Local 415 has two other Western Kraft plants under contract. One in Montgomery and the other one in Elk Grove Village. All three plants manufacture Corrugated Containers.

Colbert Packaging Corporation recently purchased Franklin Folding Box of Melrose Park and is moving its production facilities to the Melrose Park plant. The firm's 75 employees will join some 30 Franklin workers who have been members of Local 415 for a number of years.

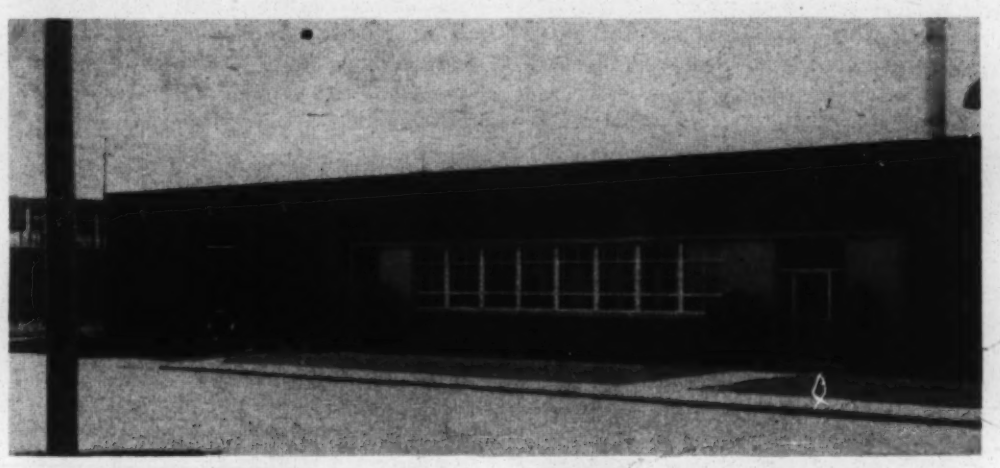
As reported by Organizers Walter Rebenson and John Rizzo union representation in both plants was achieved through a card check by impartial parties, as joining our union produced overwhelming employee interest which was accepted by both employers as sufficient evidence in preference to the usual lengthy Labor Board procedure of certification.

These new members are now enjoying better wages and benefits consistent with those already attained in other 415 plants.

The Western Kraft campaign was spearheaded by Vice-President Harold Koons who also negotiated the terms of the contract.

In the Colbert Packaging campaign we had the able assistance of 415s President Tom Cohoon and Recording-Secretary Edward Piontek, who also negotiated the terms of the contract.

On behalf of our Local and International officers, and our memberships, we welcome our new brother and sister members into our growing ranks.



Specialty Local 415, Chicago, Ill., organizes Western Kraft Corporations plant at Melrose Park, Ill.

Lewis Lacy, Shop Chairman and Glenn Singletary, Production Manager Western Kraft bind agreement with handshake.

With the approach of winter in Chicago, our method to reach the unorganized will change to more house calls after the initial plant handbill. This is the basic key to all organization, and in the main is used when a representation election is in the offing.

In future editions we expect to report additional progress in organization.

Raffle and guest speaker draws over 250 to meeting

A drive by Chicago (Ill.) Commercial Pressmen's Local No. 3 to get a larger membership turnout at their regular meetings has thus far proved successful.

No. 3's November newsletter announced a $65 raffle (which would buy a lot of Thanksgiving turkey) and special guest speaker Senator Alan Dixon, Senate Democratic Whip in the Illinois State Legislature.

Senator Dixon has had an excellent pro-labor record and recently sponsored an anti-strikebreaker bill.

Henry F. Coco, Secretary of the Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council, introduced the Senator.

The combination of the raffle and special speaker resulted in a turnout of more than 250 members. (Other locals with poor attendance records at their meeting, take note.)

On the organizing front, Local 3 has prepared a flyer which points out the increasing tax burden on wage earners and the obvious need for a strong union to protect the workers' interests.

$45 per week increase gained

Printing Pressmen, Assistants and Offset Workers' Union No. 4 of Philadelphia, Penna. signed the best contract negotiated this year by any Graphic Arts Union in this city when it completed negotiations with the Pennland Printing Company of Yeadon, Pa.

The contract is for three years and calls for a $15.00 per week increase on November 1, 1969 and $15.00 per week on the anniversary date of each of the succeeding years.

A reduction in hours to 37 hours first shift, 36½-2nd shift, and 35 hours-3rd shift.

Paid leave for Bereavement time, Jury duty and National Guard Service.

Improved Life Insurance and S & A insurance as well as Blue Cross-Blue Shield coverage; which will be determined by improvement made in industry wide bargaining coming up in the City of Philadelphia.

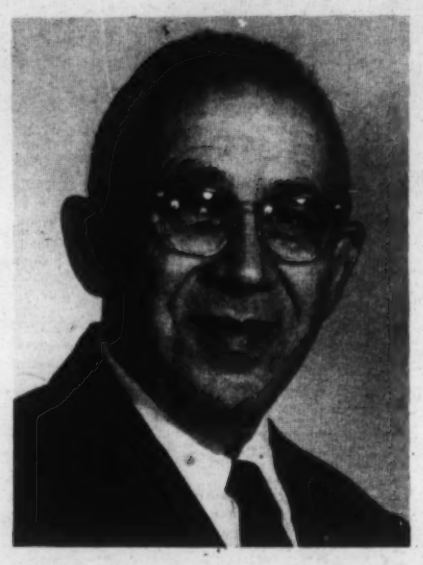
Time and one half for work during lunch time and an additional lunch period for overtime work of two to four hours and a third paid lunch for overtime of five or more hours.

Also included in the Contract is 10 paid holidays as well as four weeks vacation after 1 years service.

The Negotiation Committee consisted of Bill Given of Pennland Printing Company, Fred Day, Business Manager of Local No. 4 and International Representative Joseph Mahon.

Isador Schwartz 'dean' of Gazette's employees

Isador Schwartz, presently enjoying 52 years of membership with Albany (N.Y.) Local 23, was honored recently by his employer, the Schenectady Gazette.



Brother Schwartz has logged 54 years of continuous service with the newspaper and is still in its employ as a pressman.

In the Gazette's October 2 issue, an article was featured labelling Schwartz as "dean" of the 25 Gazette employees who have totalled up 25 years or more of service.

In part, the article reads, "on this 75th Anniversary of its founding, the Gazette takes pride in doffing its masthead to this loyal group of quarter century employees."

Besides Brother Schwartz, the veteran employees honored also included other Local 23 members, as well as those from various departments throughout the Gazette.

Henry T. Chambers dies

Henry T. Chambers, passed away October 15 at age 69. He had held all offices in the Gulf Coast (Tex.) Offset Workers, Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union No. 71, in addition to holding his membership in good standing since 1924.

Brother Chambers worked in almost all parts of the printing trade during his active life, and for the past 30 years a rotary pressroom foreman at Gulf Printing Company.

In addition to being a long-time member of Local 71, he was also a Charter member of Houston Newspaper Local 43.

Brother Chambers served in World War I and worked in amateur baseball before the Little League teams were organized. His other hobbies included hunting, fishing and golf even after losing a leg in an automobile accident in 1935.

In commenting on Brother Chambers' death, Local 71 Secretary-Treasurer Dove says, "the men who worked under him admired and respected him as a strong union member. Organized labor and Local 71 have lost a valuable person and a friend."

Brother Chambers' survivors include his wife, a son and two sisters.

Local 564 agrees to three-year contract

An agreement between Three-Rivers (Que.) Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union No. 564 and the newspaper Le Nouvelliste was recently signed with wage increases to the amount of $26.25 per week over the three year period. The first years increase of $13.12 took effect April 21, 1969.

Other benefits gained include an improvement in the overtime clauses (double time introduced) and the addition of one extra holiday for a total of nine (employee's birthday).

Local 564 members also achieved improved insurance benefits; four weeks vacation allowed on a graduation basis; and an improvement in the apprentice wage scale, up to 90%.

Récemment une nouvelle convention collective de travail a été conclue entre la Three-Rivers Printing Pressmen, Local 564 et Le Nouvelliste (1967) Ltée.

Parmi les principales améliorations apportées à l'ancienne convention, on note une augmentation du taux horaire de .70 répartis comme suit: .35 pour la première année; .15 la deuxième année; troisième année premier six mois: .10 et deuxième six mois: .10. Un .25 additionnel est ajouté pour ceux qui travaillent sur l'équipe de nuit.

Une fête statutaire à été ajoutée pour porter le nombre à neuf. Vacances: 2 semaines après un an de service; 3 semaines après 8 ans et 1 mois après 24 ans (première fois). Si un employé doit s'absenter pour être membre d'un juré, il reçoit son plein salaire. L'échelle d'apprentissage a été sensiblement améliorée; ainsi que les bénéfices d'assurance-groupe et assurance-salaire.

Present for the signing of No. 564's new three-year agreement are Bernard Prudhomme (seated left), company lawyer; Eric Ferrat, company president; Roland Rioux, union president; and Daniel Gilligan, union representative.

Second row: Gilles St-Arnaud, company secretary-treasurer; Jean-Guy Bissonnette, company production manager; Albert Dubois, foreman; Jules Bergeron, foreman; Jacques Page, union negotiator; Antoine Murray, union secretary-treasurer; and Roland Lefebvre, union negotiator.

'Curley' F. Stevens dies, former International Representive

Kenneth F. Stevens, long-time member of Seattle (Wash.) Newspaper Local No. 26, died October 2.

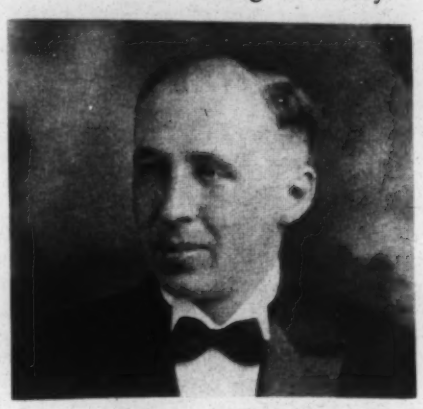
Known to the membership as "Curley," he retired in 1961 but often returned to fill out a pressroom crew.

His career in the printing industry started in Seattle and, after serving in World War I, he went on to work in Boston for a short time.

Upon returning to Seattle, Brother Stevens was employed by the Star until it closed down, going to work for a while at the Times and Herald.

Over the years he held such offices as president, one term; secretary, five years; and as vice-president.

In addition to being a member of the scale committee for many years and a member of the executive board, "Curley" was also an International representative for the Seattle area under the late International President George L. Berry.



Kenneth F. Stevens

Editor's note: It was my privilege to have had Kenneth F. Stevens as a friend since 1940. Curley, served the Pacific Northwest as an International representative in the early 40's. This was at the time that Specialty Local 380 was organizing and expanding.

Curley gave freely of his time and talent when called upon by Local 380 officers. Because of his vast knowledge of the labor movement, understanding of people and calm collected manner he was at his best when the situation became most difficult.

He was a fine gentleman, a dedicated trade unionist and a wonderful friend who will be greatly missed by all.—Thomas W. Smith

Increase in unemployment

OTTAWA (CPA)—Between September and October unemployment increased by 35,000 to 314,000 across Canada.

Quebec (11,000) and the Prairies (10,000) showed the largest regional increases.

The total unemployment is up 26,000 over a year ago. The jobless rate, seasonally adjusted, was 5.3 percent.

The labor force in October was 8,142,000, up 147,000 or 1.8 percent in the year. Employment increased by 12,000, or 1.6 per cent.

Farm employment was down 29,000 compared with 1968.

The big increases in employment occurred in community, business and personal services, up by 76,000.

Correction

The November issue of News and Views featured an article on Shamokin (Pa.) Local 726's cost-of-living hike.

An eight percent figure was given as the proposed new rate—it should have read an eight cents per hour increase.

Western Graphic Arts Union No. 14 President Jack McCormick (standing at podium), presides over October general meeting.

Western Graphic Arts Union No. 14 devotes meeting to contract proposals

The primary purpose of the second general meeting of Western Graphic Arts Union No. 14, held in San Francisco on October 11, was to open up and expand communications between those elected to the negotiating committee and the members.

Most members had to travel at least 20 miles, while some came from as far away as 180 miles, to make their wishes known regarding the goals for upcoming contract negotiations. The agreement expires on March 1, 1970.

Business Representative Nick Pavletich said the emphasis was placed on obtaining members views on contract proposals at this early stage in order to avoid a 1970 contract rejection arising out of emphasing the wrong items at the bargaining table.

The local recognized the cause of many rejected contracts as a breakdown in communications and is seeking to overcome this obstacle on the West Coast.

This all began last May, when the bargaining priorities of each and every member was solicited through a checklist questionnaire. Each member was asked to select what he considered to be the five most important items and the selections were then returned to the local's office.

From that beginning in May and throughout the following months, No. 14's discussions have centered on contract proposals, the need for one master agreement, one health and welfare plan, and a continuation of merger of all benefits.

It also became apparent that there was a need for one dues structure (there are presently eight) based on the ability to pay.

The Scale Committee stated their positions on certain issues at the meeting, as well as the members bringing forth more than 30 suggested changes.

From this list, the following 10 items received the most support:

- the committee not consider recommending any agreement of over one year, if a cost-of-living clause is not included;
- the employers be advised that the union's position is one of having a signed agreement on the termination date of the current agreement;
- the committee adopt one proposal and negotiate only one craft contract for the Bay Area, specifically combining the San Jose, San Francisco and Oakland contracts;
- the health and welfare contributions be to one fund only and that the coverage be standardized throughout the jurisdiction;
- the pension contributions be based on a percentage of wages;
- the percentage for vacation pay be increased;
- all "letters of understanding" and other side agreements be cancelled or incorporated in the contract language;
- an apprenticeship, training and automation fund be established and supported by an hourly contribution;
- a clause that guarantees present employees to the first option on new equipment or processes; and
- that the present sick leave clause be improved.

The other items suggested by the membership dealt directly with money and classifications, which will be considered by the Scale Committee and included in the new proposal.

Brother Pavletich also stated, "the meeting was a fine conclusion to a long search for the proper development of contract proposals."

In other business: The membership confirmed the appointments of the Scale Committee; swore in eight new members; and talked of new shops being organized.

District Council S7 organizes 3 plants

Southeastern Printing Specialties and Paper Products District Council No. 7 has successfully completed three campaigns in which it has been involved for several months.

Members of Greenville (Tenn.) Local 753 have completed negotiations and signed a one-year contract with National Business Forms, Inc. The firm's employees fought long and hard for the contract, spending some nine months on the picket line to back up their demands for recognition and reasonable terms.

During the long strike the company was found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board. Management is appealing the decision to the 6th Circuit Court in Cincinnati.

A successful organizing drive at the Swainsboro (Ga.) Printing and Finishing Co., a cloth printing firm, has been concluded with the chartering of Specialty Local 760 and the signing of a one-year first-time contract. James Grant has been elected president and Harry L. Jones secretary-treasurer of the 125-member local.

Negotiations for a first-time contract covering approximately 50 employees of Oak Folding Carton Co. at Elon College, N.C., have been successfully concluded by Greensboro (N.C.) Local 465 and S7 representatives. The three-year agreement provides for a wage reopener in the third year.

Facing the Facts...

(Continued from page 2)

"In the first half of the year, the buying power of per capita after-tax personal income of all people in the country was only slightly greater than in the final quarter of 1968.

"Unemployment started to inch up, from 3.3 per cent in January and February to 3.6 per cent in July."

As we got into the second half of the year there was a growing danger of rising unemployment. Since the report was written our rate did go to the 4 per cent level and then recently eased back to 3.9 per cent. But unemployment is looked upon by many in the business community as a necessity to fight inflation. As the report notes, ". . . there were statements by business spokesmen that a substantial rise of unemployment was required to achieve price stability."

We would fully agree with the report's comment which says, "The misguided notion that there is an inevitable, mechanical trade-off between inflation and unemployment . . . is loaded with social dynamite. Advocates of this Neanderthal view have never explained how a million additional unemployed can possibly reduce such price pressures as rising physicians' fees, hospital charges and land prices which have been among the sharpest price boosts in the past decade."

The Government has a series of restrictive policies and these—especially the tight money and high interest rates—contribute to high living costs. These policies have contributed to reduced housing construction and threaten to increase unemployment and bring on a recession. But these policies have not stopped inflation. We should add that the recent order of the President to cut back Government construction by 75 per cent has contributed to the restrictive program with its concurrent evils.

The report points out that the real inflationary demand-pressure has come from rapidly rising business investment. There has been a capital goods boom which has rested on the skyrocketing upflow of cash to corporations during the expansion of the past few years. Moreover, Government has made the boom attractive by adoption of a 7 per cent tax credit for investment, a speed-up in depreciation write-offs, continuation of many tax loopholes, business borrowing power at lower rates than are available to the general citizen, etc. These are ways the big business community can expand and profit while the working people suffer increasing living costs.

The AFL-CIO is quite right in calling the pro-business policies wrong. And it makes some constructive suggestions. What are some of the things that should be done? The report notes several:

- The surtax rate on corporate profits should be double that on personal income taxes;
- The income tax credit of 7 per cent should be repealed.
- The fast write-off should be reexamined and revised and repealed except for low- and moderate-income housing.
- The pricing policies and financial operations of our dominant corporations should come under the public scrutiny.
- A congressional review should be made of the nation's monetary machinery and policies.
- Investigation should be made of the specific causes of such price pressures as doctors' fees, hospital charges, auto and property insurance rates and housing costs.
- Manpower training programs should be expanded.

The report reminds union members that if the situation warrants overall stabilization restraints, labor will cooperate, but only on the basis of equality of sacrifice. We will do our part, but we will not be sacrificial lambs. And that we think is sound doctrine. At any time.

No. 51 acquires medical coverage for entire family

Through the efforts of New York Local 51 President William T. Cernera and Secretary-Treasurer Edward Hughes, members will enjoy coverage for their entire families under the local's expanded major medical plan, starting January 1970.

Brothers Cernera and Hughes, Trustees of the Pension and Welfare System, felt with the ever increasing cost of medical care something had to be done.

The plan, which in the past only covered No. 51's members, now provides major medical care for their wives, children up to age 19, and for any children up to age 23, who are attending college.

This improvement was acquired at no additional cost to the membership, while relieving them of tremendous responsibilities.

Recording Secretary Bernard DeSiano states, "the present administration feels this to be the most important and necessary need in order to ward off personal financial hardship on its members and unforeseen emergencies which can occur at any given time."

"Local 51 will continue in its efforts to seek out better benefits that will aid our members so that they may continue to enjoy the fruits of their labor and feel secure in the knowledge that their officers will continue forging ahead for better goals whether they be social or financial."

Four New Jersey area locals merge

Following the recent trend toward mergers among smaller locals in the nation, and after many months of negotiations, the Newark (N. J.) Newspaper Printing Pressmen's Union Local 8, has combined with three other locals.

Becoming part of No. 8 are Middlesex County Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union No. 442, Paterson Local No. 60, and Elizabeth Local No. 99.

Prior to the merger, Local 8 supplied pressmen to the Newark Evening News and the Star-Ledger, the Morristown Daily Record and the Montclair Times. New additions will be the Perth Amboy News-Tribune, the Paterson Morning News and Evening News, the Herald-News of Passaic-Clifton, the Plainfield Courier and Wayne Today.

Jack T. Higgins, in commenting on the merger, says, "In addition to the obvious feature of increased bargaining strength, the merger has aroused new interest in the affairs of Local 8, as reflected in the 24 members who were nominated at the November meeting to run for the 14 official positions in the local.

In other news from No. 8:

The annual dinner-dance was held on October 26. International Vice-Presidents J. Frazier Moore and Sol Fishko were among the many in attendance.

Seattle Local 26 in second year of contract

Seattle (Wash.) Newspaper Local No. 26 started the second year of their contract on October 1, with $9 per week increase in scale wages bringing them to $181 and $187 for day and night shifts, respectively.

Other benefits that go into effect include three weeks vacation after one year and four weeks after five years, in addition to improvements in the pension, and health and welfare funds.

At the signing of the one-year agreement were Rene Maurice (seated left), company's technical advisor; Jean Bart, shop steward and negotiating committee chairman; Marc Fortin, company president; Victor Volpe, secretary-treasurer and business agent of No. 521.

Standing: Renaud Morin, company treasurer; and Yvon Thibault, negotiating committee member. (Not included in photograph are Jacques Desjardins, negotiating committee member; and Charles Cliche, company attorney.)

Montreal Specialty Local 521 signs first-time contract

A first-time labor agreement was signed in October by Montreal Specialty Local 521 and l'Imprimerie St-Jerome, Inc., providing for an immediate increase of five percent and an additional five percent increase in six months.

The one-year contract also calls for an apprenticeship scale that will permit a more equitable scale of wages for all apprentices while in training.

These employees have also obtained numerous other advantages including union security and three weeks of vacation after eight years of service.

La direction et les employés de l'Imprimerie St-Jérôme Inc. ont signé, la semaine dernière, leur première convention collective de travail. Le nouveau contrat accorde à tout le personnel de cette enterprise jérômienne une augmentation immédiate des salaries de 5 pour cent, et une autre majoration de 5 pour cent dans six mois; une échelle de salaires dans les différents métiers de l'imprimerie a été dressée, ce qui a permis d'établir une equilibre et une rémunération plus juste parmi le personnel. Les employés obtiennent de nombreaux autres avantages comme la sécurité syndicale, trois semaines de vacances après huit ans de service.

Paul E. Thomson retires after 48 years

In 1921, 48 years ago, Paul E. Thomson started his pressroom career in Mobile, Ala., Printing Pressmen Local 100. After serving his apprenticeship he moved to the Birmingham News Co. where he has worked the last 42 years.

In the retirement party given him by brother members of Newspaper Printing Pressmen's Local 55, Paul talked of the open road, fishing lakes, and a long time dream of attending the running of the Kentucky Derby. His coworkers and union brothers presented him with gifts and money at the party.

New Contracts

Following is a partial listing of recently negotiated settlements. A complete listing, including detailed information on wage scales and other conditions in various cities and individual plants, is furnished regularly to local union secretaries by the IPP&AU Research Dept.

Commercial settlements

(City-wide contracts unless otherwise indicated)

Las Vegas, Nev. P. 284—Contract term 12-1-68 to 11-13-71. Initial wage increase $11.25 per week bringing weekly scale to $170.63 (P). Additional weekly increases of $7.50 on 12-1-69 and $5.62 on 12-1-70. One additional holiday gained (seventh). Provision for sick leave can be accumulated up to 10 days (was 7). Call-back providing for the payment of three hours at time and one-half (double time for Sundays) whether worked or not (first time).

Edmonton, Alta., Can. P. 255—Contract term 2-15-69 to 2-14-71. Initial wage increase $12.38 (J) bringing weekly scale to $136.88 and $8.67 (A) bringing weekly scale to $95.82. Additional increases of $11.62 (J) and $8.13 (A) on 2-15-70. Double time will now be paid for all work performed on the sixth day (was time and one-half). Service requirement for three weeks' vacation reduced from 12 years to 9 years, further reduced to 8 years on 2-15-70 and a fourth week after 25 years' service was introduced.

Newspaper settlements

Dayton, Ohio N. 56—Contract term 4-25-69 to 4-29-72. Initial wage increase $20.00 day per week bringing weekly scale to $172.50 and $21.00 night per week bringing weekly scale to $180.00. Additional weekly increases of $17.50 on 8-23-70 and $10.00 on 8-29-71. One additional holiday gained (seventh). Service requirements for three weeks' vacation reduced to 4 years (was 5 years), also, four weeks' vacation reduced from 20 years to 15 years on 1-1-70 and four weeks' vacation will further reduce to 13 years on 1-1-71. A full shift's pay guarantee was added to the hour's provision.

St. Louis, Mo. N. 38—Contract term 6-1-69 to 5-31-72. Initial wage increase $20.00 per week bringing weekly scale to $185.75 day and $188.25 night. Additional increases of $13.00 per week on 6-1-70 and $14.00 per week on 6-1-71. Service requirement for four weeks' vacation will be reduced from 8 years to 6 years on 1-1-70 and further reduced to 5 years on 1-1-71. One additional holiday gained (seventh). Premium pay for holidays worked has increased to two and one-half time. Inclusion of a cost-of-living clause that's to be determined by the March 1971 Consumer Price Index for St. Louis.

Norwalk, Conn. P. 317—Contract term 4-1-69 to 3-31-71. Initial wage increase $20.00 per week bringing weekly scale to $183.00. Four weeks' vacation after 20 years' service (first time). Funeral leave provision for brother and sister increased to 2 days (was 1). Life insurance premium increased from $1,000 to $3,000. Jury duty introduced —employee will receive regular rate of pay minus fees received as jurors.

St. Louis, Mo. N. 38—Contract term 6-1-69 to 5-31-72. Initial wage increase $25.00 per week bringing weekly scale to $190.75 day and $193.25 night. Additional increases of $13.00 day and $18.00 night per week on 6-1-70 and $13.00 per week on 6-1-71. Remainder of settlement same as pressroom listed above.

Chicago, Ill. N. 7—Contract term 5-6-69 to 5-5-71. Initial wage increase $17.00 per week bringing weekly scale to $189.75 day and $195.15 night. Ad-

(Continued on page 21)

New Contracts

(Continued from page 20)

ditional wage increase of $17.00 per week on 5-6-70. The hospitalization-medical-surgical fixed fee plan will be replaced by a major medical group plan on 5-6-70. Three days' leave in event of death in immediate family (first time).

Rochester, N. Y. N. 36—Contract term 2-1-69 to 1-31-72. Initial wage increase $13.00 per week bringing weekly scale to $138.25 day and $145.25 night. Additional increases of $12.00 per week on 2-1-70 and $11.00 per week on 2-1-71. Additional holiday to be gained (seventh) on 2-1-70. Service requirement for a four weeks' vacation will be reduced from 20 years to 17 years on 2-1-70 and further reduced to 15 years on 2-1-71. Jury duty pay extended to the maximum of 15 days (was 10) on 2-1-70. Funeral leave expanded to include brother and sister on 2-1-70 and mother-in-law and father-in-law on 2-1-71. Double time will be paid for work performed immediately before or after any holiday.

Specialty settlements

Minneapolis, Minn. P. 20—Color-Ad Packaging, Inc. at St. Louis Park, Minn. Contract term 2-20-69 to 2-19-71. Initial wage increase ranging from 15¢ to 55¢ per hour. Effective 2-20-70 additional general increase 15¢ per hour. Night differential—second shift increased to 12¢ (was 11¢) per hour, third shift increased to 15¢ (was 12¢) per hour. Double time after 8 hours at time and one-half (was straight time and one-half) for Saturday work; double and one-half time after 8 hours at double time (was straight double time) for Sunday work. Service requirement for four weeks' vacation reduced from 20 to 15 years. Additional holiday—day before New Year's Day, plus additional ½ day "holiday bonus"; also triple time and one-half for holiday work (was triple time). Bereavement leave—mother-in-law and father-in-law included in immediate family category. Reporting for work pay increased to full day's pay (was 4 hours). Uniform allowance increased to $10.00 per year (was $5.00).

St. Louis, Mo. S. 409—Alton Box Board Company of Pacific, Mo. Contract term 8-1-69 to 7-31-72. Initial general wage increase 20¢ per hour plus adjustments of 10¢ or 20¢ per hour for some skilled classifications. Second year general increase 18¢ per hour plus adjustment of 10¢ per hour for some skilled classifications; third year increase 18¢ per hour across-the-board night differential increased to 12¢ (was 10¢) per hour; to be used in computing holiday and vacation pay for night shift employees. Effective 1-1-70 service requirement for four weeks' vacation reduced from 18 to 15 years; effective 1-1-72 five weeks' vacation after 25 years' service (first time). Additional holiday (ninth)—Friday after Thanksgiving. S&A weekly benefit increased to $50 (was $40) and benefit period extended to 26 (was 13) weeks. Contributory prepaid prescription drug plan and improved Blue Cross-Blue Shield plan added.

Peoria, Ill. S. 523—Fleming-Potter Company, Inc. Contract term 7-1-69 to 6-30-72. Initial wage increase ranging from 28¢ to 58¢ per hour depending on classifications. Effective 1-1-70 additional increase 10¢ per hour across-the-board; effective 7-1-70 additional increase ranging from 19½¢ to 36½¢ per hour; effective 7-1-71 additional increase ranging from 21¢ to 39¢ per hour. Service requirements reduced for three weeks' vacation from 5 to 3 years; for four weeks' vacation from 20 to 15 years. Pension plan increases —2¢ per hour in 1969 (total 8¢ per hour); additional 2¢ per hour in 1970; and additional 2¢ per hour in 1971. Jury duty provision (first time).

Niles, Mich. P. 151—Simplicity Pattern Co., Inc. Contract term 8-3-69 to 7-31-71. Initial wage increase ranging from 24¢ to 36¢ per hour. Effective 8-2-70 additional increase ranging from 22¢ to 34¢ per hour; also cost-of-living clause (first time)—quarterly adjustments, no maximum, wage adjustment formula of 0.4 CPI=1¢. Night differential increase 4¢ per hour—second shift total 14¢ to 15¢ per hour; third shift total 19¢ to 20¢ per hour. Service requirements reduced for three weeks' vacation from 11 to 10 years, for four weeks' vacation from 17 to 15 years, and for five weeks' vacation from 26 to 25 years. One and one-half additional holidays (total 10½). Severance pay increased—100 (was 75) hours' pay for 3 years' service, 175 (was 150) hours' pay for 5 years' service, 250 (was 225) hours' pay for 10 years' service, 350 hours' pay for 15 years' service (first time). Bereavement leave —spouse, 5 (was 3) consecutive days. Jury duty pay (first time), maximum 60 days per calendar year.

San Francisco, Calif. S. 362—Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation's South San Francisco works. Contract term 6-3-69 to 1-15-71. Wage increase ranging from 20¢ to 33½¢ per hour depending on classification. Night differential increased to $2.00 (was $1.71) per shift. Service requirement for four weeks' vacation reduced from 15 to 10 years; five weeks' vacation after 25 years' service (first time). Two additional half-holidays (total 10)—one-half day before Christmas and one-half day before New Year's Day. Employer contribution to Health and Welfare Fund to be increased during contract term, maximum $30.00 (total) per month. Five (was two) days' sick leave after 1 year's service; thereafter 5 (was 3) additional days for each additional year of service (maximum accumulation 30 days). Employer retirement contribution increased to $21.65 (was $16.25) per month.

Weirton, West Va. P. 731—Continental Can Co., Inc., Plant No. 446. Contract term 4-16-69 to 3-22-72. Effective 3-22-69 wage increase ranging from 20¢ to 35½¢ per hour. Effective 3-22-70 additional wage increase ranging from 10¢ to 19¢ per hour; effective 3-22-71 additional increase 10¢ across-the-board. Effective 3-22-70 additional holiday (ninth). Effective 12-1-70 improved group insurance. Effective 3-22-71 improved retirement. Effective 3-22-70 funeral leave (first time)—3 days.

Montreal, Que., Can. S. 521—Interchem Canada, Ltd., Montreal Plant (formerly the Ault & Wiborg Division of Interchem Canada, Ltd.). Contract term 4-1-69 to 6-30-71. Initial general wage increase 28¢ per hour; second year increase 22¢ per hour. Service requirement for two weeks' vacation reduced from 2 years to 1 year. Additional 1½ holidays (total 9½). Company retirement plan (first time mentioned in contract). Bereavement leave broadened to include mother-in-law and father-in-law. Meal allowance increase to $1.00 (was $.75).

Toronto, Ont., Can. S. 466—Sellotape Canada, Ltd. Contract term 3-5-69 to 3-4-71. Effective 3-5-69 wage increases ranging from 17¢ to 36¢ per hour (male) and from 14¢ to 15¢ per hour (female). Effective 11-10-69 additional increases ranging from 9¢ to 12¢ per hour (male) and from 7¢ to 8¢ per hour (female). Effective 7-6-70 additional wage increases ranging from 10¢ to 12¢ per hour (male) and 8¢ (female). Service requirement for four weeks' vacation reduced from 25 to 20 years. Additional holiday (ninth)—Boxing Day. Funeral leave (up to 3 days) expanded to cover mother-in-law and father-in-law; 1 day leave if employee unable to attend funeral. Employer contribution $6.00 per year toward safety shoes. Meal allowance increased to $1.25 (was $1.00).

Bro. Joe Marable retires

Joseph Marable, after many years of service to Seattle (Wash.) Newspaper Local 26, retired July 26.

Joseph Marable

In August of 1945 he went to Seattle by way of a traveller's card and took a job at the Post Intelligencer, where he has been employed for the past 24 years.

Brother Marable served in the capacity of vice-president, a member of the executive board and many other committees, both appointed and elected.

At a special meeting, the Intelligencer Chapel presented Brother Marable a check for $50.

Moving Notice

Printing Specialties Local No. 447, Eastern Conference of Specialty Unions and International Vice-President Sol Fishko have moved to: 200 Park Avenue, South, New York, N.Y. 10003.

No. 6 newspaper pressman gets Bronze Star

A junior member of Washington (D. C.) Web Newspaper Local No. 6 and the holder of two citations and medals, Joseph V. Palmer received the Bronze Star July 9 in Vietnam for "meritorious achievement in ground operations against hostile forces."

Brother Palmer's father, Lawrence, says Joe loves the newspaper business and he looks forward to what he fought for—freedom and a need for purpose.

Local 6's Pete Maschi commented, "in short, he has added up to a boy that all of us in the local are very proud of and glad that he is a part of us."

Brother Palmer is presently in Hawaii and hopes to be united with his family at Christmas.

Twenty-three-year-old Joe Palmer (right) receives Bronze Star while stationed in Vietnam during July.

Unfair list

Members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and their families are requested to support consumer boycotts against the products and services of the companies which, because of their anti-union policies, do not deserve union patronage. The following list was prepared by the Union Label and Service Trades Department—AFL-CIO.

GYPSUM WALLBOARD—American Gypsum Co., Albuquerque, New Mexico
(Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers)

CLOTHING — Siegel (H.I.S. brand) suits and sports jackets, Kaynee boyswear, Richman Brothers men's clothing, Sewell suits, Wing shirts, and Metro Pants Co.
(Amalgamated Clothing Workers)

CIGARETTES—R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.—Camels, Winston, Salem, Tempo, Brandon, Cavalier, and Doral
(Tobacco Workers International)

FURNITURE—Jamestown Sterling Corp., and White Furniture Co., Economy Furniture Co.
(United Furniture Workers)

LIQUORS—Stitzel-Weller Distilleries products — Old Fitzgerald, Cabin Still, Old Elk, and W. L. Weller
(Distillery Workers)

PRINTING—Kingsport Press—"World Book," "Childcraft"
(Printing Pressmen, Typographers, Bookbinders, Machinists, Stereotypers and Electrotypers)

Los Angeles Herald-Examiner (10 unions involved — covering 2,000 workers)

RANGES—Magic Chef, Pan Pacific Division
(Stove, Furnace and Allied Appliance Workers)

TOYS—Fisher-Price toys
(Doll and Toy Workers)

RICE—Comet Rice Mills Co. products

FLOURMILL PRODUCTS—Pioneer Products San Antonio, Tex.
(United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drinks and Distillery Workers)

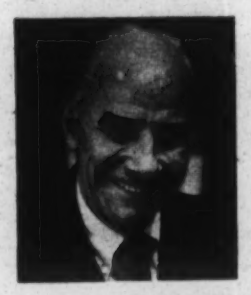
BRICKS—Boren Clay Products Co., northeastern and Great Lakes region
(United Brick and Clay Workers)

GRAPES—Giumarra Vineyards and all California grapes except Di Giorgio Co. products
(United Farm Workers)

SHOES—Genesco Shoe Mfg. Co.—work shoes. . . . Sentry, Cedar Chest, and Staler; men's shoes. . . . Jarman, Johnson & Murphy, Crestworth
(Boot and Shoe Workers)

SPECIAL—West Virginia—camping and vacation spots

Financial Report of Secretary-Treasurer Alexander J. Rohan



November 19, 1969

To the Officers and Members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

Greetings:

I herewith submit the following statement of Receipts, Disbursements and Cash Balances for the period of one month ended October 31, 1969.

This statement is prepared in our Accounting Department prior to the quarterly independent audit of Ernst & Ernst, Certified Public Accountants.

Any suggestions you may have for improving the method of presenting this statement will be appreciated.

Sincerely and fraternally submitted,

Alexander J. Rohan
Secretary-Treasurer

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS, DISBURSEMENTS AND CASH BALANCES
Period of One Month ended October 31, 1969

	General Fund	Burial Fund	Convention Fund	Defense Fund	Memorial & Endowment	Officers & Reps. Pension Fund	Total
RECEIPTS:							
Per capita tax	$ 317,834.39	$ 64,706.40	$19,087.95	$126,830.00	$	$	$ 528,458.74
Interfund Receipts	2,887.00	15,000.00	.....	.....	.....	24,026.97	41,913.97
All other Receipts	16,083.43	13,007.74	120.76	.....	.....	.....	29,211.93
Total Receipts	336,804.82	92,714.14	19,208.71	126,830.00	.....	24,026.97	599,584.64
DISBURSEMENTS:							
Salaries (4 weeks)	99,149.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	99,149.28
Officers, Representatives & Organizers Expenses	48,461.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	48,461.10
Special and Defense Assistance	14,067.46	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,067.46
Conferences and Councils	12,041.77	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,041.77
Affiliations	11,726.70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,726.70
Legal fees and expenses	12,000.84	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,000.84
Publications Cost (other than Salaries)	9,984.88	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,984.88
Death benefits	.....	39,850.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	39,850.00
Strike & Lockout Benefits	.....	.....	.....	148,330.00	.....	.....	148,330.00
Interfund Disbursements	24,026.97	2,314.36	15,572.64	.....	.....	.....	41,913.97
All other Disbursements	86,142.74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	86,142.74
Total Disbursements	$ 317,601.74	$ 42,164.36	$15,572.64	$148,330.00	$	$	$ 523,668.74
Increase or Decrease* in Cash	19,203.08	50,549.78	3,636.07	21,500.00*	.....	24,026.97	75,915.90
Cash Balances— October 1, 1969	1,018,245.69	1,064,574.38	54,794.25	178,433.76	45,813.46	53,050.39	2,414,911.93
Cash Balances— October 31, 1969	$1,037,448.77	$1,115,124.16	$58,430.32	$156,933.76	$45,813.46	$77,077.36	$2,490,827.83

Advanced to journeyman

The International Board of Directors approved the following members for journeyman classification during the month of October:

Newspaper journeymen

P-128: Ronald M. Weiten; P-134: Chester L. Hinkleman; P-191: Charles A. Harke, Robert Woods, Michael E. Herrington, Edward Beck, Jr., Dean Morey; P-202: Roger Lewis; P-223: Marion L. Robertson; P-258: David L. Edwards; P-295: Billy G. Spiker; P-317: Ronald L. Collins; P-332: Alex Greening; P-425: Bill Berencsi.

N-2: Peter Lappin; Patrick Woods, George Ebling, Walter Stahli; N-6: Benny R. Parker; N-11: John Lee; N-18: William J. White, Robert L. Vieth, Michael R. Alderman; N-21: Bailey Reece Fields; N-31: Christian E. Young, Frederick D. Brown, Jack E. Stephan; N-32: Joseph F. Cyr; N-48: Charles D. McCarty, Dennis Baldwin; N-42: Joseph L. Melvin.

Cylinder journeymen

P-1: Paul Barlow, John Carman, W. C. Chapman, B. R. Coleman, J. G. Gerndt, H. W. Lewis, Pat F. Long, Paul J. Mastein, Joseph V. Murphy, R. F. Rinn, B. E. Smith, R. Taylor, B. J. Thien; P-17: Lester M. Rhoads, Jr.; P-4: Robert T. Cronin, P-14: Per Person, Jr., Andy Ward; P-103: Rodney E. Marler; P-246: Gerald E. McElheny; P-266: Thomas Benthom.

Offset journeymen

P-2: Richard Hutman; P-14: Patrick R. Judd, Donald Lacombe, Thomas Letcher; P-51: Arthur R. Silverstone; P-62: James Sanderson; P-69: Leo Jean; P-72: Curtis F. Orpin, Jr., William B. Goswellen; P-106: Robert D. Barnard, Eldon H. Schwindt, Sydney L. Smith; P-71: Larry L. Brantley; P-126: John R. Smithson; P-121: Thomas O. Stewart; P-276: Eldridge M. Bartlett; P-190: Anthony J. Rogala; P-254: John T. Melvin; P-309: Philip T. Hinrichs.

Platen journeymen

P-425: John Langelaan.

Rotogravure journeymen

P-235: James M. Henry; N-12: John Mulcahey; N-31: Jack E. Stephan, Christian E. Young, Frederick D. Brown, Jr.

Web offset journeymen

P-39: Ronald J. Watkins.

Cameramen, platemakers and strippers

P-14: Wayne McNab, Per Person, Jr.; P-72: Joe G. Griffis; P-306: David Biela.

Platemaker

P-61: Louis Ash.

Rotary journeymen

P-10: John Maunder; P-27: Paul Roof; P-121: Thomas O. Stewart.

Flexographic journeymen

P-2: Michael Beaufore.

They make money!

WASHINGTON (PAI)—There may be competition among some unions for one thing or another but the International Association of Sideographers claims that it is the smallest international with 25 members.

The union has locals in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Ottawa, Ont. Its members produce original engravings for stamps, money and stocks.

Help Wanted

Preparatory Dept.—strippers. $4.80.5 per hour. Fully paid hospitalization; IPP&AU Pension program; sick benefits—$90 per week for 26 weeks; $3000 life insurance; excellent working conditions. Contact anytime Dell Eshelmen, Columbus Printing Pressmen Local 62, 1948 East Hudson St., Columbus, Ohio 43211. Office phone (614) 475-9808. Home phone (614) 267-7181.

Letterpress pressman for job shop. Permanent situation. Scale $6.00 per hour. Union. Contact Mechanical Superintendent, Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701.

Wanted—Three Journeymen Web Pressmen to work on Hoe Colormatic presses in new air conditioned building. 37½ hours per week, night scale $151.75, day scale $146.25. Situations guaranteed. I.P.P. & A.U. Employer Retirement Fund. Contact: Perry N. Gann, President, 922 Ashton Street, Jacksonville, Fla. 32208. Phone 904-764-6240 or Robert E. Phoebus, Sr., Secretary-Treasurer, 7652 Pinnacle Dr., Jacksonville, Fla. 32205. Phone 904-781-1480.

Three Pressmen, color work preferred, 37½ hour week, weekends off, $146.50 per week, $6.00 a week raise with signing of new contract. Seven paid holidays, insurance paid. For information write, William N. Hubbard, Chairman, Southern Colorprint, Box 5106, Newport News, Va. 23605.

We have an opening for one journeyman, web newspaper letterpress pressman; 6-unit Hoe press with color deck. 40 hour week (4 days and 1 night shift). Wages: $142.80 per week, six paid holidays (double time), two weeks vacation after one year, sick leave, Union pressroom. Write or phone the following: Mr. Chester W. Lien, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, 200 South Minnesota Avenue, Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57102. Phone: Office: 605-336-1130; Home: 605-332-4565.

Needed immediately: Offset newspaper pressman for Goss Urbanite. Steady situation. Contact: Glen W. Cornwall, Mechanical Superintendent, Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, P. O. Box 710, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701.

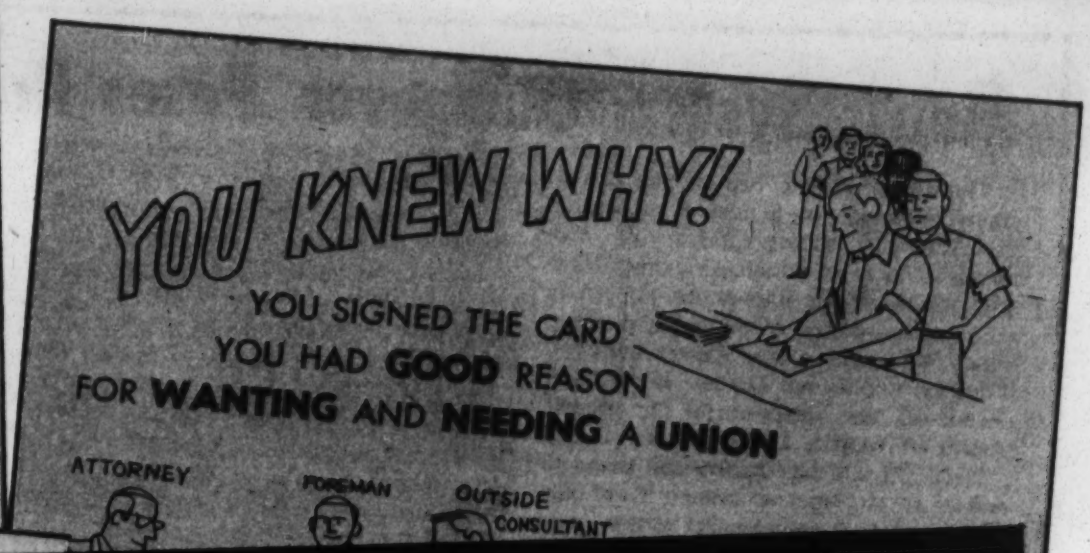
Situation open for three Journeymen newspaper pressmen in Charleston, W.Va. Scale: $142.00 days and $148.00 nights. 37½ hour work week, Hospitalization and Life Insurance, Retirement, Salary continuation Insurance, and paid vacation. Contact: H. Ronald Harris, Pressroom Foreman, Newspaper Agency Corp., 1001 Virginia St., E. Charleston, W.Va.

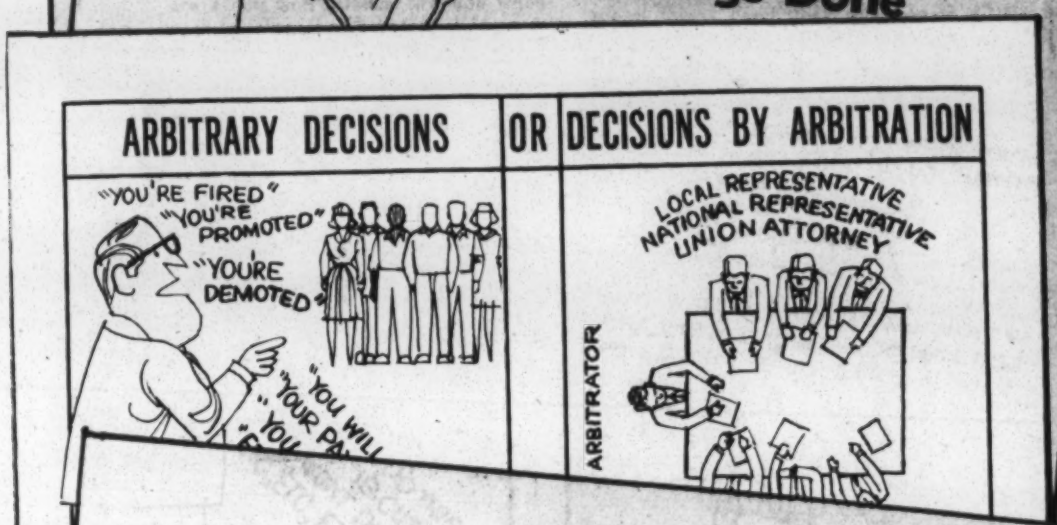
Wanted — Offset Process Color Stripper, scale $190 per week; one Journeyman Offset Pressman, pay range $160.00 to $200.00 per week; one Press Operator, pay range $140.00 to $150.00 per week. Good fringe benefits, including I. P. P. & A. U. — E. R. F. Retirement Plan. Radio Printing Corporation, 1501 State Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut 06600. Contact: Jack Dienes. Phone: 203-367-6467.

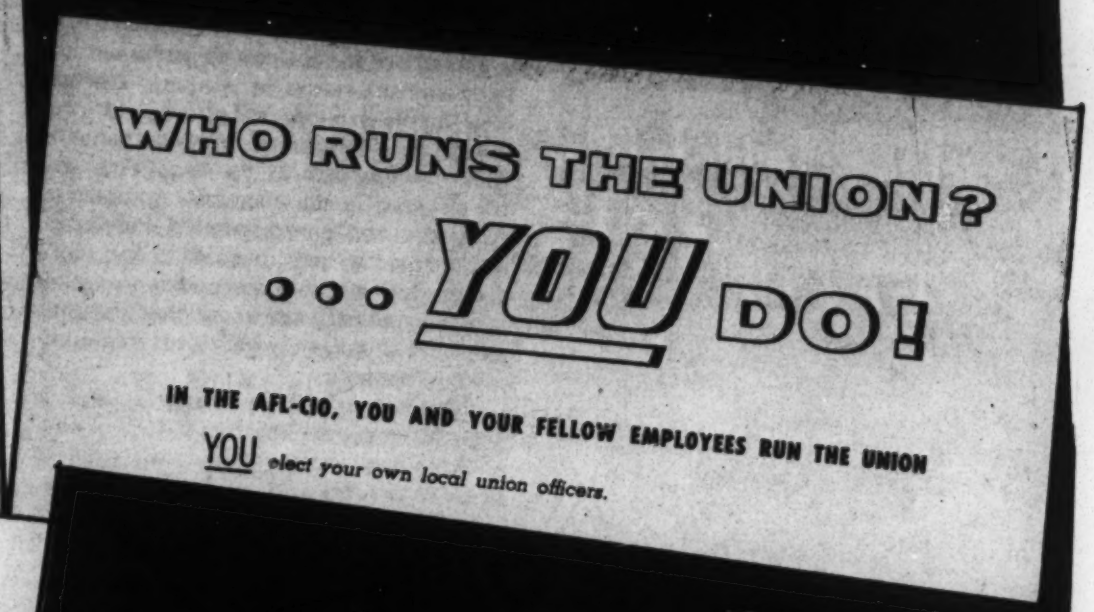
Wanted: Pressman, Process Color lithography, Harris 2 & 4 color presses. 35-Hour week, wages $200.00 plus fringe benefits. Contact Frank Zercher, Mike Roberts Color Productions, 2023 Eighth Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94710.

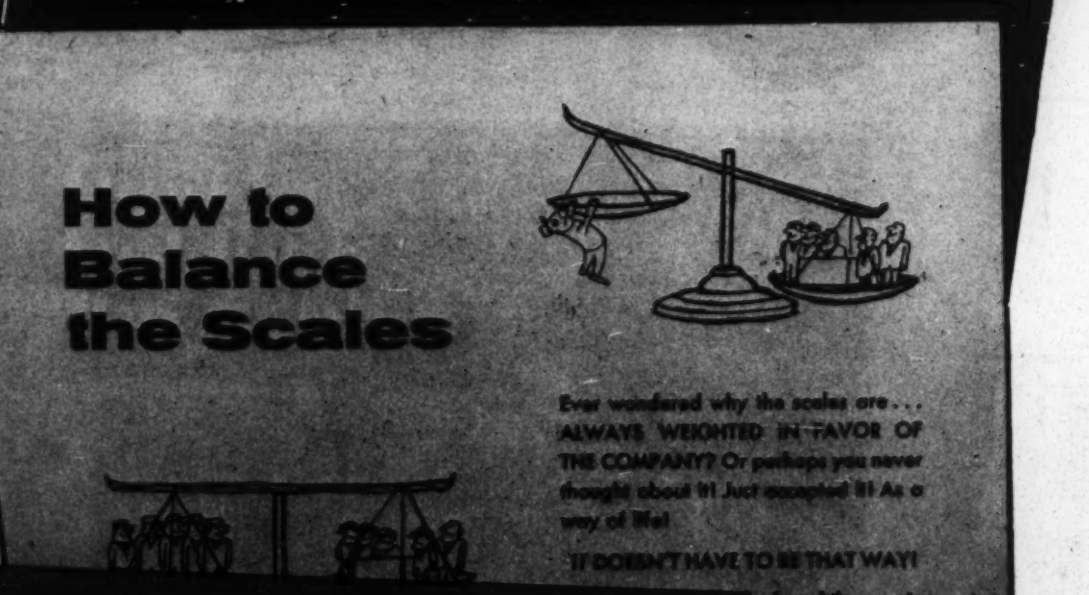
Experienced stripper. 37½ hr. week. Vacation, sickness & accident insurance, life insurance, pension plan. Write Dispatch Printing & Engraving Co., 31 North Park Row, Erie, Pa. 16507.

All inquiries for employment are to be sent to the Employment Department, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.









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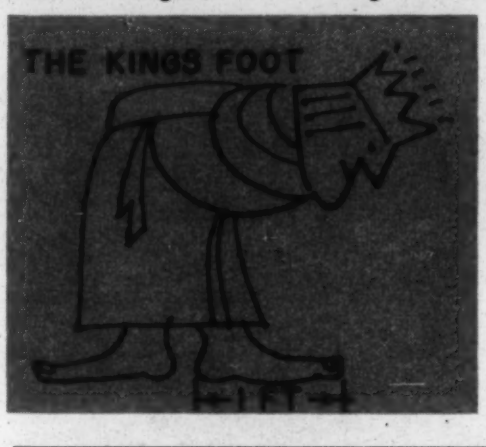
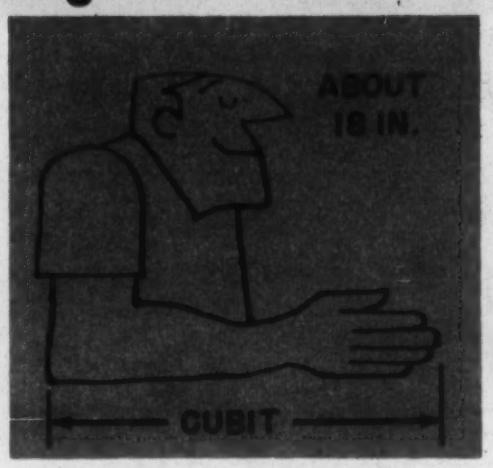
Metric System Changover Poses Problems

The decade of the 70's will be one of change—change in almost every aspect of American society. Most of the, changes, many of which we cannot foresee, will have an impact on American labor and industry. Among the changes which will come a step nearer reality—if indeed it does not become in the next decade—is the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures.

Great Britain has announced plans to switch to the metric system from the traditional foot-pound-quart system and the British graphic arts industry is making the changeover in December, 1970. The impact on the graphic arts industry in America has been discussed by many in the industry and by researchers and technicians who have explored the implications of the big changeover.

Some 90 per cent of the world's population has adopted the metric system with the U.S. among one of the chief holdouts adhering to the traditional system. Other holdouts are Canada, Australia and South Africa. The metric system is based on tens, or multiples of ten. We used a decimal system when the nation was founded, but the new nation followed England in its weights and





measures, based on strange origins of both measures and weights.

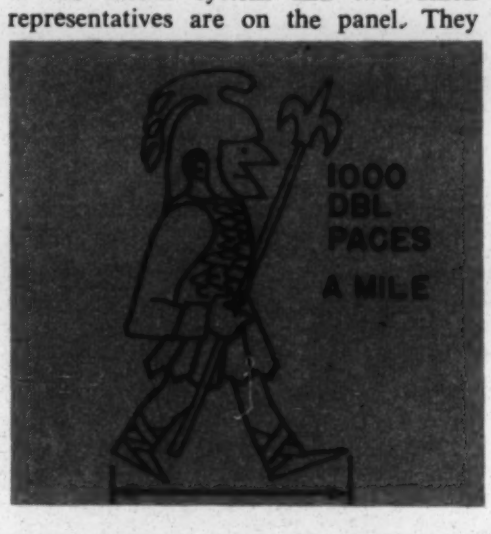
Basic units in the metric system are the meter and the kilogram and from the other units of length and mass are derived. The metric units are uniform throughout the world, but the older system has variations. A gallon and an "Imperial" gallon are different. Some of the liquid measures are different.

Of immediate interest to pressmen are the problems raised by a metric changeover to the printing and graphic arts industry. Use of metric measurements is by no means new in the U.S. They are widely used in the chemical, optometric, electronic and pharmaceutical industries. The metric system is said to be more precise and the more demanding precision is in an industry the more that industry leans on a system which provides complete accuracy.

Printing machinery manufacture is certainly a precise science and the manufacture and compounding of printing papers and ink are scientific pursuits. How weights and measurements are used in printing is so taken for granted that most craftsmen in the industry seem to pay little attention to the system used. Weight is a critical matter in paper as is, of course, precise measurement. The machinery used, the tools of the craftsmen are geared to the older system. Even the thickness of paper is measured as fractional part of inches. Wherever measurement is needed, the metric system offers an improvement, say its advocates.

In the process of translating copy from manuscript to the printed page measurement is critical. The point-pica system is used: 12 points are 1 pica and 6 picas are an inch or to be exact .996 of an inch. Many photoengravers use the inch system and conversions are sometimes necessary for accuracy. But the system is in itself repete with variations. American industry is faced with many cases of conversion and these become expensive; some estimates place the cost of conversions in U.S. industry into the high hundreds of millions.

A commission has been named to make a study of the feasibility of conversion to the metric system and two union representatives are on the panel. They



are Vernon E. Jirikowic of the Machinists and James E. Noe of the Electrical Workers. Labor has a real stake in a changeover. Craftsmen's tools would have to be changed in a large part and some estimates place the cost of a national changeover at $11 billion over a 20-year period. Retraining would be necessary for workers and new training concepts for new apprentices would be used.

Thousands of Americans have been introduced to various aspects of the metric system in their overseas military service in World War II, Korea, Vietnam and other overseas duty. The changeover may not, in general, be as difficult as many suppose.

The AFL-CIO asks that workers be protected and not suffer as the result of retooling necessary or the necessity for retraining. Labor will not be a roadblock to progress in this or other changes, but labor must insist that the worker not have to shoulder an inordinate burden in the name of technical efficiency.

NEWS and VIEWS

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN & ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

December 1969 Vol. 1 No. 12

The editorial staff of News and Views wishes everyone everywhere a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year

NOTICE: All changes of address are to be sent to the secretary-treasurer of your local union.

MY NEW ADDRESS

(Street and No.) .....

.....

(City) .....

(Province or State) .....

(Zip Code) .....

(Plant or Shop) .....

or International No. .....

MY OLD ADDRESS

AFFIX YOUR MAILING LABEL FROM NEWS AND VIEWS IN THIS SPACE

Reading file

February 9, 1970

Mr. Walter M. Allen, Director
Department of Education and Information
International Printing Pressmen & Assistants'
Union of North America
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Allen:

I was happy to receive your letter about the printing pressman's program in April. I will be available to teach with your group.

It was helpful to receive the other materials which you have enclosed. If there are any other reports discussing mergers or district council programs, I would be happy to see them as well.

I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Center for Resources
Development

EFV/km

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN & ASSISTANTS' UNION of NORTH AMERICA

1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W. / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / PHONE 202—293-2185

DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATION and INFORMATION
WALTER M. ALLEN, Director

February 5, 1970

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I understand that Al Kehrer has contacted you after receiving a phone call from George Guernsey about helping with a seminar which we are putting on in Atlanta. I understand that you expressed a willingness to serve as one of our discussion leaders at that seminar. I would like to explain what we are attempting to do.

The seminar is scheduled for the Atlanta American Motor Hotel on April 18, which is the middle day of a 3-day conference of our Southern Conference of Specialty Workers and is also shared by a District Joint Council composed of craft unions called the Deep South District Joint Council. We will be asking locals from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee to attend this area seminar.

We have approximately 65 locals in that area, about one-half of which are quite small. Some of these locals could achieve an effective operation if they could be persuaded to merge into a single organization and this is a part of the background of our education approach to these seminars. We also have a District Joint Council program, which is intended to tie the local unions to the point of supporting one or more fulltime officers. The Deep South Council has not yet achieved the proper financial arrangement to afford a fulltime officer and we would hope to encourage action which would bring this about in the near future.

We are recognizing that the tradition of this union has been to grant charters to any group of a minimum of 10 members and to assume that they could look out for their own problems with a minimum of help. We now recognize that such locals have very slight chances of operating effectively, but our rules are such that we must approach them with a selling job rather than a mandatory order. Therefore, it is our thought that our program would revolve around discussions which would point out the necessary functions and programs of an effective local union and use some kind of measuring device so that the delegates could measure the effectiveness of their own locals. We think that having reviewed the necessary functions and programs, these locals will be in a frame of mind to respond to suggestions for mergers where possible and support the District Joint Council programs.

I am enclosing a copy of an outline of the areas which I think should be covered in a discussion on building better local unions. I recognize that this is somewhat superficial and that we are expecting to cover a large territory by hitting on all of these points in the few hours that we have.

An outline of the program would call for two sessions on this general subject, as outlined above, with a later session in the day which would sum up the conclusions reached in the discussion and provide the recommendations of the participants, as well as the International Union's Board of Directors.

We hope also to have a brief session on our program for craft training and retraining and a separate session on multi-plant bargaining for our specialty workers. At the evening dinner we have invited Barney Weeks, President of the Alabama State AFL-CIO to stress the necessity for our locals to be active in the labor movement outside of their own union and to take part in the political action and legislative programs of organized labor.

For your additional information, I am enclosing a copy of the December issue of News and Views, our union journal. Note page 1 and the center spread.

If you have any questions or if you would like to contact me directly, please feel free to call me collect.

With best wishes and kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Walter M. Allen

Director

WMA:rlg
Enclosures

BUILDING BETTER LOCAL UNIONS

-- Functions and Programs --

I. Developing Effective Leadership and Programs

A. Training and Preparation
B. Inducements to Serve

II. Improving Union Meetings

A. Planning
B. Attractions
C. Participation

III. Activating Union Members

A. Steward System
B. Widen Union's Activities and Functions
C. Improve Communication

IV. Negotiating Better Contracts

A. Planning Proposals
B. Learning Bargaining Techniques
C. Broadening Bargaining Unit

V. Gaining Effective Contract Administration

A. First and Second Line Union Administrative Functions
B. Use of Grievance Procedures
C. Arbitration Techniques

VI. Upgrading Apprentice Training and Journeyman Retraining

A. Local Union Committee Responsibility
B. Relationship With Employers
C. Tailored Retraining Programs

VII. Implementing International Union Aids and Services

A. Use of Research Information
B. Use of International Representatives

1. Limitations

C. Technical Aid

VIII. Strengthening Role of District Councils

A. Maximum Affiliation
B. Sufficient Financing
C. Full Time Activity

1. Organizing
2. Servicing
3. Exchange of Information

IX. Actively Affiliating With AFL-CIO or CLC

A. Local Central Body
B. State or Provincial Central Bodies
C. Legislative and Political Programs
D. Community Programs

X. Attracting, Organizing and Welcoming New Members

A. Creating Favorable Union Image
B. Publicizing Aims
C. Educating and Indoctrinating New Members

IPP&AU *of* NA-
EMPLOYER RETIREMENT FUND

NEW PLAN EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1969

Established 1955
As Amended 1970

Ground Rules: E. not expert on Printing Pressmen
Informal — discussion
Question raising
Recognizing differences in size & trade
Once over lightly
Door opening —

VIA

Decatur Room

I. P. P. & A. U. SEMINAR

DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE UNION

APRIL 18, 1970

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

9:00 A.M. - (MAIN BALLROOM)

OPENING REMARKS AND INSTRUCTIONS
WALTER ALLEN

9:15 A.M. - (DIVIDE INTO SECTIONS)

Reporter to report @ end

SESSION I
EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP
ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP
VIGOROUS ORGANIZING PROGRAM

~~10:30~~ 11:00 A.M. - COFFEE AND COKES

10:~~45~~ 15 A.M. - SESSION II
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING
1. GOALS
2. NEGOTIATING EFFECTIVELY
3. GRIEVANCE HANDLING

Tem A — 1
Tem B — 2
Fulton — 3
Decatur — 4
Big Room — 5

12:~~00~~ 30 NOON - LUNCH

~~1:30~~ 2:00 P.M. - SESSION III
UNION STRUCTURE
AFFILIATIONS
ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

Staff — Smith, McCann
Bd —

3:~~00~~ 30 P.M. - COFFEE AND COKES

3:~~45~~ P.M. - SESSION IV (MAIN BALLROOM)
GROUP REPORTS (SECTION REPORTERS)

4:~~00~~ 30 P.M. - SUMMATION AND CHARGE
I.P.P. & A.U. VICE PRESIDENT SOL FISHKO

DISCUSSION LEADERS:

STUART BROCK JAMES JESSE EMORY VIA
MILES GALVIN E. T. KEHRER

law
opeiu #21
afl-cio

Barron Watkins — Pres. So. Conf. Specialties
Lee Kennon — Pres, Ga Sports Unlimited
Joint Council

THE EFFECTIVE LOCAL UNION

PURPOSES: (Reasons for Unions)

1. Negotiate best possible contracts for wages and working conditions.
2. Administer and enforce such contracts.
3. Inform and educate members.
4. Unify workers by identifying and seeking common goals.
5. Combine talents and resources of members.
6. Develop and operate programs and relationships which aid the central purposes of union.
7. Relate desires and needs of members to the mechanism for achieving them, i.e., <u>the union</u>.
8. Protect and widen union's jurisdiction.

NECESSARY COMPONENTS:

1. Qualified and dedicated officers.
2. Effective second-line leaders (stewards, chapel chairman, committeemen).
3. Informed and unified membership.
4. Good and well-attended union meetings.
5. Successful collective bargaining and contract administration.
6. Active affiliations -- internal and external.
7. Program for attracting and activating new members.
8. Sufficient financial funds and resources.
9. Proper Union Structure.

Leaders
Stewards
Committees
Planning — goal-setting

I. Strong Leadership

A. Officers:

An effective local union ---

1. Attracts most experienced and qualified members as officers.

2. Offers adequate financial inducements for use of officers' time and effort.

3. Provides an opportunity, and requires officers to participate in educational and training programs.

4. Encourages and expects leaders to show initiative in suggesting and implementing union goals.

5. Leaders make proper preparation for activites and promptly perform routine duties.

6. Executive Board:

   a. Meets separately and recommends actions to body.
   b. Officers relate and respond to programs and goals of International Union.

7. Rank and file members are encouraged to serve.
8. Knows value of publicity (News and Views).

B. Second-line leadership:

An effective local union has ---

1. Active and responsible steward system: See Kit

   a. Trained (education course graduates)
   b. Informed (familiar with contract and union rules)
   c. Compensated
   d. Recognized
   e. Encouraged to take responsibility

   (See AFL-CIO Steward Manual)

Devoted steward role — representative

Responsibility to individual members, but
to K enforcement, Conditions, Union as institution

What Committees?

Committee System
efficiency —
guarantees performance
in areas of interest
to union

2. Active Committee System:

   a. Standing Committees
      1. Education
      2. Apprenticeship
      3. Election
      4. Organizing
      5. Political Action (COPE)
      6. Community Services
      7. Bargaining
      8. Other
   b. Special Committees
      1. Investigative
      2. Special Events
   c. High level of activity of each and make regular reports to body.

3. Delegates:

   a. Both officer and non-officer
   b. Attend all functions and actively participate in each organization in which union is affiliated
   c. Make regular reports.

II. Active Membership

An effective union's membership is ---

A. Informed: (Communication)

1. By stewards
2. At union meetings
3. Local news letter
4. City labor newspaper
5. International Union journal (News and Views)
6. New member, etc. brochures

Add Regular Press

B. Unified:

1. Chapel or department meetings, as needed.
2. Members support officers
3. Officers seek help and opinions of members
4. Rally to action in emergency or when union is threatened

See: "From the Beginning"
"Why Unions"

An effective union has good and well-attended union meetings ---

C. Members recognize purpose of meetings:

1. To educate and inform membership
2. To make necessary decisions, democratically
3. To develop feeling of brotherhood
4. To share leadership and responsibility and obtain concensus

D. Union meetings provide:

1. Attractive arrangements

   a. Attractive meeting place
   b. Proper time
   c. Publicity

2. Attractive Program

   a. Agenda
      1. Prepared in advance
      2. In order of importance
   b. Rules
      1. Follow parliamentary procedures
      2. Not too formal
   c. Special events -- high point
   d. Encourage discussion
   e. Start promptly
   f. Keep interesting
   g. Keep moving
   h. End on time
   i. Encourage socializing afterward

Note: See booklet "How To Run a Union Meeting". Also leaflet "Securing Membership Participation in Union Activities".

III. Vigorous Organizing Program

An effective local union never stops organizing ---

A. Reasons for organizing:

1. To remove non-union competition

2. To strengthen bargaining unit

3. To widen union influence

4. To maintain internal strength and unity

An effective local union has ---

B. Active organizing program:

1. Organizing committee:

   a. Locating and contacting non-union workers
   b. Familiar with legal rights and restrictions
   c. Helpful to full-time organizers

2. Full-time organizer:

   a. Local officer or business agent
   b. Council representative

3. Training and aids:

   a. Relationship to International and AFL-CIO or CLC

C. New member indoctrination:

1. Orientation and education courses "welcome"

   a. Explaining union tradition and rules
   b. Explaining contract

2. Impressive ceremonies

D. Individual member activity:

1. Attendance at meetings

2. Committee or other responsibility

E. Flexible organizing approach:

1. Craft jurisdiction

2. Industrial (production and maintenance)

3. All crafts (graphic arts crafts combined)

4. Other

See: "Why Unions"
"In the Beginning"
"Youth Protest -- "

(also see kit)

IV. SUCCESSFUL COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

An effective local union knows the reasons and methods of successful collective bargaining ---

A. Union objectives in collective bargaining:

1. Establish equality of bargaining power with employer or employers.

2. Uniformity of conditions of employment.

3. Strong voice in plant operations affecting members.

4. Obtain optimum wages, benefits, and working conditions for employees.

B. Is aware of determinants of bargaining unit area:

1. Tradition

2. Area of employer competition and/or product market

3. Legal limitations (NLRB rules)

4. Jurisdiction (craft) autonomy

C. Recognizes kind and area of bargaining unit area:

1. Craft:

   a. Single plant -- single city
   b. Multi-plant (city or area)

2. Industrial (all production and maintenance workers):

   a. Single plant -- single city
   b. Multi-plant -- single or multi-city
   c. Company-wide -- multi-city

D. Knows differences in collective bargaining structure and methods in different branches of union:

1. Newspaper

   a. Monopoly or semi-monopoly
   b. Local area product
   c. High profit operations
   d. Perishable product
   e. New trend -- chain operation
   f. Craft-skill oriented (changing)

2. Commercial:

   a. Highly competitive
   b. Many small plants
   c. Mainly local market
   d. Some area or national market plants
   e. Great variety of equipment and product
   f. New trends
      1. Merger
      2. Larger plants
   g. Craft-skill oriented (changing)

3. Specialty:

   a. Highly competitive
   b. Local or national area product
   c. Self-trained employees
   d. High proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled employees
   e. Often located in rural areas
   f. Industrial-type bargain unit

E. Knows the Pros and Cons of <u>local</u> autonomy:

1. Pros:

   a. Direct relationship of bargaining to those affected
   b. Freedom from "outside" controls or obligations
   c. Pleases employers

2. Cons:

   a. Ignores realities of employer's competitive area
   b. Loses benefits of support and aid of International Union and area organization
   c. Relates success to size and strenght of individual local union

F. Seeks new approaches to Collective bargaining:

Needs:

1. Strongest possible bargaining unit

2. Sufficient finances

3. Aids of Council and International Union

4. Knowledge of changes in technology

5. Liaison with other locals dealing with same employer

   a. Intra-union
   b. Inter-union

6. Full-time, trained negotiators

7. Replace bargain-basement or collective "begging" with effective, strong collective bargaining program.

   See: "Collective Bargaining in a Democracy"

V. Adequate Financing

An effective local union knows ---

A. Basis and limitations of proper financing program:

1. Needed and desired programs are established first, then members asked for funds.

2. Local has, or seeks, sufficient number of members to share cost of programs without excessive burden.

3. Direct and indirect returns to individual members must exceed his investment (dues and assessments).

4. Officers must be aware that:

   a. Any dues increase is considered a direct (visible) tax by members.
   b. Unlike most taxes, increase may be approved or disapproved (and law requires adequate notice).
   c. Members must be convinced of need.

5. Local union remains dependent upon large measure of volunteer time and effort of members and officers.

B. Establishes and lives within budget:

1. Lists sources of income

2. Lists probable expenditures

C. Seeks formula for dues increases which eliminates need for periodic votes.

1. Possible choices:

   a. Hourly wage plus per capita taxes to affiliates
   b. Percentage of wage increase

D. Makes regular financial reports:

1. Monthly

2. Annually

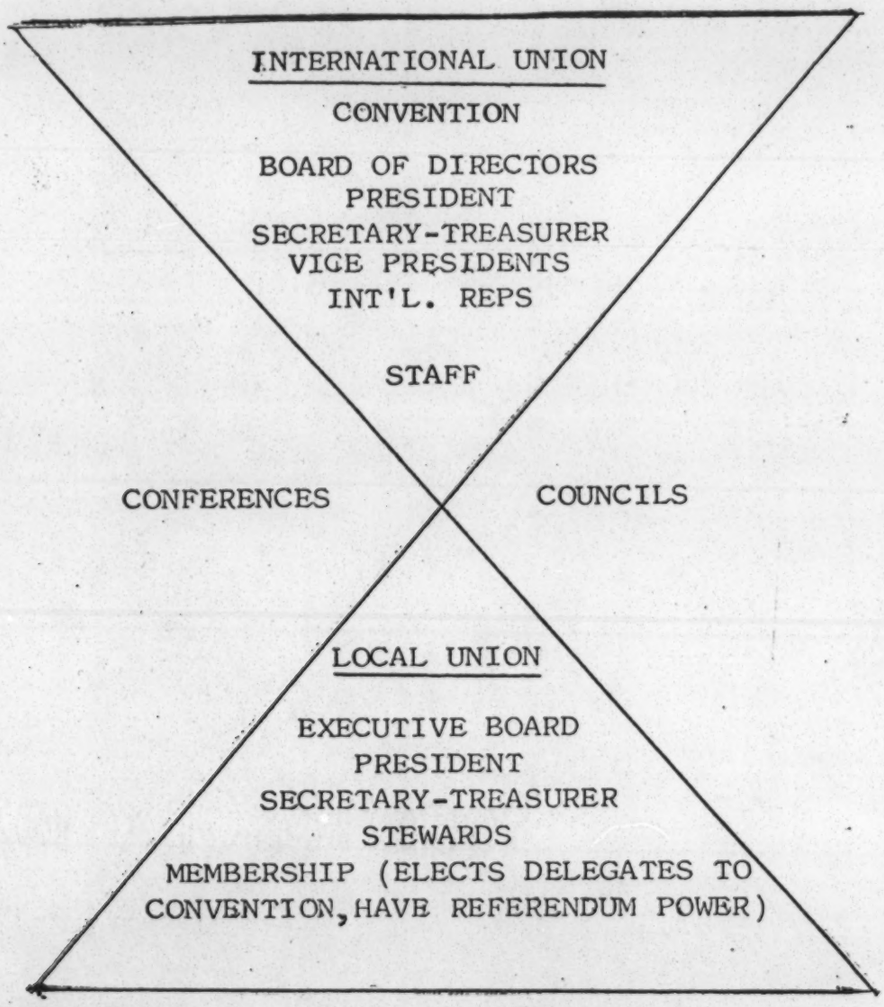
   a. With analysis

3. Recognizing members' interest and need to justify expenses

VI. Recognition of Union Structure

An effective local union knows the need and limitations of union structure ---

A. Based upon lines of authority (formal):



B. Based upon changing needs of local unions (informal)
Local union structure may be based internally upon:

1. Collective bargaining pattern

   a. Single plant unit
   b. Multi-plant unit
   c. Single city unit
   d. Metropolitan or common market area unit
   e. Industry unit
   f. Relationship with other locals (Councils)

C. New criteria for modifying union structure:

1. Size of local union

   a. Large enough jurisdiction to cover competitive area
   b. Sufficient membership base to support expense of necessary programs, and highest level of leadership
   c. Large enough to support full-time operation (full-time officers)

2. Council approach

   a. Need for communication
   b. Need for standardization of conditions
   c. Common goals and time schedule
   d. Division and sharing of responsibilities and costs
   e. Value of periodical area conferences and seminars
   f. Question of mandatory versus voluntary membership in Councils
   g. Question of authority of Councils

3. Possible experiments in new structure and programs

   a. Merger/consolidation of like locals in close proximity seeking optimum size for area operation
   b. Greater financial support for existing Councils
   c. Forming Councils limited to metropolitan areas
   d. Sharing of organizers

4. Communication

   a. Need for two-way communication between locals and International officers and staff
   b. Maximum use of News and Views

B. Weeks

VII. Need For Active Affiliations

An effective local union

A. Knows reasons for:

1. Sending delegates
2. Participating actively
3. Supporting Affiliate's programs
4. Reporting to membership

B. Belongs to internal union organizations:

1. Conferences, area and national
2. District Council or District Joint Council

C. Belongs to external organizations:

1. Local AFL-CIO or CLC central bodies
2. State or provincial AFL-CIO or CLC bodies
3. Allied printing trades councils
4. Community organizations

D. Emphasizes membership recognition of need for:

1. Information on activites of other unions and AFL-CIO or CLC
2. Expanding influence of locals
3. Aid and support to each other
4. Stronger political voice (COPE)

See: "Memo From COPE"
"Your COPE Dollar Drive"

IPP&AU LOCALS AND MEMBERS

SOUTHEAST

	No. of Locals	No. of Dues-Paying Members
Tennessee	19	1,658
North Carolina	11	350
Mississippi	3	85
Alabama	8	438
South Carolina	4	130
Florida	20	790
Georgia	11	3,140
	76	6,591

-- SIZE* OF LOCALS --

S. E. DISTRICT-IPP&AU

	(1) Less Than 25 Members	(2) 25 or More But Less Than 50	(3) 50 or More But Less Than 100	(4) 100 or More But Less Than 500	(5) 500 or More But Less Than 1,000	(6) 1,000 or More
Alabama	1	4	2	1		
Florida	10	2	4	3		
Georgia	2	2	2	3	1	1
Mississippi	2		1			
North Carolina	4	5	2			
South Carolina	2	2				
Tennessee	5	2	6	6		
	26	17	17	13	1	1

-- *Dues-paying members

ALABAMA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 100	Mobile	45
P 121	Birmingham	117
P 211	Montgomery	31
P 349	Tri-Cities	19
SP 569	Birmingham	47
SP 667	Birmingham	62
SP 709	Maplesville	39
N 55	Birmingham	68

FLORIDA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 97	Jacksonville	59
P 180	Tampa	63
P 193	Tallahassee	36
P 207	Miami	58
P 236	St. Petersburg	10
P 277	Pensacola	22
P 444	Daytona Beach	23
P 517	Orlando	10
P 565	Sarasota	22
SP 600	Jacksonville	64
SP 628	Miami	171
P 693	Ocala	13
P 697	Clearwater	16
P 733	Panama City	10
N 57	Jacksonville	65
N 61	Fort Lauderdale	70
PH 46	Fort Lauderdale	18
PH 48	Tampa	16
PH 49	Jacksonville	34

GEORGIA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 8	Atlanta	639
P 110	Savannah	27
P 158	Augusta	13
P 174	Macon	16
P 252	Columbus	93
SP 527	Atlanta	1,707
SP 604	Savannah	147
SP 641	Newnan	267
SP 760	Swainsboro	54
N 10	Atlanta	137
PH 28	Atlanta	39

MISSISSIPPI

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 215	Jackson	5
P 287	Meridian	17
SP 734	Jackson	63

NORTH CAROLINA

Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 120	Raleigh	37
P 131	Charlotte	48
P 202	Asheville	16
P 318	Winston-Salem	25
P 319	Greensboro	28
P 339	Durham	25
P 457	Salisbury	9
SP 465	Greensboro	80
P 502	High Point	11
SP 661	Raleigh	54
PH 47	Raleigh	13

SOUTH CAROLINA

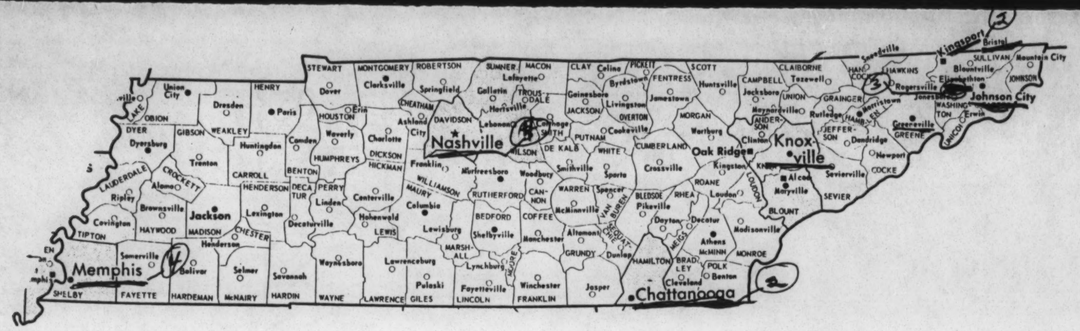
Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

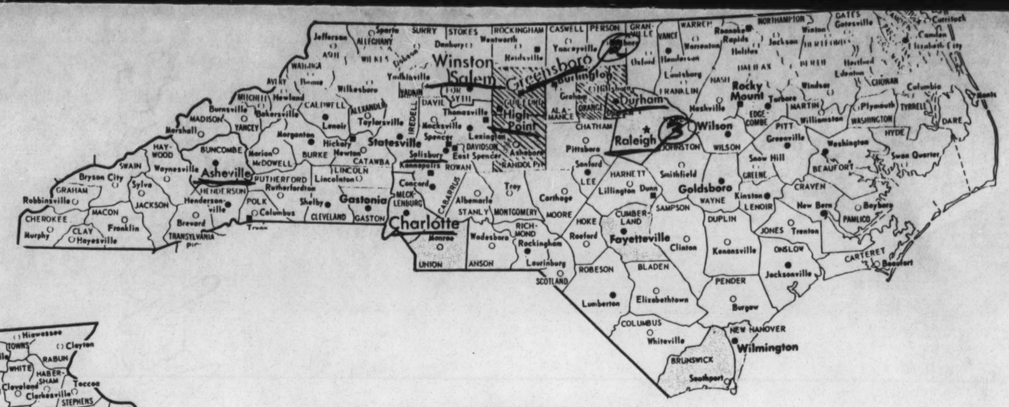
		No. of Members
P 177	Columbia	43
P 233	Spartanburg	14
P 249	Greenville	24
SP 725	Spartanburg	49

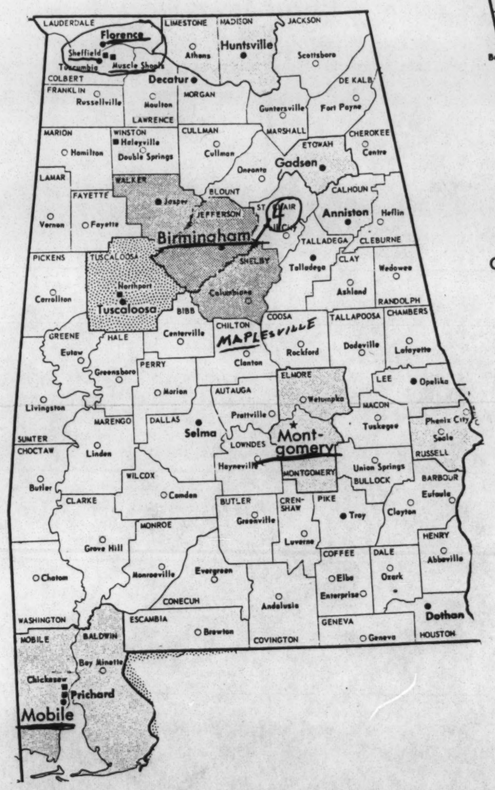
TENNESSEE

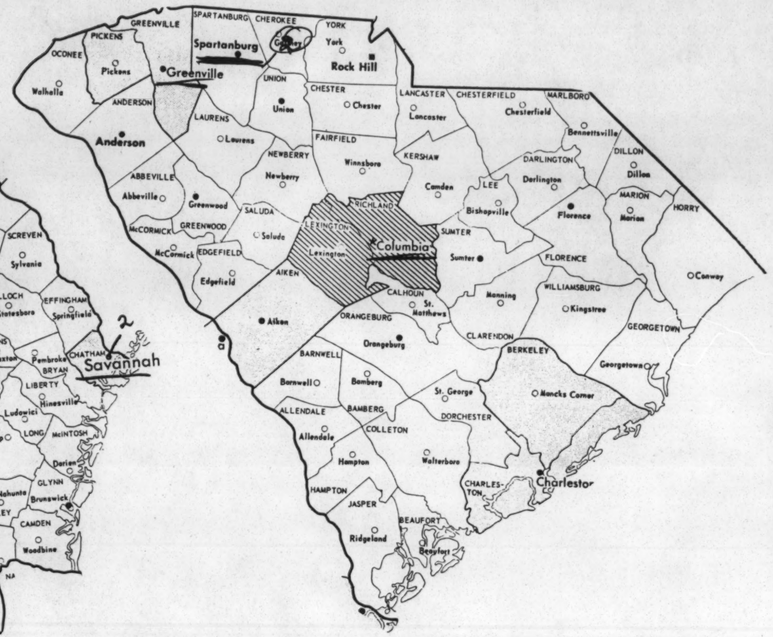
Please check locals affiliated and specify number of members.

		No. of Members
P 18	Memphis	159
P 37	Nashville	62
P 118	Knoxville	62
P 165	Chattanooga	121
P 253	Johnson City	17
P 259	Bristol	12
P 336	Kingsport	34
SP 394	Chattanooga	431
P 399	Memphis	72
P 400	Rogersville	123
SP 513	Nashville	165
SP 685	Kingsport	6
SP 753	Greenville	30
N 24	Memphis	128
N 50	Nashville	60
PH 9	Rogersville	16
PH 23	Memphis	83
PH 44	Nashville	771
IW 4	Rogersville	6









IPP&AU

LOCAL UNIONS IN SOUTHEAST

Public Employee Unions
5-13-64

ster officials, confident of victory, are starting to give the Clerks' unit at Western Airlines.

Wall St. Jnl. * 5/13/64

SMALLER CITIES prove good targets for public-employe unions.

Unions or "voluntary associations" that represent municipal workers now exist in 82% of the nation's cities with populations under 50,000, according to a survey by the City Managers' Association. Two years ago, only 54% of the cities had such organizations. Ninety-one per cent of bigger cities have public-employe unions or associations, up from 86% in 1967.

The association estimates 64% of all city workers in the U.S. "are represented by an organization concerned with working conditions or compensation." Municipal employes are most highly organized in New England; the South is the least organized, but unions are stepping up activity in Dixie. Occupationally, fire fighters are the most highly organized group.

The survey shows that over half the nation's cities still lack specific procedures for dealing with unions.

* * *

[illegible] Inter-

Keyserling call high interest rates "a crime against the consumer."

Public Employee News

Public Employes Upheld On Rights to Join Unions

AFL-CIO News 1-25-69

St. Louis—Public employes have a right under the U. S. Constitution to belong to unions, according to a unanimous ruling by the 8th U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals here.

"Union membership is protected by the right of association under the First and Fourteenth Amendments," the court held in an opinion written by Judge Gerald W. Heaney.

The State, County & Municipal Employes took the appeal to the court on behalf of two members who, the union contended, were fired from the North Platte, Neb., Street Dept. for union activity.

The decision holds that the constitutional right of public employes to join a union is protected under the First Amendment. It is made applicable to states under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The court specifically rejected the traditional argument that public employes "have no federally protected right to be continued in public employment."

The ruling also establishes that public employes may bring suit in federal court for compensatory and punitive damages, as well as attorneys' fees, against individuals who interfere with their constitutionally-protected rights.

The SCME suit was brought against a North Platte city commissioner as an individual, since a direct suit against a state or political subdivision is barred by the Eleventh Amendment of the Constitution.

Membership Rights

In its opinion, the court quoted an earlier ruling that the right of assembly protects more than "the right to attend a meeting; it includes the right to express one's attitude or philosophies by membership in a group or by affiliation with it or by other lawful means."

Ronald Rosenberg, SCME counsel, said the ruling "makes clear that any statute barring public employes from joining unions, or discriminating against workers for joining unions, are unconstitutional."

Alabama, for example, has a law prohibiting state employes from joining unions that, until now, has not been successfully challenged.

"We have every reason to expect that federal courts in other jurisdictions will follow the ruling rendered by the Eight Circuit," Rosenberg said.

SCME President Jerry Wurf said the ruling "supports our belief that public employes are entitled to the fundamental right to join a union that is now enjoyed by nearly all workers in private industry."

"This is only a first step toward equality for the public employe," he added. "For the legal right of an employe to join a union to be effective, there must also be a law requiring recognition of the union as the employes' representative. And we must also have a law requiring that public officials participate in good-faith collective bargaining with the organization chosen by the employes as their representative.

"These are basic rights in a free society," he asserted. "We are gratified with the unanimous court opinion that provides the first of these necessary steps."

During the past eight ... said after-tax profits of corpora- ... the price rise.

Pub. Empl. News

Public Employe Strikes Divide Top Arbitrators

New York—Two of the nation's best-known arbitrators took opposite positions on the issue of public employe strikes.

Theodore W. Kheel, who played a major role in setting up the Institute of Collective Bargaining and who has been an indispensable trouble-shooter for mayors of New York, had this to say:

"Collective bargaining cannot exist if employes may not withdraw their services. . . . Collective bargaining is the best way of composing differences between workers and their employers in a democratic society. So, if we believe public employes should have bargaining rights, we must accept the possibility of a strike and consider how best to guard against it."

Kheel suggested that cities and states adopt the emergency disputes provision of the Taft-Hartley Act if the community's health or safety is involved. But he reiterated, "When all strikes are barred, collective bargaining or joint determination is out."

David L. Cole, who helped frame New York State's labor relations law which includes penalties against unions and union members for striking, disagreed.

"Why should we deliberately revert to the primitive days of labor relations" when there are alternatives to strikes?, he asked. He said allowing unions to shut down essential public services in effect allows them "unilateral determination of wages and working conditions."

At another panel, Prof. George W. Taylor, chief author of the New York labor law, said states and cities don't have the money to meet all the needs and demands for services. Allowing public employes to strike, he suggested, would be imposing their claims in isolation from the overall priorities of government.

Jerry Wurf, president of the State, County & Municipal Employes, said he has come to the "disquieting conclusion that the very same public official . . . arbitrator . . . academician . . . who enthusiastically supports full and unhindered collective bargaining in private industry, is perfectly willing to accept the most biased, slanted, one-sided system when it involves public workers."

Too often, he charged, "government has been allowed to cling to the right to be exempt from reasonableness and responsibility in its own labor-management relations."

At a panel dealing with the federal service, Thomas R. Donahue, executive secretary of the Service Employes, spoke of the growth of unionism in that sector.

He said the 1962 presidential order on union recognition "was recognized at the outset as a beginning step, a platform for further development."

Whether improvements come about through legislation or a new executive order, he predicted "a continuing development of the unions representing federal employes, not just in terms of size, but in terms of staff services, professionalism and overall effectiveness."

AFL-CIO News 5/17/69

Public Employee Unions

States Urged to Affirm Public Employe Rights

State laws should firmly establish the right of public employes to union representation and meaningful collective bargaining, the AFL-CIO told the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

The commission, made up of federal, state, city and county officials and private citizens, is considering a staff report which poses an assortment of alternative approaches to state legislation.

The alternatives range from a mandatory commitment to collective bargaining in the public sector to a toothless grant of "permission" for local governments "to meet and confer with employe organizations."

AFL-CIO Legislative Representatives Clinton Fair and Kenneth A. Meiklejohn said the bargaining procedures should be flexible enough to permit unions and public employers to work out solutions to complex problems. It should offer a variety of approaches to avoid strikes—but affirm the right to strike when all procedures have been exhausted.

Similar views were expressed in testimony before the commission by Thomas R. Donahue, executive secretary of the Service Employes, and in a statement from Pres. Jerry Wurf of the State, County & Municipal Employes.

Some of the most bitter struggles in public employment have been fought to establish the right of public workers to union recognition and collective bargaining, Wurf noted. "Disputes over recognition are responsible for more strikes in public employment than any other single issue," he said.

Donahue urged the commission members not to "take the path of least resistance" and recommended that public employes be barred from striking.

"The right to strike is what brings reality to negotiations," he said. "It is that right which turns conversations into discussions, and discussions into bargaining, and bargaining into agreements with which parties can live in harmony for a number of years at a time."

The basic AFL-CIO testimony stressed that labor does not object to requiring a series of steps to seek a settlement before a strike can take place, including mediation, fact-finding and the offer of voluntary binding arbitration.

But only in the case of law enforcement officers, the AFL-CIO said, should there be a flat ban on striking as a last resort.

The AFL-CIO suggested that a state law establish a single labor-relations agency for public employes, comparable to the National Labor Relations Board and separate from mediation and fact-finding activities.

Dues Checkoff Urged

Public employers and unions should be permitted to negotiate union security provisions as well as a dues checkoff, the federation said. And where a union has exclusive bargaining rights because it represents a majority of employes in the unit, "that organization alone should have the exclusive right of dues checkoff."

The labor witnesses stressed that it is appropriate and desirable to have state and federal minimum standards dealing with wages and working conditions in public employment, with the parties free to improve on those minimums through negotiations, just as unions and employers do in the private sector of the economy.

Fair, who presented the AFL-CIO testimony, cited the hospital workers' strike in Charleston, S.C., and the highway workers' dispute in West Virginia as evidence of the bitter antagonism to union organization by many public employers.

Neither of these strikes would have been necessary, he noted, if there had been effective union recognition and collective bargaining legislation in those states.

AFL-CIO News 6/21/69

[7-29-69]
Public Employee Unions

To: Emory Via
From: Doris Reed

For your information

Charlotte garbage workers went on strike Tuesday, July 29, 1969, and were immediately taken off the payroll.
By city estimates, 490 men took the day off. Union representatives vowed that the strike could last for 100 days.

City Manager william J. Veeder sent telegrams to all striking employes say "you are herby advised that your pay and benefits were stopped as of July, 29, 1969.

James M. Pierce, regional director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, stood on the hood of a coffee wagon and told the large crowd of men to go home. "This will be a peaceful strike if the city wants a peaceful strike. Or it will be the bloodiest strike in the world, if that's what they want," Pierce said

The union was asking for a new grievance procedure, better treatment, recognition of seniority and - the key issue and the one least likely to be resolved - a dues check-off system.

City manager W.J. Veeder and Mayor Belk said the sanitation workers would be getting an increase of $4.40 a week next month and another increase of $4.00 per week in March.

Beginning Wednesday Veeder said the hourly rate for beginning sanitation workers becomes $2.21 and goes to $2.31 and the hourly rates for truck drivers begins at $2.66 and goes to $2.77

As of today, the sanitation workers have not been able to gain the wanted support from the employes of the Street and Sewer Division. Pierce told the Street and Sewer Division workers that "if you decide to work, I'll still be your friend, but I won't respect you as much. He told them them to teach John Belk that you are men.

Public Employee Unions

Member of NLRB suggests steps in public bargaining

Atlantic City, N.J.

Although the National Labor Relations Board is not involved in labor-management relations in public employment, Sam Zagoria, member of the board, believes that experience in the private sector of the economy can help in the relatively new but growing field of government jobs.

In a speech before the American Library Association here, Zagoria suggested three steps in government collective bargaining:

- Machinery for determining majority will, whether it takes the form of secret ballot or election, petition, signing of individual cards, or showing of hands.
- Training in the techniques of collective bargaining for government officials who may be gifted administrators but who have little experience in collective bargaining.
- A mechanism for dispute settlement if the bargaining process reaches a deadlock. "This stage is a crucial one in government bargaining where the right to strike normally does not exist," Zagoria said. "Those who judge collective bargaining tend to measure it by the success of this step."

Zagoria said that his own favorite for resolving deadlocks is "fact-finding." He said that fact-finding has advantages for both the government worker and the government administrator. He said that fact-finding could help place the issues in focus and be of benefit to government bodies and to the public in general.

No Cure-all. Fact-finding, he said, has the virtue "of putting emphasis on cold facts, rather than hot tempers; of bringing the public, which consumes the services and pays the bills, into the bargaining picture with a chance to achieve fair play. While it is no cure-all in disagreements, it is positive. It offers machinery for peace, not merely penalties."

Zagoria stressed the immense growth of organization in public employment during recent years. He noted that by 1966, 1,700,000 public workers had joined unions and that currently the growth is estimated at the average rate of 1,000 new members every working day.

8-1969 The Public Employee

THE RIGHT TO VOTE in presidential elections should be granted to the 2.7 million American citizens living in Puerto Rico, the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept. declared in a resolution adopted by its convention in Atlantic City. Delegates acted after hearing an address by Puerto Rico Gov. Luis A. Ferre.

Pub Employee Unions

Bargaining Law Sought For Public Employes

Atlantic City—A federal law to spell out organizing and bargaining rights for employes of state, county and municipal governments has been called for by the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Dept.

The proposal was recommended in a report on "collective bargaining in the public sector" submitted to and approved by delegates to the department's eighth constitutional convention.

The report is based on a study authorized by the department's executive board in February 1968 and made by a 12-member committee headed by Pres. Jerry Wurf of the State, County & Municipal Employes.

The study reached two major conclusions about unionism and bargaining among workers in state and local governments:

- They work "without any protective legislation in the turbulent 1960s—an era when governments, caught up in crises beyond their understanding, enact repressive laws based on incomplete and irrational theories."
- A hodge-podge of state laws reveals the "urgent need" for a federal law "with minimum standards, to give broad and systematic legitimacy to the public employes cause."

In another area, the report urged repeal of restrictions against the right of public employes to strike except in cases "where the public health and safety would be endangered."

It emphasized that the harsh punishments called for in no-strike laws for public employes "have not deterred public employes from withholding their services" and, in fact, have increased tensions and antagonisms.

The report also urged enactment of a labor relations law for federal employes—similar to the National Labor Relations Act — to govern bargaining and provide machinery for resolving impasses in federal labor-management relations.

It supported legislation to that effect introduced in Congress by Sen. Gale W. McGee (D-Wyo.) and Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D-N.Y.). The measure is supported by the AFL-CIO.

Study Committee

Members of the department's study committee in addition to Wurtz were Pres. Howard Coughlin, Office & Professional Employes; and the following union counsels: Lester Asher, Cement Workers; David S. Barr, Painters; Jon Flinker, Retail Clerks; Ed J. Hickey, Fire Fighters; Isadore Katz, United Textile Workers; C. V. Koons, Communications Workers; Martin F. O'Donoghue, Plumbers & Pipe Fitters; Louis P. Poulton, Machinists; Francis X. Ward, Carpenters; and Henry T. Wilson, Laborers.

10-13-69 Wall St. Jnl. EV — Public Employee Unions

First Tie Between the AFT, NEA Forged As Flint, Mich., Affiliates Form a New Unit

By RICHARD J. LEVINE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The first formal link has been forged between two rivals for the allegiance of the nation's teachers, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers.

The million-member NEA will announce today that the two organizations' Flint, Mich., affiliates approved a merger agreement over the weekend. Leaders of the NEA and the AFT took widely disparate views, however, on the importance of the Flint merger toward prospects for unification of the two groups at the national level.

In a statement on the Flint development, NEA president George Fischer will hail the merger as a "model" that could pave the way for "one comprehensive organization" of teachers throughout the country. "Teachers in other communities will be taking similar action and within 10 years we will have one unified voice for all teachers," Mr. Fischer's statement says. "This will happen because the common concerns which bring us together are far more important than the organizational differences which keep us apart."

David Selden, president of the 175,000-member AFT, and a strong advocate of merger, said in a weekend telephone interview that the Flint situation "is a local phenomenon to take care of a local situation." The AFT doesn't "consider it pattern-setting," he said. Under the merger plan approved, he observed, "we feel we're being swallowed up" in Flint.

Mr. Selden went on, "We feel it's a very satisfactory arrangement in view of the circumstances in Flint," where the union has lost two representation elections to the NEA since 1966 and is considerbly weaker than its rival, and where teachers are wearying of the constant organizational battling.

Details of the Flint merger indicate both the greater strength of the NEA there and the difficulty of devising a unification formula, even at the local level, with which both sides can live.

The agreement in Flint, where 1,500 of the 2,100 public school teachers belong to the NEA and 270 are members of the union, provides for establishment of a new organization, the United Teachers of Flint, which will be affiliated with both the NEA and the AFT.

The NEA's upper hand in Flint also is evident in the dues structure. Part of the dues will go automatically to the Michigan Education Association and the NEA. Members of the United Teachers of Flint who wish to affiliate with the AFT will have half their union dues paid out of the treasury of the new organization.

The Flint merger comes one year after former NEA president Elizabeth Koontz, currently head of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau, rejected an invitation from Mr. Selden to open merger talks at the national level. Soon after that rejection, however, the NEA adopted a position amenable to merger talks at the local level.

This is reflected in Mr. Fischer's statement: "I am pleased that this merger was the result of membership action on the local level. It is not the by-product of the negotiations of two national organizations in Washington, D.C. Such action, by members, on the local and state levels, is the most effective way to teacher unity."

Talks aimed at studying "the feasibility of establishing a relationship" between the Massachusetts organizations of the NEA and the AFT have been under way for several months.

Despite the movements in Michigan and Massachusetts, a full merger of the NEA and AFT will be difficult to achieve, it is expected. Many members of the NEA, which is strongest in rural and suburban areas and small cities, are suspicious of the militant union. Indeed, one NEA official conceded that many of "our conservative people will react a little negatively" to the Flint merger.

In many places around the country the two organizations are still battling strenuously. In Newark, N.J., for example, the AFT is hopeful of beating the NEA in a coming representation election.

The AFT's strength lies in such big cities as New York, Chicago and Detroit. First to use the strike weapon to improve teachers' wages and working conditions, the union's success in organizing big-city teachers has been a major factor in turning the once docile NEA into a more vigorous organization, though it still officially rejects being called a union.

Police Bureaucracy
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Blue Power

Police in Many Cities Shed Nonpartisan Role For Active Politicking

Detroit White Officers Back Sheriff Gribbs for Mayor, Angering Negro Contender

'No Politics' Rules Flouted

By ART GLICKMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DETROIT—"Everybody else can indulge in politics—every black group, every political party group, every church group," says Carl Parsell, president of the 3,500-member Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA). "Why are police officers so different?"

Maybe they aren't. Political activism by the heavily white DPOA has become a lively issue in the race for mayor between Wayne County Sheriff Roman S. Gribbs, who is white, and Wayne County Auditor Richard H. Austin, a Negro. The policemen's group has endorsed Mr. Gribbs, as well as eight other whites running for seats on the city Common Council.

Off-duty patrolmen are performing chores such as helping to register voters. On Nov. 4, they will help get voters to the polls. The 525-member Detroit Police Lieutenants and Sergeants Association and the 500-member Detroit Police Detectives Association also are contributing manpower—plus several thousand dollars—to the Gribbs campaign.

Irritated Candidate

Never before have the three organizations openly campaigned for a mayoral candidate. Mr. Austin, the black contender, is angry. So are black police officers, who complain that they have no policy-making influence in the DPOA.

Mr. Austin has charged that political activism by "men who have the power of life and death over individuals" does "violence" to the concept of civilian control over police. And he has suggested that Mr. Gribbs might have promised the policemen special treatment. Mr. Gribbs denies any promises of favors, asserts that policemen have a constitutional right to engage in political activity in their off hours, out of uniform and scoffs at the notion of a developing police state. "I have too much faith in the policemen and their goodwill and their common sense," he says.

The debate over police and politics reaches into many cities. For decades, state or local laws in many areas have banned policemen from activism. A tradition of nonpartisanship has inhibited others. But now policemen in ever-increasing numbers are shedding their nonpartisan stance—often flouting the law—to take part in municipal elections.

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The trend became evident last spring when white police officers campaigned for the reelection of Mayor Sam Yorty in Los Angeles, and for the election of Charles Stenvig, a detective, as mayor of Minneapolis.

The Crime Rate

Rising crime tolls and the heated issue of "law and order" seem to have provoked many officers to political activism. "People are fed up with this growing crime rate, and there's nobody more frustrated about it than the policeman," says Norm Moore, a former Los Angeles detective who helped organize policemen and firemen to work for Mr. Yorty. Policemen particularly seethe over Supreme Court decisions that they believe favor the rights of suspects to the detriment of effective police work.

Many white policemen also believe that the prominence of the civil rights cause has disrupted the political balance in their cities. All too often, they complain, the arguments of the black militants prevail at city hall.

This fall there is political activism by policemen in many localities. The Seattle Police Officers Guild is working for the election of its president to the city council. Police in Hartford, Conn., are prohibited from political activity, but the wives of policemen are working for the election of George ('Pete') Kinsella as mayor, and, one officer says, "They're probably getting a lot of help from their husbands."

Texas law forbids police activity in politics, but many Houston officers are edging toward overt support of Mayor Louie Welch for reelection. "Lots of us would like to go out and openly campaign for him," says Sgt. J. A. Knigge, secretary of the Houston Police Officers Association. "I'm pretty sure some of us will."

The usually nonpolitical Fraternal Order of Police, in Cleveland recently took out a full-page newspaper advertisment listing shortcomings in police administration and calling on Mayor Carl Stokes, a Negro, to make improvements. The FOP says the ad wasn't politically motivated, but some observers suspect that it helped Mr. Stokes' challenger, Ralph J. Perk. In Pittsburgh, some officers were directed to remove from their patrol cars bumper stickers that supported Eugene Coon, a former assistant superintendent of police who is running for county sheriff.

"Bargaining and Campaigning"

Royce Givens, executive secretary of the International Conference of Police Associations, believes that policemen are becoming more political as they win the right to organize and bargain collectively. Carl Parsell, whose association is exclusive bargaining agent for Detroit's patrolmen, says, "We have found our negotiating power is tied together with political power." Mr. Givens sees a big increase in the number of policemen running for office and says he expects the trend to grow.

For policemen to engage in politics isn't new. Arthur F. Brandstatter, head of the department of police administration at Michigan State University, says that three or four decades ago policemen in most big cities were chosen for their jobs largely on the basis of political party and religion. They were expected to do political chores for the party in power.

That led to abuses and dissatisfaction. Sgt. Knigge of the Houston police recalls that in the 1940s one man who was active in local politics "went to 7 a.m. roll call as a patrolman, and at 11 a.m. he was chief of police." Civil service procedures eventually were instituted in most departments, calling for hiring and advancement on the basis of ability. Such regulations often prohibited policemen from political activ-

Please Turn to Page 29, Column 3

Blue Power: Many Policemen Shed Nonpartisan Role for Politicking

Continued From First Page

ity, singly or in groups. In many states the prohibition was written into statutes.

Now there is a growing feeling among policemen that such regulations deny them their constitutional rights. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association of Nassau County, N.Y., has embarked on a test case, challenging in state supreme court a local restriction against off-duty politicking. The PBA expects to file suit in Federal court against a state law that forbids political activity by policemen.

The association lost the first round in its challenge when Justice Sol Wachtler of the state supreme court upheld the local restriction, ruling that police shouldn't engage in partisan politics "for fear that the authority and influence with which they are invested by the public could be used unfairly." The PBA has appealed the decision.

How effective police politicking is seems to depend on the city and the circumstances. Thomas Bradley, the black Los Angeles city councilman who lost to Mayor Yorty last May, says police had a "significant impact" in the race. Mr. Bradley, a former police lieutenant himself, charges that his old colleagues used "purely racist" tactics, exploiting the fears and prejudices of white voters.

Mr. Bradley believes that policemen can swing a lot of weight at the polls. "Many people respect them," he says. "They look at them as the champion and protector against the threat from minority communities, from militants, from students, from whoever is engaged in activities associated with unrest in our society."

Mr. Moore, the former Los Angeles detective who helped organize police and firemen to campaign, disputes the racist label. He says policemen opposed Mr. Bradley because they were fearful of the men surrounding him and because they believed he favored a civilian review board that would monitor police actions. "I don't think it hurt a thing to have policemen and firemen knocking on doors in precincts that went to Bradley in the primary," Mr. Moore says.

No Difference

In Minneapolis, Mr. Stenvig, the former detective, won the mayoralty by a big margin. Former Alderman Dan Cohen, the losing candidate, got less than 40% of the vote. Mr. Cohen traces his defeat to running against a policeman, rather than to politicking by off-duty officers. "The margin was too great for me to feel the police department tipped the scale," Mr. Cohen says.

Mayor Stenvig (who turned out on Moratorium Day in Minneapolis to personally direct a riot squad dispersing demonstrators) has become something of a hero to politically inclined policemen elsewhere in the nation. Mr. Stenvig has expressed his philosophy thus: "People are sick and tired of politicians and intellectuals. They want an average workingman from the community to represent them, and that's me."

In Detroit, nobody is certain how much effect the open police support for Sheriff Gribbs will have on the outcome of the race. However, supporters of Mr. Austin say that police and firemen mounted a well-financed campaign last year against a ballot proposition that cut their pension benefits. Although the change saved the taxpayers money, it passed only by about 20,000 votes.

Both Mr. Austin and Mr. Gribbs agree that law and order is a prime issue in the present campaign. Mr. Gribbs has avoided comment on the race issue, but many black politicians and black policemen see race as the underlying reason white policemen support Mr. Gribbs. Coleman A. Young, Negro minority whip in the Michigan senate, sees the white police involvement as "a call to arms against a black takeover" of the city.

Black and White

About 40% of Detroit's 1.5 million residents are black, but about 75% of the registered voters are white. More than 90% of the policemen are white. Mr. Young sees dire implications in the recently formed coalition called "Real Detroit." Its members: The Detroit Police Officers Association, the Police Detectives Association and the Greater Detroit Council of Homeowners, an all-white citizens' group.

In 1965, the homeowners group attempted unsuccessfully to get a proposal on the ballot that would have given property owners the right to refuse to rent or sell to any person for any reason. Mrs. William Otenbaker, executive secretary of the council, explains the motive for joining with the policemen: "They should be able to get out and do a job without having all the minority groups on their backs."

Patrolman Ronald Turner, leader of a dissident group of black policemen who may bolt the DPOA, says the coalition only reinforces the widespread belief among blacks that white policemen are the enemy, standing for "suppression by the white, middle-class community."

The police deny that racism is involved. "The number one issue is law enforcement," says Eljay Bowron, president of the detectives' association, "and there's never been a candidate who knew more about the problem of law enforcement than Roman Gribbs." Mr. Bowron says he opposes Mr. Austin for advocating a civilian review board.

Mr. Parsell, the DPOA leader, is pushing for more police activism in Michigan. He has organized several groups into the Michigan Police Officers Association, which intends to lobby for legislation that will help police and support political candidates sympathetic to police.

Public Employer 10/69

SCME gains South's highest sanitation pay

Miami

Metropolitan Miami sanitation workers, represented by SCME Local 1363, will become the highest paid waste collectors in the South as a result of winning a one-year contract that will raise the minimum salary from $4,680 to $5,928.

Labor Contract

The 495 sanitation men in the local ratified the pact unanimously and it has been approved by the Miami Metro (Dade County) Commission.

SCME International Vice President Lee Tafel, who is president of the local and director of SCME Council 22, said the increase means that salaries will now range from $2.85 to $3.07 an hour.

The county also will pay for workers' uniforms. Under the terms of the agreement, the workers will receive an additional two days sick leave annually and two additional holidays—Columbus Day and the day after Christmas.

Won't penalize workers. The pay raise will be financed by an anticipated increase in the garbage-trash collection fee charged residents. County Manager Porter Homer has recommended that it be raised from $34 to $54 a year.

John Van Wezel, an aide to Homer, said, "the county is not going to make the employees suffer if Metro is forced to limit the taxes to last year's 10.39-mil level."

The Florida State Comptroller's office had imposed the tax limitation on the county.

Jobs for Negroes

John J. Gibson Jr.

Miami Beach

Labor Contract List

Miami Beach is a prime target for civil rights demonstrations unless the business community starts an "all-out recruitment program" to hire more Negroes, SCME Local 1554 President John Gibson told a press conference.

The local has adopted a resolution to promote such a program.

Gibson, a member of the City Personnel Board, said he wanted an all-out drive before the winter season gets underway "to nip the problem in the bud.

"If hotels, restaurants and others in Miami Beach don't take a lesson from other cities, we will most likely have demonstrations," he said. "This I don't want to see."

Gibson continually pointed out that disorders could be averted by simply going to work with constructive efforts. He explained that in the past, hotels, restaurants and other businesses relied on Negroes for menial work.

"They don't even have that anymore," he said.

Postal Employee Unions

WASHINGTON RUN-AROUND . . . City governments throughout the country continue to adopt resotions memorializing the Congress in opposition to the Nixon-Blount proposed H.R. 11750, postal corporation, as the United Federation of Postal Clerks' "grass roots" campaign against the corporation accelerates. The Council of the City of PHILADELPHIA in a strongly worded resolution recently advised the 91st Congress of its support for the H.R. 4 postal modernization plan of House PO&CS Committee Chairman THADDEUS J. DULSKI (D-N.Y.) by conversely stating, "We declare our opposition to passage of H.R. 11750 which would create a postal corporation." The City Council of ERIE, PA. took similar action. In both instances, representations by officers of UFPC Philadelphia Local 89 and Erie Local 269 resulted in the resolutions being adopted and sent to Congress. . . . **Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH (D-Tex.) in a recent speech in San Antonio, Texas, continued his all-out opposition to the H.R. 11750 postal corporation plan of the Administration. Senator Yarborough, the senior ranking member of the Senate PO&CS Committee, referred to his remarks as a report from the "BLOUNT-KAPPEL FRONT" in Washington. Yarborough reiterated his charges that a postal corporation would reduce rural mail service, skyrocket postage rates, take postal workers out from under the protection of the civil service system, and deny them the right of appeal or access to Congress. "The one reform the Post Office really needs is more cash in the pockets of postal workers and that's why I'm strongly supporting H.R. 13000, and I am very hopeful we can get enough Republican support to get this bill out of the Senate," Senator Yarborough told Texas postal employes in his well-received speech! . . .** Western Union has filed a rate proposal with the Federal Communications Commission for a two-year test of "mailgram"—the proposed new telegram letter service designed for overnight delivery—developed in cooperation with the Post Office Department. Mailgram could eventually permit electronic transmission of messages to tele-printers at 110 post offices where they would be inserted in special envelopes for delivery to patrons by letter carriers. Postmaster General WINTON M. BLOUNT announced on December 1st in Washington that the mailgram test program will go into "live" operation early in January. Initially, MAILGRAMS will be accepted from Telex users in 12 cities throughout the country during the two-year experimental phase. Western Union will charge patrons the normal Telex rates plus a flat rate surcharge and will reimburse the Post Office at the rate of 25 cents for each message entered into the mails.

FEDERATION NEWS SERVICE

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UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS
817 14th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

Affiliated with AFL-CIO

BULLETIN NO. 38 — DECEMBER 5, 1969

YOU EXPECT MORE! AND YOU GET IT!

★ ★ ★

FROM THE UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS (AFL-CIO)

★ ★ ★

SIGN UP TODAY— IT DOES PAY CLERKS TO BE-LONG!

SENATE HEARINGS ON POSTAL PAY & REFORM END . . .

SENATE PO&CS COMMITTEE EXPECTED TO MEET IN H.R. 13000 EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Senate Post Office & Civil Service Committee has concluded hearings on pay and postal modernization. The Committee is expected to meet in executive session during the week of December 8th and "mark-up" a pay bill. This session may be scheduled on Tuesday, December 9th.

The Administration finally decided against presenting testimony at an open hearing on H.R. 13000 and CSC Chairman Robert E. Hampton in a letter dated December 1st stated the Administration's opposition to its enactment—see story elsewhere in this **FNS**. Hearings on postal modernization and reform were also concluded on December 1st (Monday) as the postal employe unions were the final witnesses.

President **Francis S. Filbey** and Legislative Director **Patrick J. Nilan** reiterated the Federation's opposition to the H.R. 11750 postal corporation and support of postal reform in detailed, concise, and unmistakable testimony. Details will be published in the January UPC&PTJ.

Every effort is being made by UFPC to convince the Senate PO&CS Committee to meet in executive session not later than Tuesday (December 9) and favorably report the pay bill, H.R. 13000. The Committee must act early next week or the opportunity to get the pay bill through the Congress and to President Nixon at least 10 days prior to adjournment will (for all practical purposes) become non-existent.

It appears **NOW** that our collective UFPC efforts have convinced the Senate Committee **NOT** to combine the pay bill with postal modernization. **HOWEVER,** as of this FNS Bulletin, we cannot report any final decisions on H.R. 13000 and the tie-in question by the PO&CS Committee.

PLEASE! Continue to contact **YOUR** respective two United States Senators in support of immediate action on H.R. 13000. **REMEMBER!** Our race with the Congressional adjournment "count down" is extremely critical.

CSC ANNOUNCES NEW 'OPEN SEASON' ON LIFE INSURANCE

The U. S. Civil Service Commission announced on December 5, an "OPEN SEASON" for regular and optional life insurance under the Federal employes' life insurance program.

CSC also stated that there would be no change in premium rates for regular insurance, but there would be a **reduction** in premiums for the more than 300,000 Government employes and annuitants who carry the $10,000 optional life insurance.

The "OPEN SEASON" will be held during the entire month of March, 1970; and the new reduced premium rates for optional life insurance will become effective at the beginning of the first pay period in April, 1970.

During the open season, employes who previously waived the regular or optional life insurance coverage will be permitted to enroll in both

NATIONAL AUXILIARY PRESIDENT

MRS. VICTOR E. REIMANN IS RECOVERING FROM SURGERY

The National President of the Woman's Auxiliary, Mrs. Victor E. Reimann, known to her many friends as "Maggie," is convalescing at her home from major surgery performed in mid-November.

Mrs. Reimann advised President Filbey by phone that she is recovering nicely and expects to be completely back on the "firing line" by January 1st. Mrs. Reimann's home address is: 517 Cherry Hill Drive, Evansville, Indiana 47712.

UFPC URGES $16 MOBILE EXPENSE AMENDMENT TO H.R. 13000

Legislative Director **PATRICK J. NILAN** has urged Chairman **GALE W. McGEE** and the Senate Post Office & Civil Service Committee to amend H.R. 13000 with a provision increasing

Chairman Robert E. Hampton in a letter dated December 1st stated the Administration's opposition to its enactment—see story elsewhere in this **FNS**. Hearings on postal modernization and reform were also concluded on December 1st (Monday) as the postal employe unions were the final witnesses.

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During the open season, employes who previously waived the regular or optional life insurance coverage will be permitted to enroll in both options without evidence of good health! Details will be published in the January UPC&PTJ.

ATTENTION UFPC LOCALS!

U. S. INTERNAL REVENUE NOTICES

Many of our UFPC Locals have been receiving notices from the U. S. Internal Revenue Service regarding the filing of "FORM 990." Federal law requires all tax-exempt organizations, including local unions, to file annual information returns on a FORM 990. This form is required to be filed even though the local union had no cash transactions during the year.

UFPC headquarters has received so many inquiries from local unions regarding this FORM 990 that it has been impossible to answer all of them on an individual basis. Secretary-Treasurer Owen H. Schoon has been in touch with the Internal Revenue Service here in Washington seeking assistance in simplifying the reporting requirements.

Within 30 to 45 days, UFPC National Headquarters expects to mail a simplified FORM 990 with instructions, which will enable each local union to comply with Internal Revenue Service requirements. Further information will be issued as soon as our inquiry to the Internal Revenue Service has been answered.

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UFPC URGES $16 MOBILE EXPENSE AMENDMENT TO H.R. 13000

Legislative Director **PATRICK J. NILAN** has urged Chairman **GALE W. McGEE** and the Senate Post Office & Civil Service Committee to amend H.R. 13000 with a provision increasing the present $9 per diem expense allowance to at least $16. In a detailed statement presented to the Senate PO&CS Committee, UFPC strongly urged the amendment to H.R. 13000 for the following reasons:

(1) The present $9 per diem allowance for road (mobile) employes was established **fourteen years ago,** in 1955.

(2) The cost-of-living **ALONE,** since 1955 to the present has risen by 39.1% with no comparable increase in the per diem allowance during this fourteen-year period.

(3) The Congress and President Nixon have enacted Public Law 91-114 on November 10, 1969, increasing the per diem allowance for other Federal employes from $16 per day to $25. Certainly, mobile employes of the postal service are entitled to a comparable increase from $9 per day to at least $16. Particularly, since this is the **second** increase for Federal employes since 1955 and **NO** similar increases have been granted to mobile employes during the same period of time.

(4) While we cannot provide the Committee with a cost estimate of this amendment to H.R. 13000, we point out that there are only about 1,500 mobile employes remaining in the Postal Service and the related cost cannot be considered substantial or excessive.

NIXON-BLOUNT ADMINISTRATION FINALLY TELLS SENATE COMMITTEE OF H.R. 13000 OPPOSITION

The Administration, after weeks of "on again-off again" delaying tactics concerned with appearing before the Senate Post Office & Civil Service Committee and taking a public position on postal-federal employe pay raises, FINALLY opposed H.R. 13000 in a letter to Senator GALE W. McGEE (D-Wyo.), PO&CS Committee Chairman dated December 1st.

The four-page Administration position statement was signed by **ROBERT E. HAMPTON,** Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. However, from the tone and content of the letter, it would have appeared more appropriate if Postmaster General Winton M. Blount had signed the letter. The December 1st letter, according to CSC Chairman Hampton, was addressed to Chairman McGee, "In lieu of presenting oral testimony on H.R. 13000, I am, as requested writing to advise you of the Civil Service Commission's views on the bill." Mr. Hampton continued:

"H.R. 13000 as passed by the House is entirely unacceptable and the Commission urges that your Committee reject the bill. President Nixon in his letter to the Honorable Gerald Ford (Congressional Record, October 14, 1969, page H94491) has expressed the Administration's opposition to H.R. 13000 stressing the impact it would have on the nation's economy and on the Federal Budget.

"In addition to the objections stressed in the President's letter, the Commission strongly opposes its enactment because the procedure it provides for the future adjustment of salaries is clearly inappropriate to the need and because the retroactive pay adjustment and the accelerated within-grade advancement plan provided for postal employes are unsupported by the available evidence."

The balance of the four-page letter expressed in detail the "hard line" opposition of President Nixon, the Civil Service Commission, and the Bureau of the Budget (**AND** the Postmaster General, we are certain) to enactment of H.R. 13000. **CONSPICUOUSLY** absent was **ANY** reference to **ANY** pay raise for postal and federal employes as an alternative to H.R. 13000—**NO AREA OF COMPROMISE WAS EVEN SUGGESTED!**

Public Employees Union

SETTING UP DIVISION: Founding conference of National Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Union, a division of RWDSU, is addressed by Leon J. Davis, president of Local 1199. Two hundred and fifty delegates from various parts of the country attended the three-day conference.

National Hospital Division of RWDSU is Set Up

Story and Photos by CHARLES MICHAELSON

NEW YORK CITY—The combination of "union power" and "soul power" gave birth to a new RWDSU division—the National Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Union—at a three-day conference here Dec. 12 to 14.

The setting up of the division results from a decision made by the RWDSU Executive Board at its October meeting. That decision authorized the officers of the RWDSU to establish a structure within the International Union to make possible a large-scale organizing drive among hospital and nursing home employees.

This had followed reports on various successes achieved under the banner of the RWDSU during the past months, including a great 4½-month - long strike victory in Charleston, S.C. and organizing victories in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Baltimore and other communities.

Participating in the New York conference were Pres. Max Greenberg and other leaders of the RWDSU, leaders of Local 1199, who are veterans of many organizing campaigns, and newer RWDSUers from Charleston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Dayton, O. and Durham, N.C.

RWDSU leaders who addressed the 250 delegates were Pres. Greenberg, Int'l Sec.-Treas. Alvin E. Heaps, Vice-Pres. Bill Michelson, president of the United Storeworkers in New York City; 'Record' Editor Max Steinbock and Int'l Rep. Leon Harris, who has been involved in organizing hospital and nursing home workers in Massachusetts.

The conference sessions were chaired by Local 1199 Pres. Leon Davis, who will serve as president of the new division.

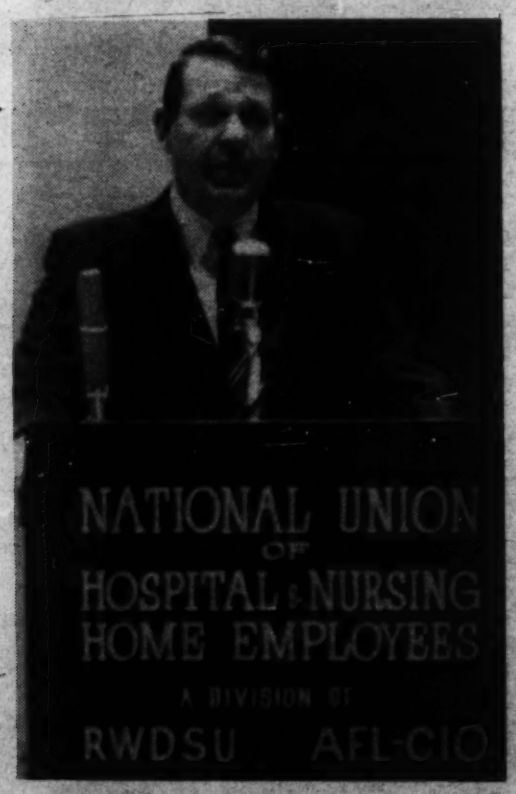
Other division officers appointed by Pres. Greenberg who played a leading role in the conference sessions are Elliott Godoff, executive vice-president; Henry Nicholas, secretary-treasurer; Moe Foner, executive secretary; Doris Turner, secretary; and William J. Taylor, John Black, David White, Aberdeen David, Fred Punch, Ramon Malave, Mary Moultrie, Leonard Seelig and Jesse Olson, all vice-presidents. George Glotzer, also a vice-president, was absent because of illness.

Pres. Greenberg and Sec.-Treas. Heaps will also serve on the executive board of the division, which will function until the election of officers at a convention of representatives of the unions composing the division.

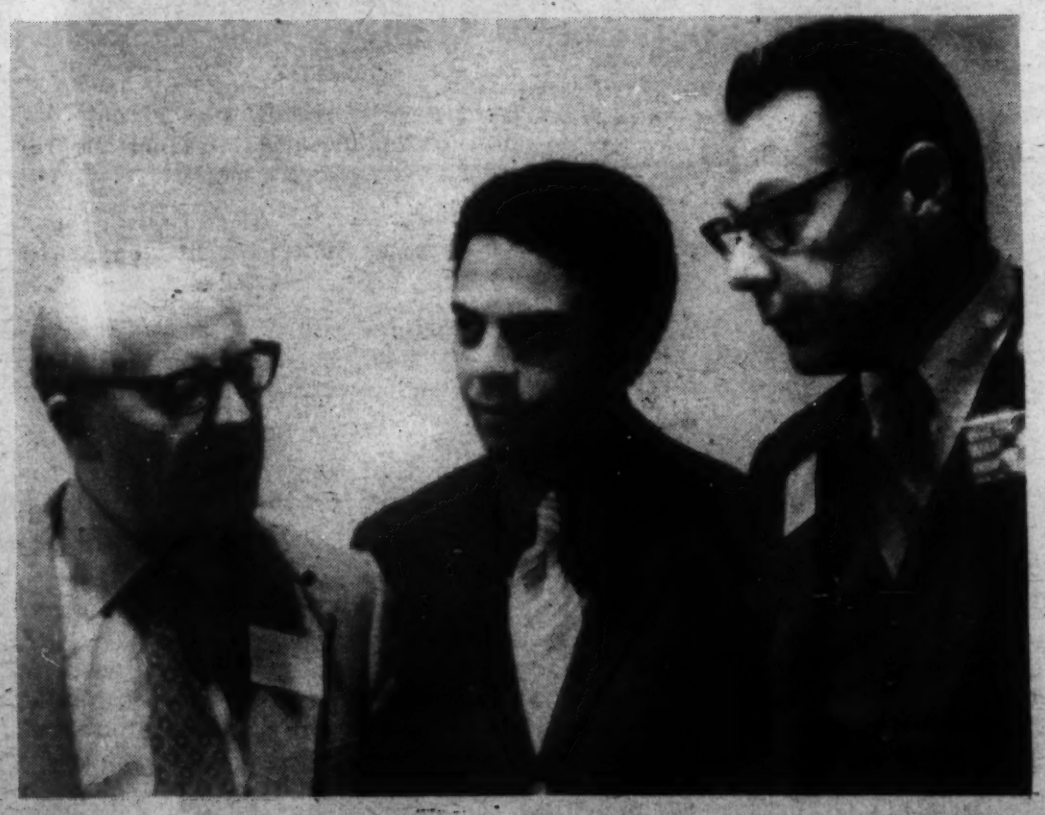
Among the guest speakers at the conference were New York Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello; Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council; the Rev. Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which played a key role in the Charleston strike; and actor Ossie Davis.

The workshop sessions, held on the conference's final day, provided a unique opportunity for the hospital workers to exchange experiences and offer instruction to newer union members.

'BEAUTIFUL DAY': Speaking to executive board, Int'l Pres. Max Greenberg (right) calls establishment of new RWDSU division the "beginning of a beautiful day" for hospital workers. Elliott Godoff (left) and Leon Davis listen.



CONFERENCE SPEAKER: Int'l Sec.-Treas. Alvin E. Heaps addresses delegates.



DISCUSS STRIKE: Talking about historic victory in Charleston earlier th's year are (left to right) Elliott Godoff, Rev. Andy Young of SCLC and '1199' Exec. Sec. Moe Foner.

Public Employee Union Feb 1970

Four acquitted in Carolina strike, some charges dropped for others

Hillsboro, N.C.

Four persons have been acquitted and some charges dropped against seven others in connection with the 31-day strike by food service workers at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

Orange County District Court Judge Harry Horton gave out sentences here ranging from 30 days to six months to six persons involved in a clash with police during picketing at the university.

Howard Fuller, Anthony Belcher and Thomas Greyson all were acquitted of engaging in a riot, disorderly conduct and failure to disperse. Clyde McPherson was acquitted of the last two charges.

Charges of failure to disperse, interfering with an officer or disorderly conduct were dropped against Larry White, Lonnie Harrison, Jim Howard, George Pyne, John Wheeler, John Thorne and Gene Gore, an AFSCME organizer.

Gore was sentenced to 30 days on two counts of assault and Wheeler to 90 days for blocking a building. Former area director Jim Pierce was given a 90-day suspended sentence for disorderly conduct and fined $300.

Six month sentences. Mrs. Doris Farrington and Jack McLean both were sentenced to six months for assault and Roland Davis was given six months for resisting an officer.

All those sentenced are out on bond pending appeal.

AFSCME organizer Gene Gore (left) and Howard Fuller, a civil rights leader from Durham, N.C., leave Orange County District Court in Hillsboro.

AFSCME will appeal the convictions and is expected to challenge the constitutionality of North Carolina's anti-riot law. Many of the charges were brought under the new law.

An International attorney said the trumped-up charges were an attempt to break up the union-community coalition between Local 1987 at the university and civil rights groups in Chapel Hill who supported the walkout last November and December.

Fifteen persons were arrested during picketing. Police wielding nightsticks and carrying shotguns clashed with pickets and student sympathizers outside one of the dining halls on campus. Several persons were taken to North Carolina Memorial Hospital for treatment of cuts and head injuries.

Local wins strike. The local won the strike against SAGA Food Service Inc. and was granted recognition and dues checkoff. Some 250 workers were involved in the dispute and were strongly supported by students and civil rights organizations in the Chapel Hill area.

A massive student demonstration to support the strikers was scheduled the day the walkout ended.

Photos from District Council 37, Public Health Service (Kidney Disease Control Program) and U.S. Dept. of Labor

WANTED: Housekeepers and laundry workers, Boston City Hospital, weekly salary $37.75.

That ad could have run in the *Boston Globe* in 1953. That was the kind of salary made by people who worked at entry level hospital jobs. That was also the year AFSCME organized Boston City Hospital.

Things are a little different now. People in entry level jobs are making close to $100-a-week to start. Boston Council 45 has 22 negotiated pay ranges with the city's Dept. of Health and Hospitals. The top is $328.25-a-week to start as an engineer.

Boston is not an isolated example of how hospital workers' wages have been improved by organization and collective bargaining. Here are a few others:

Louisiana—Wages have risen 52-cents-an-hour since Council 17 organized all state hospitals, including the huge Charity Hospital in New Orleans. AFSCME is now asking for an additional 28-cents-an-hour.

New York City—Collective bargaining by Council 37 started in the city's municipal hospitals in 1966. Wages for lowest paid employees will be $2,000-a-year higher this July. Bargaining for nurse's aides started in January, 1967. The wage scale will be $1,800 to $2,400-a-year higher this July. Twenty % of the aides get $300 to $425-a-year differential for skilled supervisory responsibility.

Memphis—City of Memphis hospitals were organized by Local 1733 in 1968. By July, minimum wages will have been increased by 70-cents-an-hour.

Still in race. The figures show that hospital workers, at least in some areas, have managed to stay in the annual race between wages and the cost-of-living. It does not mean that hospital workers, as a national work force, are well paid. *Hospitals,* the official magazine of the American Hospital Association, said in a recent issue:

". . . despite the large increases of recent years, hospital employees still earn considerably less than employees in many other sectors of the economy. The average annual salary of hospital employees is still lower than salaries for teachers, manufacturing workers and construction workers."

The magazine said the average annual salary of employees in all community hospitals in the United States went from $3,639 in 1963 to $4,919 in 1968.

This year, the Federally-defined poverty level is $3,900-a-year for a family of four. It means many hospital workers are one step ahead of what the government considers living in poverty.

It has been estimated that 2.8 million people were working in health occupations in 1966, with two-thirds of them in hospitals. The figure is expected to exceed 3 million this year and be close to 4 million by 1975. Health services may well be the leading industry in employment in the nation before the end of this decade.

Courtesy expected. These are the people who will take care of you and your family in case of sickness, accident or just a routine check-up. They will be expected to be courteous, concerned and well-trained.

Aside from doctors and nurses, most of them will be behind the scenes, making sure of things often taken for granted—clean linen, clean surroundings, properly prepared meals served on time, etc. Chances are you won't think about how much they make a week.

Others are thinking about it.

In a speech prepared for the American Management Association in New York last year, AFSCME President Jerry Wurf said to the delegates:

"You know the conditions that prevail (in hospitals). You know the miserable pay levels. You know the working conditions. You know the tremendous employee turnover."

New York Exposé. Many of the working conditions Wurf mentioned once were widespread in the New York City municipal hospitals. These conditions, along with the negligence, waste and corruption of hospitals and the hospital bureaucracy itself was brought to the public's attention in 1967 by District Council 37 in the *Public Employee Press.*

The newspaper told, and showed, how workers in one hospital kitchen had to wear boots because of stagnant water on the floor, water that had been there 18 months because of broken pipes. The floor was rotted.

There were examples of filthy, unsanitary and dangerous health hazards because of infestation by pigeons, roaches and mice. In one hospital, workers on one shift fought with workers on another shift for linen. The group that lost didn't have clean pillow cases for many areas, including the contagion wards.

The AFSCME exposé was quickly followed up by the public media—radio, television and newspapers. *The New York Times* ran four stories, corresponding to each of the four issues of the *Public Employee Press.*

Mayor John Lindsay toured the hospitals and immediately pledged a cleanup. He carried it out.

The stories had dramatically made their point—how the terrible conditions had affected patients, who were mostly the poor, and the employees, who were mostly AFSCME members.

Workers concerned. Wages and working conditions are only part of it. Hospital workers are concerned about the same things that bother other union members—grievance procedure, seniority rights and fringe benefits.

Like other public employees, any attempt at organizing or collective bargaining in governmental hospitals must come in an atmosphere clouded by state laws.

Wurf was chairman of the Maritime Trades Dept. Study Committee that issued a report on Collective Bargaining in the Public Sector to the AFL-CIO's Eighth Constitutional Convention last fall. Part of the report said:

Anti-strike laws. "In every state where there are bargaining laws, and in states without bargaining laws, prohibitions against strikes exist. At least 38 states have officially prohibited strikes by public employees through laws, court decisions and attorneys' general decisions."

These laws have not stopped public employees from organizing for a decent wage and working conditions. This includes hospital workers.

But organizing problems are more complex among hospital employees because of the very nature of the institutions. Workers are scattered in various buildings and often work unusual shifts.

The number of jobs and people are limited only by the size of the hospital. There are some very big hospitals where various groups of workers have little in common during a routine work day.

In recent years, however, thousands of hospital workers have banded together to bargain collectively. Why? Because there are common denominators for all hospital workers, no matter what their jobs. "They want status, dignity and money," said one AFSCME official.

Public Employee Union
(copy clip from other side)

OSPITAL WORK

A constant effort to catch up on wages and working conditions

One of the main points for unionized workers is job security.

Most important. "Job security is the most important thing," said the Rev. James Smith of Local 1733 in Memphis. "At one time a supervisor could fire a person for not wearing his hair right. Wages are important but job security is more important than anything."

Louisiana Council 17 Director Willie Long says the same thing in a different way. "Grievance procedure is one of the main things in organizing," he said. "That and a promotion policy."

Boston Council 45 Director Joseph Bonavita agrees.

"Before grievance procedure you operated at the whim and caprice of a supervisor. If he didn't like you, it was out the door."

Despite the organizing problems, AFSCME's growth in hospital workers has been as fast as the growth of the union itself in recent years.

Today, it is estimated that one out of every five AFSCME members is a hospital employee.

Locals in 32 states. The union has 266 locals representing hospital workers in 32 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. The membership concentration is heaviest in 12 states—New York, Michigan, Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, California, Indiana, Oregon, Wisconsin and Ohio.

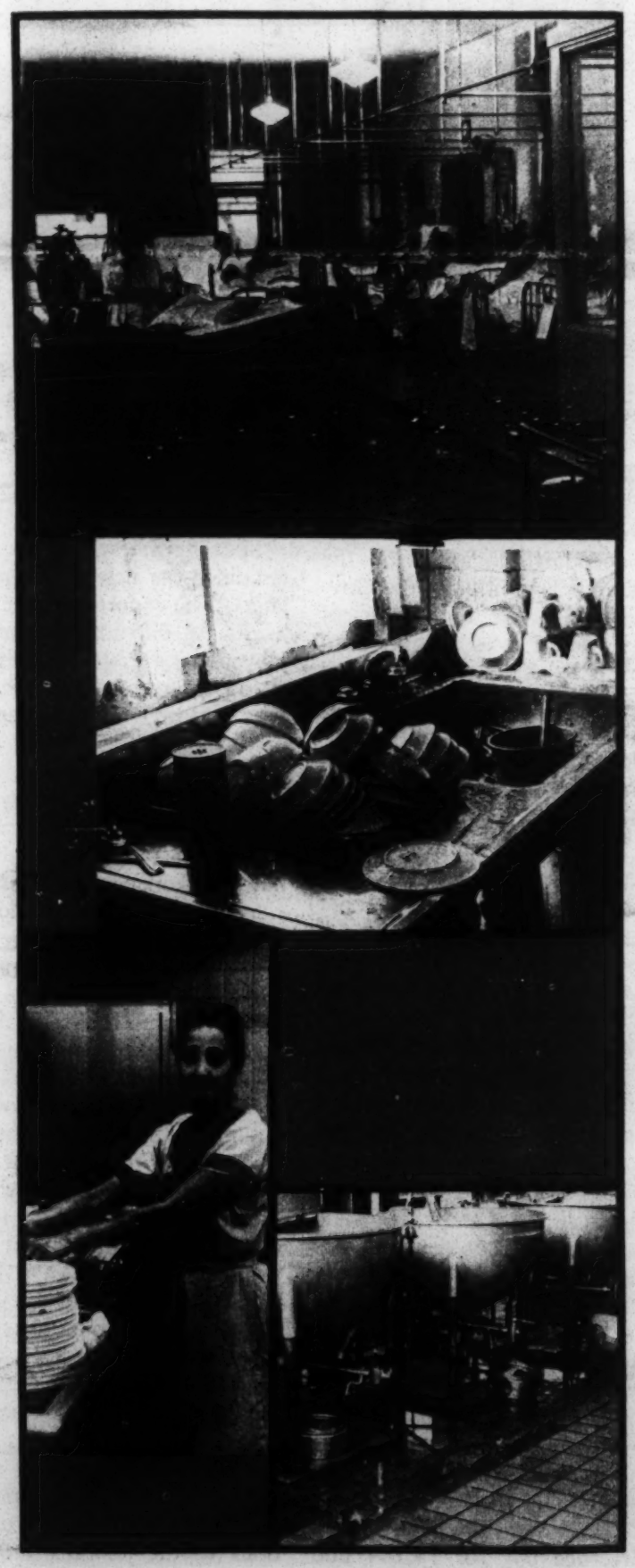
Yet the vast majority of hospital employees are without a union—and the benefits that unionism brings through collective bargaining strength.

The latest annual survey (1968) for hospitals accredited by the American Hospital Association shows: 559 state hospitals, 893 county, 348 city and 73 city-county. That's 2,173 hospitals with a total working force of 661,821. This force does not include residents, interns or students.

And yet the demand for hospital workers always seems to exceed the supply. Harry I. Greenfield, associate professor of economics at Queens College, City University of New York said last year:

Worker shortage. "Few if any major industries or professions in the United States suffer from such a persistent or serious shortage of skilled personnel as the health care field. Training programs sponsored by various professional associations are an important source of new health workers. However, the educational requirements for entry tend to be high. These requirements should be lowered wherever possible."

Writing in *Manpower Magazine*, the official monthly journal of the Manpower Administration, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Professor Greenfield said



there were limits to the use of less-trained personnel to free professionals for their special skills, "but it appears that in health services these limits have not yet been approached."

In a related article, Dr. Seymour Wolfbein of Temple University was asked who would do "menial chores" if everyone is going to be trained for good jobs with good futures. He answered:

"Lots of people are willing to do the work. There is nothing wrong with collecting garbage and doing similar tasks as long as you don't call them menial and as long as you pay people well and give them a chance to move ahead. Right here in the Temple University Hospital we had 75% turnover every year among hospital attendants.

"Why not?" he continued. "They were low paid and where do you go after you're old and a hospital attendant. Nowhere. Now we've cut turnover in half, in good part by providing job ladders. There are now people who start as hospital attendants and end up as dietitians. We increase their salaries and give them prospects for advancement."

Career Ladders. Job, or Career Ladders, has become a familiar term with AFSCME in the last year, especially as it pertains to hospital workers. The union knew this was a way to move lower-paying employees into meaningful hospital careers, like Dr. Wolfbein's hospital attendants.

The Career Ladder is the heart of AFSCME's Hospital Career Development Program, the first such over-all project undertaken by a labor organization for municipal hospital workers.

Prior to the career development program, Council 37 in New York City started its Nurse's Aide to Licensed Practical Nurse Upgrading Program. Both programs had the same idea—train people now working in hospitals and upgrade them to a better job.

Council 37 Associate Director Lillian Roberts explained her program simply:

Chance to advance. "Employees who had demonstrated their dedication by serving in the hospitals for years, and who had acquired basic skills by doing professional work, deserved the opportunity for advancement that additional training could give them."

The trainee scorecard: Of the 463 who enrolled, 422 graduated. There were 41 dropouts for academic or non-academic reasons. Of the graduates, 259 are now licensed practical nurses and 163 are awaiting licensure by the state.

Hospital employees across the land are finding that they can best serve themselves by joining with others—by combining their strength through unionism.

NYC order boosts local's membership

New York

The city's Office of Collective Bargaining has ordered that 624 workers of the Human Resources Administration (HRA) be included in District Council 37. The new members have become a chapter of Local 371, Social Service Employees Union, and negotiators are working on an initial contract.

The local already had a strong organizing drive going when the city board ordered certification. Local 371 had petitioned, based on similarity of jobs, that the workers be included.

New HRA titles in the local now include aides, technicians, senior technicians, specialist trainees, specialist and supervising specialist. Their jobs range from community work to auditing.

City employees in **Lewiston, Me.,** have voted 82 to 9 to be represented by District Council 74.

Those who voted included non-teaching employees in the schools, non-uniformed workers in the police and fire departments and public workers department employees.

The election was conducted by Miss Marion E. Martin, commissioner of the Maine Dept. of Labor and Industry. AFSCME was represented by International Representative David Chisholm, Council Treasurer H. George Poulin and Frank Hillman, council business agent.

Town Employees of **Wethersfield, Conn.,** have voted for AFSCME representation in a run-off with another union. Town officials campaigned hard for a "no union" vote. The members will join Local 1303 and includes town hall employees and garage and maintenance workers.

Connecticut Council 4 was successful in its efforts to represent highway employees in **Thompson, Conn.** An official of the State Labor Relations Board certified the authenticity of signatures on a petition to recognize AFSCME after meeting with local officials and Lawrence Cacciola, deputy director of Council 4.

New Jersey Council 1 has won recognition for 467 new members at **Lakeland Institutions in Camden County.** The blue collar workers, including hospital attendants and food service, will be members of Local 1965. The election was conducted by the state's Public Employees Relations Commission. AFSCME is also organizing craft workers at the institutions.

Michigan Council 55 has been certified by the Michigan Labor Mediation Board as representative of all custodial-maintenance employees of the **Lansing Community College,** excluding supervisors.

The board also certified Council 55 as representative for the **Montgomery Sheriff's Dept.** after deputies unaninously voted for AFSCME.

Michigan Council 23 won representation for all supervisors in the Data Processing Dept. of the Board of Education, **Macomb County Intermediate Schools.** In a separate election involving the same school board, Council 23 won representation for all full and part-time employees and secretaries in the same department.

Council 24, the Wisconsin State Employees Association, has won recognition elections for workers in the Dept. of Public Instruction. The election was conducted by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission. Council 24 won the election over the Wisconsin Education Association in a separate unit for classroom teachers at the **Wisconsin School for the Deaf at Delavan** and the **School for the Visually Handicapped at Janesville.**

Employees of the **Montana State Prison at Deer Lodge** have voted more than 2-to-1 to affiliate with Montana State Council 9. The voting was monitored by Tony Softich, assistant commissioner of the Montana Dept. of Labor and Industry. The vote was 101 to 48 out of the 172 employees eligible to cast ballots.

To El for Ark folder

State report raps Arkansas for 'poverty' level wages

Little Rock, Ark.

Salaries for some state employees in Arkansas are so low that 13 workers in the Welfare Dept. are eligible for welfare.

State Welfare Commissioner Len E. Blaylock, who cited the plight of welfare workers in the *Little Rock, Gazette,* said his department was understaffed and just trying to "hold things together."

Blaylock's remarks, along with others, were a reaction to a report that said salaries of nearly 1,000 state employees caused "poverty living standards" for many workers, created an exodus from state jobs and plunged morale to "an all-time low."

The newspaper recently printed highlights of the report, compiled by the Labor Standards Committee of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. The report was submitted to Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller and mailed to state legislators.

Jeanne Lambie heads committee. The committee chairman was Mrs. Jeanne Lambie, president of AFSCME Council 38 in Arkansas.

She said 2,400 of the more than 14,000 state employees draw less than $3,600 a year—the poverty level under Federal guidelines. Mrs. Lambie added that Arkansas has 840 workers receiving hourly wages under $1.60 an hour, the Federal minimum wage.

The *Gazette* said "Much of the blame for the low salaries is attributed to the job classification and compensation plan for state employees adopted as Act 199 by the General Assembly last Spring."

The report said:

"Our general findings show that state employees and their families are adversely affected by the current pay plan and that conditions will become worse, not better, if the state continues to apply the present unrealistic salary plan as a base for state employment."

Lowest paid workers. Citing Federal Commerce Dept. statistics, the report said state workers in Arkansas, in 1968, were the lowest paid state employees in the nation. The Federal statistics showed the 1968 average pay for 14,204 non teaching state workers was $346 a month—$198 a month below the national average and $42 behind 49th ranked Mississippi.

The report charged that 17 of 22 employees in one unidentified agency held two jobs to support their families. Salaries in this agency are $243 to $274 a month.

State agencies have lost 610 employees since the new salary plan went into effect. The report said agency heads are having a difficult time recruiting employees for all job classifications because of low salary schedules "which are 30% to 40% lower than salaries for comparable occupations in business and industry."

(The *Wall Street Journal* recently ran a story which said state, county and city governments are short about one million workers across the country and cited the main reason as low pay.)

Recommendations. The commission's report made these recommendations to Gov. Rockefeller and the legislature:

- A "more realistic salary structure" for state employees be adopted "as soon as possible."
- Pay raises or promotion should be automatic "and not dependent upon the discretion of the department head."
- Persons in the lowest paid jobs should have a chance to advance to higher pay positions more rapidly.
- Annual "cost of living" increases be implemented "to keep salaries current with economic changes."
- A "review board" be created for workers to air grievances about their jobs and salaries. The board, to be comprised of representatives from all employee classifications and minority groups, would weigh the legitimacy of the grievances and make recommendations to the administrators of the dissatisfied employees' departments.

International General Representative Pete Moralis receives an award from Dr. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Baltimore Chapter.

Moralis honored

Baltimore

The Baltimore Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has presented an award to International General Representative Pete Moralis of Baltimore for helping an ex-soldier get a job while he awaited the outcome of a jury trial and an appeal to the Veterans Administration.

Wallace Beauford won both the acquittal and the appeal. He credited Moralis with getting him a job with the city's Bureau of Recreation even though he had not been exonerated at the time.

In 1965, Beauford was enroute to his home here after being discharged from the Army. He had to change buses in Philadelphia. The bus pulled off and left him. Beauford complained about the driver.

The police stepped in and there was a fight. Beauford was kicked in the face and lost the sight of his right eye. He was charged with 15 counts of assault on a police officer.

He was acquitted on all counts by a Philadelphia jury. The Veterans Administration, however, turned down his request for benefits for loss of the eye. The ruling was appealed and the Board of Veterans Appeals granted Beauford a lump sum of about $5,000 plus $137 per month. Still pending is a $650,000 suit against the city of Philadelphia.

New Democratic president

Mrs. Lila Henderson, recording secretary for AFSCME Council 11 in Akron, Ohio, is the new president of the Federated Democratic Women's Clubs of Summit County. She is also president of the Ohio Federated Democratic Women's Club. Mrs. Henderson, a 54-year-old mother of five, once helped organize cafeteria workers at a Navy shipyard in Wilmington, Del., and is a member of AFSCME Local 1229, Court House Chapter, in Akron. She says her first goal in the new job is to organize the 25 affiliated women's clubs into a strong, cohesive political network.

School workers pay hiked by $500-$600

Centereach, N.Y.

Non-professional employees of the Middle Country School District No. 1 here will receive wage increases of between $500 and $600 under a new contract signed by Local 1938.

The contract also includes a $25 uniform allowance for cafeteria workers, a 5-cent hourly night differential, additional paid holidays bringing the total to 13½ days per year and three personal leave days a year.

Workers will get 12 months paid sick leave after three years employment and union negotiators worked out a grievance procedure with final and binding arbitration.

The contract was negotiated by Local President John Santerillo, Business Manager Daniel Birecree and International Representative Ernie Rewolinski.

tect workers from in-plant pollution.

Public Employee Unions

PUBLIC-EMPLOYE BARGAINING gets more attention in state legislatures.

The number of states with laws guaranteeing public employes some bargaining rights grows to 19 from 14 at the start of 1969, according to Public Service Associates, Washington labor relations consultants. Pennsylvania's Senate is expected to act soon on its version of a House-passed bill that would give public workers other than firemen and police a limited right to strike. A new Montana law lets nurses strike if there's no other walkout of nurses within 150 miles.

Yet the rising militancy among public employes may catch some states napping. A Public Service Associates official claims that "only a handful" of state laws are capable of preventing strikes through collective bargaining. Two key problems: The lack of fact-finding procedures to resolve impasses and the existence of strike penalties so harsh they're impractical.

Teachers Union president David Selden, currently in jail for picketing during the Newark, N.J., school strike, sees his sentence as a way of dramatizing the need for improved bargaining laws.

* * *

SENATE HEARINGS on Nixon's nominee for NLRB chairman, Edward Miller, won't start until the first week in May. Labor Committee chairman Yarborough, up for reelection, is preoccupied with Texas' May 2 Democratic primary. Miller, named on Feb. 18, is likely to be confirmed with little serious trouble.

* * *

CONTINENTAL CAN, actively seeking to employ the urban poor, agrees to hire workers for its metals division through state employment agencies. The agencies will recruit and screen applicants to fill company job orders. Other Continental divisions consider adopting such a system.

* * *

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION urges Health-Welfare Secretary Finch to step up the fight against byssinosis—a lung disease found among mill workers exposed to cotton dust. The Government is asked to launch a pilot project to find ways of controlling the dust. A suggested site: The Atlanta penitentiary's cotton mill.

* * *

COMIC BOOKS help the Labor Department spread the word among the hard-core unemployed about jobs and training opportunities. Tests show the new brightly colored, pocket-size comics have a "high impact," manpower officials report. The books deal with such topics as the need to get to work on time and what an auto mechanic does.

* * *

COLLEGE ADMINISTRATORS grow younger on many Eastern campuses.

The rapid expansion of staffs, the need to relate to militant students, mounting job pressures frequently result in hiring of men in their twenties and thirties. The University of Pennsylvania's dean of admissions is 32. At Washington's Georgetown University, the dean of freshmen and the dean of the summer school are both 29. Princeton's dean of students is 34, its provost 36.

"There just aren't enough old people to go around," says Arthur Doyle, Boston College's 27-year-old admission dean. A top New York University official observes, "Administrators have to be prepared to go around the clock these days." The trend to younger campus officials is less evident in the Midwest and Far West. "Education is by its very nature an institution run by elders," frets a disenchanted 36-year-old administrator at a small state college in California.

In some cases, college officials say, the young administrator is also black.

* * *

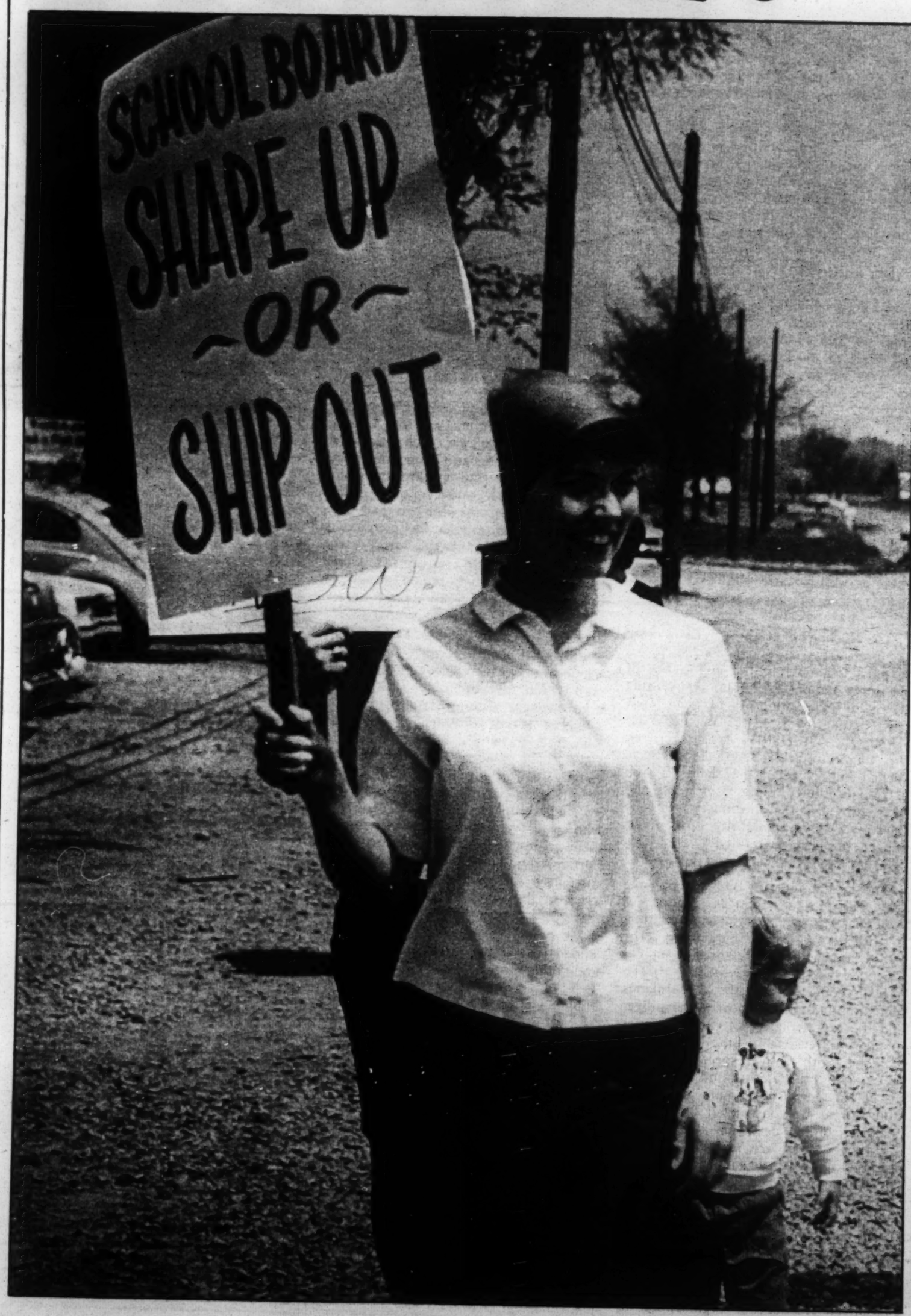
THE CHECKOFF: Letter Carriers Union president James Rademacher moved around with a bodyguard during the recent postal dispute. . . . According to Red Chinese propaganda, a Peking postal worker praised the American mailmen for their "revolutionary action."

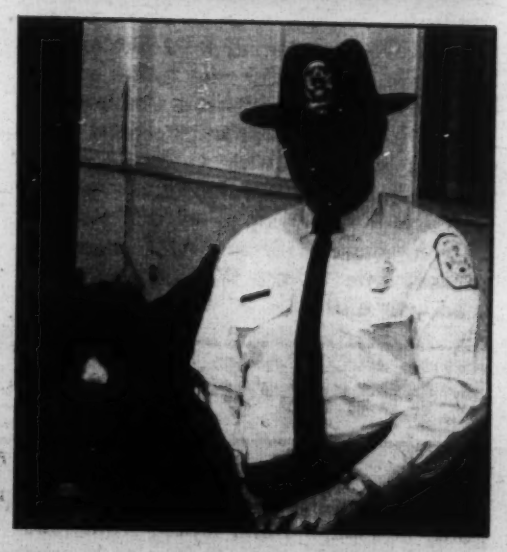
Wall Street Journal
4-7-70

SHOULD YOUR TEACHER STRIKE?

Public Employee Unions

(or your MAILMAN?
FIREMAN?
SANITATION MAN?
POLICEMAN?)





A teaching unit on rights of public employees

Introduction

Nearly one of every six workers in the United States today is employed directly by the government.

You know many of them. Teachers, principals, custodians, and other educational workers make up the biggest chunk. Leave your school and you find more: the policeman on the corner beat, a census taker, a clerk at the post office, your mailman, a fireman, a museum guide, a nurse, a social worker, the lifeguard at the beach.

Altogether, there are 12.5 million public workers in the country, out of a total work force of just over 80 million. In most respects, they're like all the other workers in the U.S.—they perform useful services or provide necessary products, they get paid for their work, and they have bosses.

But in one major respect, they're different. They usually can't bargain for wages and working conditions in the same way that privately employed workers can, and they almost never have the legal right to strike.

This teaching unit examines the rights of public workers. It was conceived during what most certainly has been the greatest upsurge of militancy among public workers in the nation's history. In the past several months, the city of San Francisco was virtually shut down by public-employees' strikes, the air traffic controllers' actions seriously curtailed transportation, mail was delayed by postal strikes, and, of course, teacher strikes continued unabated. The past few months have also seen rising reaction by government: AFT President David Selden and 200 teachers in Newark, N.J., all of whom violated an ex parte anti-strike injunction, were sentenced to up to six months in prison. The federal government called out troops to keep the post offices functioning. Congressmen reacted to a threatened walkout by District of Columbia teachers by postponing action on a teacher-pay bill. Air traffic controllers were summoned to court for contempt proceedings. Threats have been made to fire the firemen.

This teaching unit—prepared by labor historian Will Scoggins at the AFT's request—ought to capitalize on the interest aroused by all these recent events, and promote class discussions on the rights of public workers. It is not a one-sided presentation, nor is it a programmed, here's-how-to-do-it, ready-made plan that you can take into your class and start using immediately. It requires that you do some reading, some homework, and some creative lesson planning of your own. It is divided into three suggested lessons, preceded by an overview. Each lesson has its own goals, suggestions for class discussions, and some proposed activities. You may wish to introduce the unit by dissecting a recent teachers' strike in your district or a nearby district, or by talking about the postal strikes or other strikes of public workers that have directly affected your students.

However you use it, we'd like to hear from you. How did you build on this unit? How did your students respond? Let us know. We'll share the most interesting experiences with American Teacher readers in a future issue. And, if you'd like more copies of this teaching unit to share with non-AFT members, please write to us. We'll be happy to send you more.

Overview

BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

It is a matter of public record—via polls, newspapers and letters from readers of newspapers, scholarly studies, and television interviews, as well as our own experience in our classroom—that there exists a great deal of misinformation, prejudice, and outright hostility concerning the organization of workers into unions and their subsequent collective action to improve their lot. Why this should be so is not the immediate subject of this teaching unit. That the negative attitudes exist, however, and that the hositility seems greater toward workers in the public sector (garbage collectors, municipal bus drivers, postmen, teachers) when their actions necessitate a slowdown or interruption of services than when workers in the private sector do the same thing, should be known to every teacher. He can then begin to prepare himself to deal with it and attempt to dissipate the hostility and correct the misinformation.

LABOR-HISTORY UNIT

We assume that the teacher—especially a teacher of social studies—already presents a relatively comprehensive unit on the over-all subject of labor-management history and of the protagonists' relations with each other. Such a unit stresses the changes in the nature of employment resulting from the industrial revolution and the organization of capital within the corporate structure into larger and larger units to defend its interests within the economy.

The teacher need not shrink from the clearly documented violence of the clash between labor and management that marks much of American history from 1870 to 1940. After all, it is nothing short of illusion to believe that the interests of the contesting groups are the same, or necessarily even complementary. The adversary relationship does exist. However, the teacher might be wise, especially given the treatment of most U.S. history textbooks concerning this violence, to demonstrate that the collision of interests was only a part of the over-all working-out of the concept of industrial democracy, the rights of workers to the protection of their lives and skills, and a way of guaranteeing them as well as their employers an adequate share of the wealth that they, jointly, have created.

The teacher might also present a more comprehensive treatment than is found in most textbooks of the importance of the three major federal laws governing the maturing relationship between labor and management. The Wagner Act (1935), the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), and the Landrum-Griffin Act (1959) have spelled out in detail the rights as well as responsibilities of the contestants and have provided the machinery whereby the overwhelming majority of conflicts can be resolved peacefully.

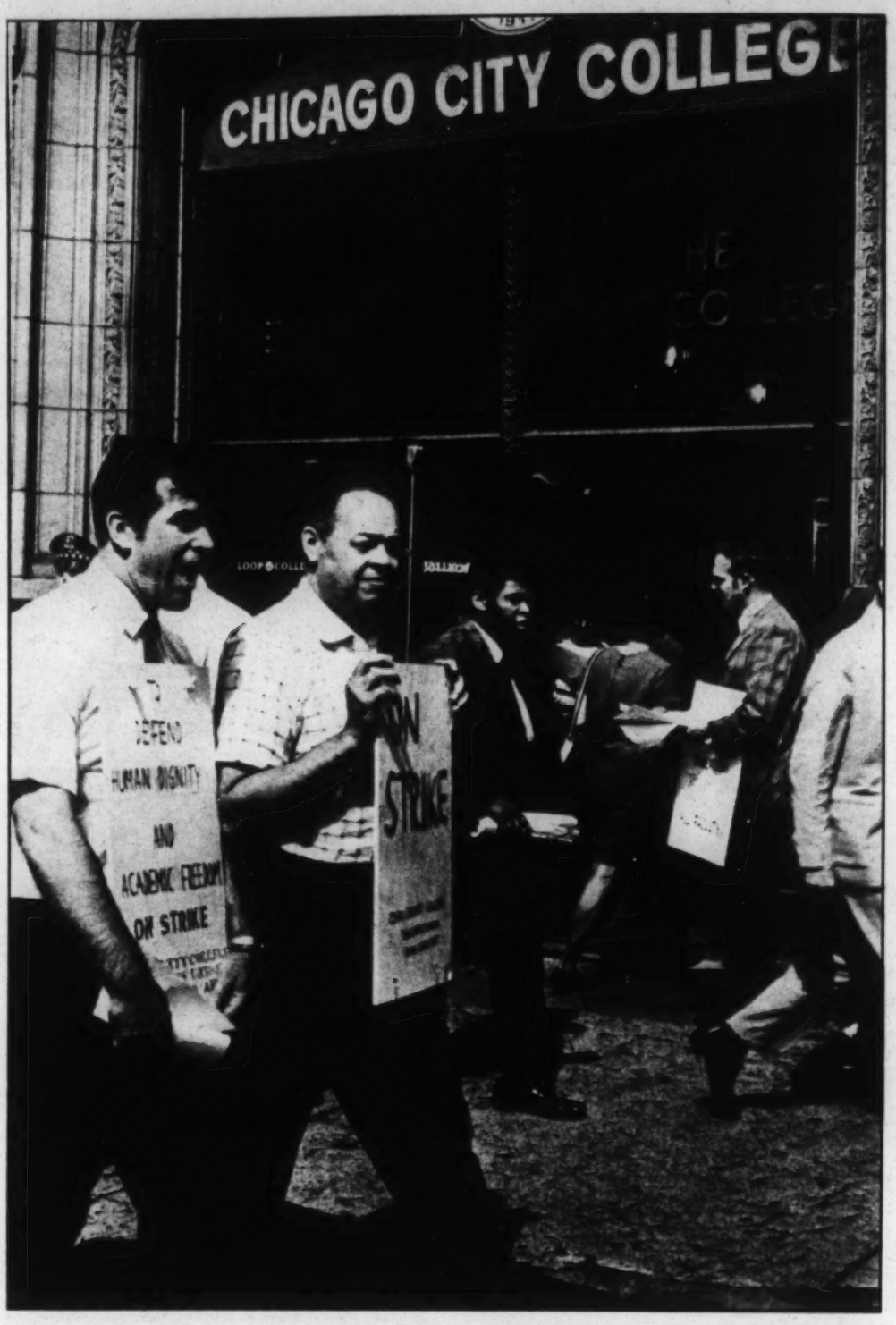
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The most important method, and one that although no longer unique to America was an American innovation, is that of collective bargaining. The Labor-Management Relations Act as amended defines it simply: (Sec. 8 d) "To bargain collectively is the performance of the mutual obligation of the employer and the representative of the employees to meet at reasonable times and confer in good faith with respect to wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment." A whole course of study might be constructed on the implications of this definition alone!

However, we are dealing in this proposed unit of instruction with a more sophisticated problem. During eighty years of collective action, and finally of law, the relationship between labor and private employers has been worked out fairly explicitly.

A DIFFERENT STORY

The Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 guaranteed freedom of organization to



workers in private industry. It forbade courts to issue injunctions for a number of union actions, including work stoppages. Before an injunction could be issued, a hearing would have to be held in open court and the finding would have to be that unlawful acts had been threatened and would be committed, that substantial and irreparable damage to property would occur for which there was no adequate remedy at law, or that public officers were unable or unwilling to protect private property.

'NO PLACE' FOR MILITANCY?

But what happens when the worker happens not to be employed by a private corporation, but by a public agency—a government, federal, state, or local, or a school board? President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his answer thusly in 1937: "The process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. . . . The employer is the whole people who speak by means of laws enacted by their representatives in Congress. . . . Particularly, I want to emphasize my conviction that militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organization of government employees."

Moreover, Congress purposely excluded federal employees from coverage under the Wagner Act of 1935 and the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. Furthermore, Public Law 330 of 1955 makes it a felony for federal employees to strike or even assert the right to strike.

The issue raised here is the age-old one of the sovereignty of the state, or more precisely, of the government. It has been asserted that sovereignty, in practice, finds expression in the processes of making decisions accompanied by authority, decisions regarded as binding on the community and ultimately enforceable. Would not the extension of negotiable rights to employees of the sovereign thereby diminish sovereignty itself? And since, theoretically, in a democratic state the sovereignty rests ultimately with the people, then would not the extension of those rights result in a sacrifice of the rights of the people, or a collision with the "public interest?"

As sticky as this logic may appear, the events of history continue, and the facts and figures accumulate. If the 1930s was the decade of the blue-collar worker, then the just-completed 1960s was certainly that of the public employee. At the federal, state, and local levels of government, employees are in fact organizing, engaging in negotiations, and voicing grievances against their employers.

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, has 373,000 members. The American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, has 263,000. The two large postal unions, both affiliated with the AFL-CIO, have a combined membership of over 300,000 and have only recently demonstrated their militancy. In short, these workers are beginning to act just like all other employees.

HALF IN EDUCATION

And the figures of growth are almost staggering. Today, approximately one out of every six nonagricultural employees is on the public payroll. By 1975, by current growth predictions, 15 million people will work for some kind of government with the preponderance of growth continuing at the state and local levels. Between 1955 and 1965, state and local government employment increased by 65 percent while federal employment showed only a 13-percent gain. And, very important, about half of all state and local government employees work in education!

What shall be the relationship of all these millions of people with the sovereign, their employer? The answer at present is muddy and will probably not become completely clear for some time. It must be pointed out that sovereignty itself is not necessarily something abstractly fixed in a permanent place. Kings, as sovereigns, once ruled by divine right. No longer, at least in western countries.

Do public workers have to stay on the job despite 'intolerable and dangerous' conditions?

The state itself, as seen by Hegel as an organic whole, a living, breathing, pulsating thing, is now under intensive scrutiny. Sovereignty, then, may no longer be considered as a "ghostly thing," but as a process. Political Scientist Andrew Hacker has defined it as, "the interaction of specified individuals and institutions according to specified rules of procedure. . . . The process of sovereignty, therefore, is more concerned with how laws are passed than with what they say." Herewith, sovereignty becomes flexible, not fixed, and a real, not abstract, relationship.

This whole knotty issue was given significant clarification by President John F. Kennedy's Executive Order 10988, of Jan. 17, 1962. The impetus of the order was to spell out conditions of recognition of employee organizations in the federal service.

FEDERAL POLICIES

Prior to 1962, unions existed in federal employment, but nobody knew what rights and obligations they had. Executive Order 10988 filled that gap and also pointed out to unions and management at the state and local levels that regulatory machinery could be mutually helpful. It not only spelled out a clear-cut policy on the right of employees to organize, to have their organizations accorded official recognition, but it provided for consultation in the establishment of personnel policies and procedures and, under specified conditions, for negotiated agreements with agency management on working conditions.

Following the lead of President Kennedy, by mid-1969, 19 states had authorized by law some form of collective bargaining with state or municipal employees, or both. And 1,200,000 federal employees had exclusive representatives in some 1,800 units.

On Oct. 29, 1969, President Richard M. Nixon issued Executive Order 11491 superseding the Kennedy order. Under the Nixon order, a central authority consisting of the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Secretary of Labor, and officials from the President's executive office, named the **Federal Labor Relations Council,** will administer the program. The **Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor-Management Relations** is given additional power, such as authority to supervise the required secret-ballot elections and to determine the recognized unit. A **Federal Service Impasse Panel** is also established. It has authority to settle impasses in contract negotiation if other means fail. **The exclusive representative will have the same negotiating rights as under the Kennedy order (importantly, matters determined by Congress are still excluded from the negotiations, e.g., pay, hours, leave).** In addition, a new form of recognition has been created: national consultation rights. This designation will go to organizations that represent a "substantial" number of employees in an agency, but will not apply where an organization already holds exclusive recognition at the national level.

So, with an increasingly elaborate federal system of negotiation, and with 18 states having laws **requiring** the public employer to bargain with at least **some** state or local government employees, it would appear that the question of public employees' rights to organize and bargain in their own interest would be settled. Not so. There are still many restrictions on their rights to do so. The question of the "public interest" is still open to interpretation between the two contestants and frequently results in the public agency being able to obtain a court injunction to make sure that its particular service is not interrupted.

THE "RIGHT" TO STRIKE

The use of injunctions in public-employee strikes is increasingly viewed as an impediment to true collective bargaining. In Michigan, the state supreme court in 1968 (in a case involving Holland, Mich., teachers) upheld a refusal to enjoin a strike unless a clear and present danger to public health and safety was involved. A teacher strike, the court said, presented no such danger. Few other states, however, have moved as far as Michigan in this regard, although public opinion appears to be growing increasingly favorable.

It has been charged that enjoinment of a public-employee strike, such as a teacher strike, has the effect of forcing workers to stay on the job despite what may be intolerable and dangerous conditions. Teachers in Newark, N.J., for example, were driven to the last resort of striking early in 1970. The court issued an **ex parte** injunction, which means **only one side presented its case to the judge,** and the result was that 192 teachers were sentenced to jail terms and fines for not going back to work. The injunction included penalties against "aiding and abetting" the strikers, so that AFT President David Selden, who walked on a picket line, was sentenced to three months in jail for contempt of court.

Skirting the issue of the right of public employees to strike, just because it may be "explosive," is comparable, some people think to avoiding other basic issues of fundamental importance to our society. Legal opinion in most of the United States views a strike against the government as a strike against the sovereignty of the nation, and this is said to be based on the old English common law, the foundation for much of our legal structure.

But while we are clinging to this old "monarchical" approach, the English, for example, are acting quite differently, and they say they are the ones who are following the common law most closely. In a letter to AFT President Selden recently, W. A. C. Kendall, president of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, a union of vocational teachers in England and Wales, said: "I heard today, with considerable surprise, that you were in prison for pursuing what I would have thought were the quite legitimate aims of a teachers trade union. That the leader of a teachers union can be so treated in the U.S.A. is a matter of considerable surprise to me. We have recently been involved in militant action and I would have been proud to go to prison had it been necessary, but fortunately our law is more liberal."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first recorded strike occurred about 1170 B.C., when workers at the Necropolis in Thebes walked off their jobs because the government of Egypt had not paid them in two months. (Note, they were public employees.) And on April 13, 1970, the United Teachers of Los Angeles struck because of the long list of unresolved grievances involving the poor state of educational affairs in that city and state.

It would appear, then, that a dilemma is at hand. As stated earlier, the federal government prohibits its employees to strike—but they strike. Most states also prohibit the strike—the people strike. The dilemma has been phrased very well by Heisell and Hallihan in **Questions and Answers on Public Employee Negotiation.**

"Horn No. 1: Some public services are so vital to the immediate safety of the citizenry that a strike is unthinkable.

"Horn No. 2: Given sufficient stimulus, any group of employees, public or private, essential or nonessential, with or without the legal right to strike, will strike."

It would appear obvious, then, that to legislate against strikes is only to provide punitive tools **after** the strike has taken place, tools that may or may not be usable. (Can one conceive of arresting 22,000 Los Angeles teachers?) More pertinent, it seems to us, would be adequate machinery to solve grievances so that the strike would become less necessary.

'MORE CONSCIENTIOUS'

It is noteworthy that public employees often seem more conscientious about professional standards than are their employers. Social workers have struck to have their caseloads reduced so that they can more effectively service their clients. Nurses and hospital attendants have struck to have more people employed in order to better care for their patients. And, certainly, one of the major demands of the Los Angeles teachers is the reduction of class size so that they can be better teachers.

It is equally important to note that much of the discomfort of public employees has to do with the whole growing "urban crisis." More people in smaller spaces expect more and better services. Family patterns change, forcing public agencies to do what the extended family did, or did not do, before. New thrills, new "kicks," seduce the proliferating urban young. (An official of the United Teachers of Los Angeles has asserted that in 92 percent of the secondary schools of that city drugs are a major problem.) And race relations continue to be extremely abrasive. Public employees, then, often see no way to change the "horse-and-buggy" structure of their employing agencies except to shock them with desperate action.

In any case, the teacher should keep in mind that all of his students in all his classes, 95 percent will shortly become sombody's employees. And increasingly, that employer will be a public agency. We have prepared this teaching unit to help the teacher acquaint his class with what can be expected and what constitutes the problem areas.

Lesson 1

Preface: If there has been a recent teacher strike in your district, you may wish to discuss it as a general introduction to this unit. Or, you may want to talk about the postal strike or the air-traffic controllers' work stoppage, or strikes by any group of public workers which have, in some way or another, had a direct effect on your students.

Aim: The teacher should acquaint his high-school students with the changing nature of the economy, from one geared to production and distribution of goods to one of increasing needs for public service. This should not be too difficult since studies reveal that today's young people already sincerely want their life's work to have social importance.

Motivation: It seems to us that the greatest tool for motivation in this case would simply be to present as much concise and valid information as possible about the prospects for public service. Much material is available from public agencies and should be obtained by the teacher, condensed, and presented to his class. Perhaps a representative from the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Public Welfare, or a similar agency can be brought to the class for a presentation. If possible, the teacher should meet with the representative chosen to ascertain his ability in this matter. A poorly prepared or inarticulate spokesman can do great harm to the teacher's class.

Lesson 2

Aim: The teacher is aware that much prejudice exists regarding the relationship between employer and employee, particularly organized employees. The aim of this lesson is to reduce this prejudice and dispel myths.

Motivation: Again, it is our conviction that reliable information, effectively presented, does much in this day of the "shuck and jive" to motivate young people to want to learn. If the teacher can find an effective representative of the American Federation of Government Employees or the American Federation of Teachers, he might profitably use that person to address his class.

Concepts to be developed:

1. America is a land where individual dignity goes hand in hand with collective strength. The individual, standing alone, is increasingly helpless in the face of complex social stresses and needs.

2. The self-sufficient entrepreneur is rare. The overwhelming majority of Americans are somebody's employees.

3. Historically, employees have organized and joined employee associations or labor unions for four reasons.

A. **Economic:** Employers, whether private or public, are interested in keeping costs down. Employees, facing ever-increasing costs of living as needs grow, have strength to bargain only if they can approach their employer with united effort.

B. **Psychological:** The lone worker, perhaps performing routine tasks and far removed from authority, can find himself dehumanized—a little cog in a huge machine—and his personality damaged. Organization offers him protection from the martinet supervisor and it provides him with a sense of importance.

C. **Social:** The origin of the custom of calling fellow union members "brother" or "sister" is not mysterious. The gathering together of people of common interests is as old as history. It is comfortable to "belong" to something.

D. **Political:** Most social progress—land reform, public education, workmen's compensation, social security—has been the result of political action. The union as a political organism is a fact of life. It is an instrument for achieving social change.

4. In whatever kind of economy, an adversary relationship will exist be-

Two years ago, the Rev. M was shot to death on the ba Motel (above), while in Mem licly employed garbage worke Recently, to commemorate the employees' union, the State, Employees, and Southern Chri ference officers met in Memp on the same motel balco and hospital workers picket th eral Hospital last March durin ployees. At right, an Atlanta application which the city o AFSCME after firing them fo employees stayed out for 36 agreement with increases fo upgrading for 553 others. Th drop all charges against the them with all seniority intact.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the balcony of the Lorraine n Memphis to help aid pub- workers who were on strike. ate the event, officials of the State, County, and Municipal rn Christian Leadership Con- Memphis and linked hands balcony. At left, nurses icket the San Francisco Gen- h during a strike of city em- Atlanta striker burns his job city offered to members of hem for striking. The 2,000 for 36 days and won a new ses for 2,314 workers and ers. The city also agreed to st the strikers and reinstate intact.

tween employer and employee. Whatever employees gain, either economically or in prestige, surely must come directly or indirectly at the expense of the employer. There is nothing inherently "wrong" with this relationship and it need not be acrimonious or hateful. Indeed, within the framework of law, and with strong and honest contestants, the conflict of interest can be routinized to the advantage of both. It is generally when one of the contestants is overwhelmingly strong and the other hopelessly weak that, in desperation, violence occurs.

Lesson 3

Aim: In this lesson, the teacher must deal with the "nuts and bolts" of labor-management relations. He will define common terms, discuss methods used in resolving conflicts, and analyze the law on the matter.

Motivation: At this stage, given the controversial nature of the subject, motivation and interest should be relatively high. A Socratic questioning approach might be used. (And, remember, the rhetorical question is not an academic crime!) Also, simulated bargaining might be used if the class generally is a bright one. Serious role-playing can be an excellent learning tool.

Current events: Daily newspapers are carrying stories of strikes by teachers and other public workers. You may wish to discuss the issues in the following strikes, their effects on the public, and the results for the workers. You can get information from general news publications, this and past issues of the American Teacher, and from public-employee unions (see Page A-6 for addresses).

a. San Francisco "general" strike
b. Newark teachers strike
c. Los Angeles teachers strike
d. Air traffic controllers' action
e. Postal strikes
f. Nurses' strikes (Michigan and elsewhere)

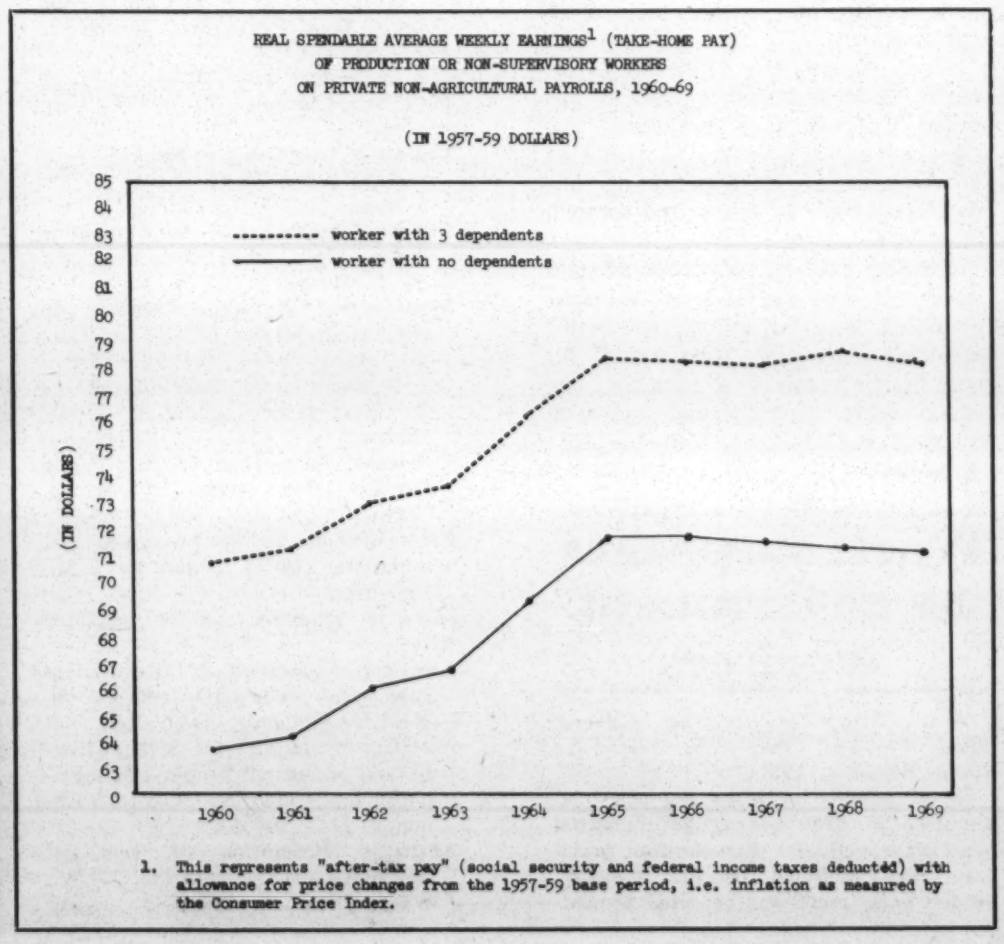
Explicit definitions of terms:

a. collective bargaining
b. bargaining unit
c. agency shop
d. union shop
e. exclusive recognition
f. consultation rights
g. union security
h. dues check-off
i. steward
j. fringe benefits
k. grievance procedures
l. "good faith"
m. mediation
n. arbitration
o. disciplinary action
p. "militancy"
q. injunction, ex parte injunction
r. The union
   1. local
   2. national
   3. International
   4. central labor council
s. public worker
t. government agency
u. civil service
v. profit-making corporation
w. Executive Orders 10988 and 11491
x. strike and lockout
y. scabs and strikebreakers
z. "health and safety"

Questions to be asked:

1. Why do employees always want "more?"
2. What is the difference between "cost of living" and "standard of living?"
3. What is the importance of President Kennedy's Executive Order 10988 and of President Nixon's Executive Order 11491?
4. Is there a difference between the way public and private employees are treated by law? Should statutes be used to deal with recognizing or not recognizing organizations of public employees?
5. Should the same statutes be used to cover all employees— teachers, policemen, firemen, sanitation workers, supervisors—or should different laws be used for different classifications of employees?
6. What guidelines, if any, should the law contain for the determination of bargaining units?
7. Should the law define "unfair practices" and prohibit them?
8. Should the legislature permit an "agency shop" agreement in public employment?
9. What terms and conditions of employment, if any, should be excluded from the bargaining process?
10. Are special provisions needed to protect civil-service rules and authority where they exist?
11. Should strikes be prohibited? For **all** workers? For all **public** workers, regardless of their work? If so, how? If not, should there be conditions imposed by law before a strike can be called by public workers?
12. Should compulsory arbitration be adopted in the public service as a means of resolving impasses in collective bargaining?

Summary: The teacher should attempt to tie up loose ends of the discussion, pointing out areas where there is no common agreement as well as where consensus seems possible. He should make certain to point out that the whole subject of public-worker organization is presently in an evolving state and that all conclusions should be tentative. He should, of course, take special care to sweep away as many cobwebs of mythology as possible. Let his students go forth with at least an open mind on the subject.



1. This represents "after-tax pay" (social security and federal income taxes deducted) with allowance for price changes from the 1957-59 base period, i.e. inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index.

Suggestions for class activities

(These suggestions are general enough to be adapted to almost any grade level or group of students. Teachers should feel free to expand and build on them.)

Mock bargaining sessions: Some students can take the role of either a school board or other government agency, while others take the role of teachers, firemen, policemen, sanitation workers, etc. Both sides can privately draw up bargaining demands and counter offers and then participate in a series of mock bargaining sessions.

Debates: Classroom debates can be built around the pros and cons of public-worker strikes. One suggested issue: "Resolved: That public workers shall have the right to strike in cases which do not constitute a clear-and-present danger to public health and safety."

Research: Students can check Dept. of Labor reports, etc., to discover the extent of public-employee work stoppages in the past decade, the number of employees involved, the attitudes of the public, etc.

Reports: Students can write compositions or reports on the use of injunctions in the private sector, on anti-injunction legislation, on public-employee strikes in other countries, etc.

Interviews: Students may wish to interview rank-and-file members and leaders of public-worker unions, judges who have invoked injunctions against public employees, city officials, and school officials, and then report on their interviews to the class.

Writing a contract: The teacher and the students may wish to write a collective-bargaining contract with each other (this has been done in some classrooms, see American Teacher, October, 1967). The contract may cover classroom conditions, individualized and independent study, grading policies, and other educational matters.

Picket-line support: Students should be given the opportunity to march on a picket line with public employees, if a strike occurs in your neighborhood and if students decide they want to support the strikers. They can make picket signs (a good sign has bold lettering suitable for TV-camera pickup and with no more than six or seven words). They can be taught picket-line discipline (lines are orderly, they're single file or two abreast, they shouldn't block entrances, and only the "picket captain" should issue statements).

Class discussions: These could include "meet-and-confer" laws as opposed to collective bargaining, the right of public workers to strike in other countries, the definition of "immediate danger to health and safety," etc.

Writing project: What would you do if you were the leader of a teacher union and (a) the school board wouldn't meet with your union; (b) you hadn't received a raise in four years; and (c) class sizes had increased by five students each over the past three years.

Work stoppages by government workers

Work Stoppages Involving Government Workers, 1966, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1967:

Total number of work stoppages nationwide in 1966 among governmental workers was greater than the four previous years combined. Of 142 stoppages in the U.S., none was reported by federal employees, nine involved state governments, and 133 were at local government levels:

- **54 were in public schools and libraries**
- **36 were in sanitation services**
- **19 were in administration and protection services**
- **17 were in hospitals and other health services**

About 105,000 out of 8.3 million state and local employees were involved. About two days were lost due to stoppages for every 10,000 days worked. (Corresponding ratio for private industry was 19 days in 1966.)

The major issues in 78 stoppages were salaries and related supplementary benefits. In 36 cases, organization and recognition disputes were central, while in 21 cases matters of administration were the principal issue.

Number of teacher strikes in the United States by years: 1880-1940, 20; 1940-1944, 17; 1945-1952, 73; 1953-1962, 20; 1963-65, 16; 1966, 33; 1967, 75; and 1968 (est.) 100+.

Randy H. Hamilton, Exec. Dir., Institute for Local Self Government, reported:

Number of public employee strikes rose from 28 in 1962 to 42 in 1965 and to more than 150 in 1966.

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Public Personnel Association, 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill. 60637, Publications:

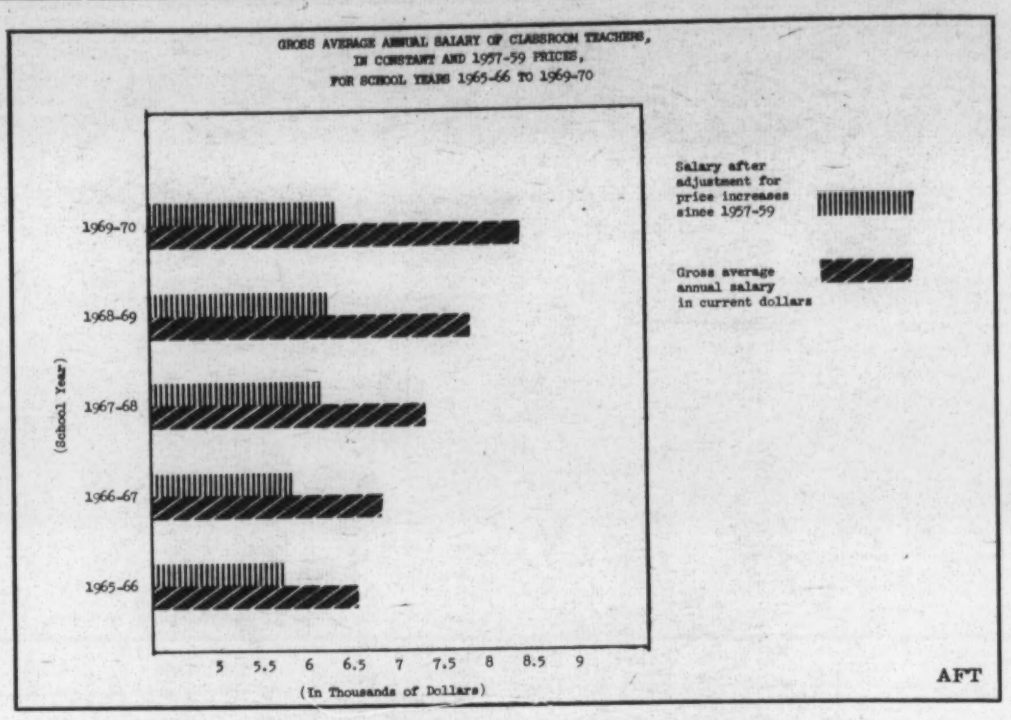
- **Collective Bargaining in the U.S. Federal Civil Service** (1966), by W. B. Vosloo
- **Public Management at the Bargaining Table** (1967), by K. O. Warner and M. L. Hennessy
- **Management-Employee Relations in the Public Service** (1969), by Felix A. Nigro
- **Developments in Public Employee Relations** (1965), edited by K. O. Warner
- **Collective Bargaining in the Public Service** (1967), edited by K. O. Warner
- **Perspective in Public Employee Negotiations** (1969), edited by Keith Ocheltree

Additional materials can be obtained from:

American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, 400 1st St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 2001

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, 1155 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005



PUBLIC EMPLOYEE WORK STOPPAGES, BY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT, 1958-1968

	Total			Percent, by level of government		
Year	Number	Workers involved	Man-days idle	All levels	State	Local
1958	15	1,720	7,510	100.0	6.7	93.3
1959	26	2,240	11,500	100.0	15.4	84.6
1960	36	28,600	58,400	100.0	8.3	91.7
1961	28	6,610	15,300	100.0	....	100.0
1962	28[a]	31,100	79,100	100.0[a]	7.1	75.0
1963	29	4,840	15,400	100.0	6.9	93.1
1964	41	22,700	70,800	100.0	9.8	90.2
1965	42	11,900	146,000	100.0	....	100.0
1966	142	105,000	455,000	100.0	6.3	93.7
1967	181	132,000	1,250,000	100.0	6.6	93.4
1968	254[b]	201,800	2,545,200	100.0[b]	6.3	92.5

[a]Includes 5 stoppages by federal employees, 17.9 percent of all stoppages during the year.

[b]Includes 3 stoppages by federal employees, 1.2 percent of all stoppages during the year.

20th-Century Fund

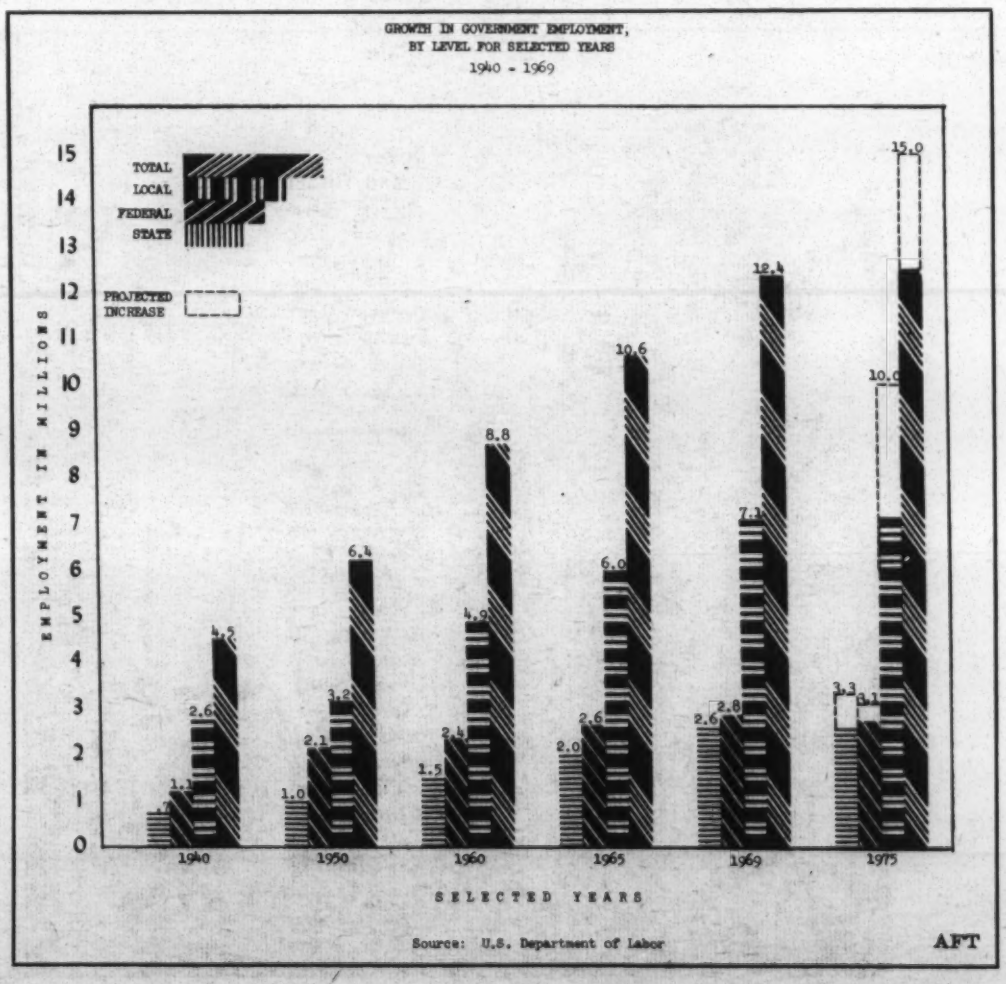
PUBLIC EMPLOYEE WORK STOPPAGES, BY MAJOR ISSUE, 1958-1968

			Percent, by major issue			
Year	Total number	All issues	Wages and benefits	Union recognition, organization and security	Internal union matters	Other working conditions[a]
1958	15	100.0	53.3	13.3	....	33.3
1959	26	100.0	26.9	34.6	7.7	30.8
1960	36	100.0	52.8	22.2	2.8	22.2
1961	28	100.0	78.6	3.6	3.6	14.3
1962	28	100.0	35.7	17.9	10.7	35.7
1963	29	100.0	51.7	17.2	3.4	27.6
1964	41	100.0	63.4	19.5	....	17.1
1965	42[b]	100.0[b]	59.5	28.6	4.8	4.8
1966	142	100.0	54.9	25.4	3.5	16.2
1967	181	100.0	70.7	16.0	0.6	12.7
1968	254[b]	100.0[b]	57.5	23.6	2.0	15.8

[a]Includes job security, administration matters and other working conditions.

[b]The issues involved were not reported in 1 stoppage (2.4 percent of total) in 1965 and 3 stoppages (1.2 percent of total) in 1968.

20th-Century Fund



Strikes in the public sector

(The following article is reprinted from "Labor Management Panel," a publication of the Labor-Management School of the University of San Francisco (Vol. 20, No. 3, Jan.-Feb., 1970). Written by Eammon Barrett, editor, it presents a reasoned, dispassionate view of the issue of "strikes in the public sector" and is included in this teaching unit as background reading for the teacher.)

Strikes are becoming more frequent in the public sector despite laws enacted to outlaw them. So commonplace have they become that one wonders about the efficacy of laws outlawing them or the sanctions imposed to prevent them. This introduces the question as to whether or not public employees should be granted the "right" to strike.

VALIDITY OF STRIKES

The right to strike is a natural right which is inherent in human nature. It does not come from the state but rather flows from the dignity and needs of the employees.

The individual laborer has a right to just conditions of employment, and to obtain these objectives, he has a right to join with his fellow workers for the purpose of collective bargaining. The right to strike follows as a corollary from these two rights. Generally speaking, if an objective is good, men may use any legitimate means to obtain this objective since there is no wrong involved in withholding one's work from an employer, even when the act of withholding is concentrated. Actually, the right to withhold work, either as an individual or as a group, is what distinguishes free men from slaves, or distinguishes living under Communist rule from living under a democracy. Consequently, there is nothing immoral in a strike considered in and of itself.

However, what may be good in itself or at least indifferent may become wrong by reason of the end sought or the circumstances involved. Accordingly, certain criteria may be set down by which the morality of a strike may be determined in the concrete. In other words, while the right to strike is natural, it is not absolute.

CRITERIA FOR A JUST STRIKE

The criteria for a just strike are:

1. A just cause;
2. A proportionate cause;
3. A right use of means;
4. A reasonable hope of success.

JUST CAUSE

There must be a just reason for declaring a strike since work stoppages are always attended by some unhappy results, and unless there is a good reason for the stoppage the striker is responsible for whatever harm may follow. Low wages, overwork, or discrimination must be considered as just causes and hence justify what may be called a defensive strike.

The fact that an employer who is able to do so does not pay a living wage (or a wage which enables the employee to rear and educate his children at a level in keeping with his station in life or their economic well-being) constitutes a sufficient reason for a strike. If any form of coercion, either legal or moral, has been used to impose a certain wage on employees—one which is not in keeping with the requirements of their state—then the employees have a just cause for a strike.

However, because of the harm done by a strike to the employees and their families owing to loss of wages, and the sometimes extreme inconvenience caused the public as on the occasion of the New York transit strike, the right to strike should be invoked sparingly and only after workers have made every reasonable attempt to settle their differences by such peaceful means as having recourse to mediation.

The government, as it has done under the Taft-Hartley Act, should devise means of safeguarding the public interest, but **not** by legislating against a just strike when there is available to employees no other reasonable means of equitable redress, or, in the short-run, no other method of getting the dispute into the public forum so that the people can pass judgment on the issues.

As long as the ban on strikes continues to exist in the public service, two situations are likely to prevail.

The wages in the public sector generally will remain below wages for comparable jobs in the private sector, and working conditions will suffer.

WAGES IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

A few examples of the relationship between wages and working conditions for comparable employment in the public and private sectors are in order:

1. In 1961 the Department of Research and Retirement of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) carried out a study comparing wages in the public sector with wages for similar positions in the private sector. The result of the study was to make it at least arguable that public employees, without the right to strike, do not receive compensation commensurate with the value of their services, or equitable with that received by persons performing comparable work in the private sector. In comparing the average monthly earnings of "production workers in manufacturing" with those of public employees, excluding educational personnel, the study finds that the wages are lower than those of the private workers in 42 jurisdictions and higher in 7, of which California is one.

2. Throughout the State of California, there is no uniformity in police pay from one area to the next despite the fact that the risk to their lives every time they go on duty has increased for all policemen. For example, effective July, 1969, the new San Jose police pay scale includes $944 for an experienced patrolman, with incentive boosts up to $1,016 per month for men with advanced certificates from the State's Peace Officers Standards and Training Commission. Meanwhile, the Vallejo Police after a strike on July 21, 1969, were granted a monthly pay increase from a previous $693 to $841.

3. The nurses' strike in San Francisco in 1966 led to the establishment of a fact-finding commission which found salary inequities and raised pay substantially.

Many disputes are over conditions of employment.

The air traffic controllers were responsible for a nationwide traffic jam on June 18-20, 1969, when they participated in a "sick-call boycott" which is but another name for a strike. The purpose was to draw national attention to the "unsafe" working conditions and work loads, inadequate staff, and unsafe equipment which in turn were endangering the lives of air travelers. More than one news medium reported that in 1969 there were in excess of 300 "near-misses" in the air. As a result of the strike, the Transportation Secretary told the House Commerce Committee that he was setting up a panel of experts headed by John J. Carson, consultant to the Carnegie Foundation and the Urban Coalition, "to review air traffic controller personnel problems." The controllers had been agitating for some time to have something done about the problems of air safety, and yet it took an illegal strike before anything was accomplished. Without the strike, the public would not have known about the possible risks they were running through air travel. It may require a couple of major air tragedies to bring before the public the inadequacy of equipment and unsafe working loads. And, after all, a strike, even an illegal though ethical one, with which many may disagree, is preferable to loss of life. (Some people feel that anti-strike statutes may be unconstitutional.)

From Vallejo we can learn a lesson. The city council protested that it did not have sufficient money to pay increases demanded by the police and firemen and remained adamant on the point despite the fact that police were grossly underpaid relative to many other police forces locally. However, in the fact of a strike, albeit an illegal one, that was backed by many of the citizens, the money was found. Without the strike, all the talk and negotiations in the world would not have won them an increase.

The existence of wage discrepancies and the discrimination on conditions of employment, with both militating against just and equitable treatment for public employees, constitutes a just cause for strike action.

A PROPORTIONATE CAUSE

The second requisite for a just strike is a proportionate cause, that is, the benefits anticipated or hoped for from the strike must be sufficiently great to compensate for the inconveniences which it is likely to produce.

The wrongs which workers are bound to take into consideration before engaging in a work stoppage are not merely those which they themselves may suffer. They must also look to the welfare of others and may not inflict harm on their employers or on the general public to an extent far out of proportion to the advantages they may have set as their goals, even if the demands are just and reasonable.

There is far too much emotionalism regarding the injury that can be suffered by the general public as a result of strikes in such areas as hospitals and fire departments. Even where there have been strikes in these two areas, the employees in question acted with a sense of responsibility and in no way endangered the lives or safety of others. During the June, 1969, Bay Area nurses' strike, the nurses were at pains to minimize any danger to the communities involved. The California Nurses Association promised the hospitals help in handling emergency care. Again, during the mass resignations of nurses in the San Francisco area during 1966, essential services were attended to by nurses who refused to accept pay for those services. The nurses manned emergency stations and gave attention to patients who needed special care. There was a monetary loss to the hospitals, plus the inconvenience experienced by those patients who were obliged to delay entry into the hospital for elective surgery. Emergency and urgent cases were admitted. In both of these nurses' strikes the benefits accruing to the nurses were sufficiently great to compensate for the supposed wrongs which the strike produced. For example, as a result of the June, 1969, strike the nurses who were paid $600 to $800 would get $50 more retroactive to January 1, $40 more in February, 1970; higher premium pay for night work; longer paid vacations and sick leaves; at least every fourth weekend off, and improvements in other benefits. However, it was the promise of a greater voice for nurses in staffing and nursing procedures that finally settled the strike. As long as there was no possibility of a strike, the hospital officials could and actually did remain adamant regarding the concessions made to nurses. Also, the 1966 strike forced the setting up of a fact-finding panel whose members found, on weighing all the evidence, that the nurses were grossly underpaid and recommended a substantial raise in salary for them.

The next example is that of a strike by firemen in a city of over two million population in a country other than the United States. When the strike was first announced there was a deluge of publicity condemning the firemen for irresponsibly endangering the lives and property of the inhabitants. It was taken for granted the firemen would display a complete disregard for the safety of their fellow citizens. Actually, the strike took the form of a refusal to accept wages and a refusal to obey any orders within the confines of the fire station. Other than for those two factors it was duty as usual. They were at work each day and on the alert for fire alarms and always had their equipment ready for any emergency. They answered the usual fire calls, and in the course of fighting one such fire two firemen lost their lives. The tragedy put an end to the propaganda accusing the firemen of being selfish and irresponsible, and in addition it had the effect of convincing the public of the unfairness of the propaganda. The strike was settled immediately, with the firemen being granted the majority of their demands. Other than resorting to strike action, the only short-run remedy open to the firemen was to go on accepting wages lower than that to which they were entitled—either that, or lobby for paternalistic handouts from politicians concerned about their own reelection. Politicians did not wish to jeopardize their chances of reelection by either a tax increase or a change in the allocation of the tax monies. By accepting a wage lower than that to which they were entitled, the firemen could be said to be keeping incumbent politicians in office and thereby discriminating against political opponents who might be more just and less discriminatory.

RIGHT USE OF MEANS

The third requisite for a just strike is a right use of means. Strikes must confine themselves to what is permitted by the natural and civil law. It is difficult to define in detail what is permitted and what is forbidden in this matter. Certainly both physical violence and destruction are forbidden; on the other hand, peaceful picketing is allowed.

REASONABLE HOPE OF SUCCESS

The fourth requisite for a just strike is a reasonable hope of success. In dealing with the strikes in the public sector, two important factors must be taken into consideration:

a) In the first place, strikes are outlawed in the public sector, and in some jurisdictions sanctions are attached to breaking the law. On the face of it, the existence of these laws and sanctions would make it appear that strikes in the public sector would have no reasonable hope of success and thus could not be justified.

b) However, the number of strikes has increased substantially in the last three years, thereby establishing a de facto right to strike.

Many of these strikes have been successful, as seen in the cases of the 1966 and 1968 nurses' strikes in San Francisco, and the police and firemen's strike in Vallejo. In addition, the general duty nurses at Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami won a 15-percent wage increase as a result of strike action. These examples of success could be multiplied, and in light of this fact it is difficult, if not impossible, to state categorically that future public-employee strikes do not have a reasonable hope of success.

Books and films

Thomas R. Brooks. *Toil and Trouble.* Delacorte, 1964. A well-written history which most students would enjoy.

Foster R. Dulles. *Labor In America.* Crowell, 1960.

Heisel and Hallihan. *Questions and Answers on Public Employee Negotiation.* Public Personnel Association, 1967.

Elias Lieberman. *Unions before the Bar.* Oxford Book, 1960.

Lieberman and Moskow. *Collective Negotiations for Teachers.* Rand McNally & Company, 1966.

Henry Pelling. *American Labor.* University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Joseph Rayback. *History of American Labor.* Macmillan, 1959.

Philip Taft. *Organized Labor in American History.* Harper, 1964.

Important Events in American Labor History, 1778-1964. U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1964.

Woodworth and Peterson. *Collective Negotiations for Public and Professional Employees.* Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1969.

AFL-CIO. *Collective Bargaining, Democracy on the Job,* pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D.C.

Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Labor Disputes in Public Employment, *Pickets at City Hall.* New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1970.

Leon Litwack, *American Labor Movement,* Prentice-Hall, 1962.

Raymond Ginger, *Bending Cross,* 1949.

Irving Bernstein. *The Lean Years (1920-1933),* Houghton.

FILMS

The Inheritance. A sweeping look at the 20th Century and the long, bitter struggle of workers against economic exploitation. 55 min. Available from AFT Order Dept., the AFL-CIO film library, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The Rise of Organized Labor. Good background on the evolution of unions and the labor movement. 20 minutes. Available from AFL-CIO film library.

Mother Is On Strike—This film shows police action in breaking up a picket line and scabs taking over jobs. 6 minutes. Available from International Ladies Garment Workers Union or AFL-CIO film library.

New York City Teachers Strike. An objective picture of this historic strike. 27 minutes. Available from United Federation of Teachers and AFT Order Dept.

Salt of the Earth. A feature-length film that portrays a long, desperate struggle between a group of New Mexi-

(Continued on Page A-8)

Questions & answers about teacher strikes and injunctions

The following questions and answers are taken from a new American Federation of Teachers publication, "Questions and Answers About Teacher Strikes and Unfair Injunctions," and represents the AFT's view of some of the issues covered in the preceding teaching unit. Copies are available in pamphlet form from the AFT national office, 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. The questions and answers were written by AFT President David Selden while he was serving time in prison during March and April, 1970, for his participation in the Newark, N.J., teachers' strike.

Q: Are strikes by teachers illegal?

A: Yes and no. Many states have laws which prohibit strikes by public employees, including teachers, but even where there is no statute, courts will issue injunctions against striking by teachers if the school boards ask for them. Such injunctions also apply to "aiding and abetting" the strike by teachers or their agents or associates—the union itself, in other words.

Q: Are anti-strike and anti-picketing laws and court rulings unconstitutional?

A: Many legal authorities in the area of civil liberties believe that such laws and rules violate the 1st, 4th, 13th, and 14th Amendments to the United States Constitution, but it is highly doubtful that the Supreme Court would uphold an appeal by teachers at this time.

Q: Must teachers give up the right to strike, then?

A: Absolutely not. The power to strike is absolutely essential for good-faith collective bargaining. If teachers must keep right on working regardless of what the board of education or the superintendent does, there will be no incentive for good-faith bargaining.

Q: Do teachers have the moral right to strike even though the law or a court injunction may forbid it?

A: Yes. Injustice, such as forced labor or involuntary servitude, is morally wrong and refusal to comply with immoral laws or rules is morally justified. Philosophers such as Jefferson, Thoreau, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the late Chief Justice Holmes have set forth this concept many times.

Q: Then the AFT favors strikes by teachers?

A: Nobody "favors" strikes. The AFT favors negotiated contracts covering salaries, fringe benefits, teaching conditions and other matters of concern to teachers and to the children they teach. The AFT favors the **right** to strike as a guarantee of good-faith bargaining.

Q: Is it true that children lose when teachers strike?

A: Immediately, yes. In the long run, no. That is why AFT locals try to avoid strikes. But, on the other hand, children may suffer more from poor learning conditions, overcrowded classes, and disgruntled teachers than from a strike's temporary interruption of their education. A long-run effect of the strike is improvement of learning and teaching conditions for teachers and children.

Q: How is the injunction used by school boards in a teacher strike?

A: School boards which fail to negotiate in good faith often force teachers to strike. Before teachers actually strike, the board of education can contact a judge who, knowing nothing about the cause of the strike, will issue an injunction without benefit of a hearing on the irrational principle that public employees cannot strike. Once in court, teachers are held in "contempt" for violating the court's injunction and are very often fined and jailed after the strike has been settled to the satisfaction of both parties.

Q: How does the AFT propose to eliminate unfair use of injunctions in teacher-school board disputes?

A: By protest and political action. When a strike is necessary, teachers must be willing to risk the court-imposed penalties which may ensue until the law is changed. AFT President David Selden dramatized the anti-injunction protest by challenging a court order in Newark, New Jersey, and serving a 60-day sentence in the penitentiary. In the meantime, the AFT, in cooperation with the labor movement and other public and private organizations, is mounting a state-by-state campaign of political action.

Q: Can political action succeed in limiting the unfair use of injunctions in teacher bargaining?

A: Yes—but it will not be easy. The support of **all** teachers, union and non-union, must be solicited. Also, direct help from local unions and central labor bodies and state labor bodies must be sought. Each state should have an "Anti-Injunction" or "Free Collective Bargaining" committee which should include teachers, other union representatives, and public members. The AI or FCB committee should coordinate efforts in each state.

Q: What do you mean by "political action?"

A: Candidates for the legislature should be supported **only** if they agree to vote for legislation which would limit the use of injunctions and the application of anti-strike laws to only those disputes which constitute a clear and present danger to public safety. In addition to action in primary and final elections of members of the legislature, a strong education and lobbying campaign should be carried on.

Q: Are limiting injunctions and anti-strike laws the only ways to win free collective bargaining?

A: No. Ultimately, legislation will be the most effective way. But in the meantime, determined challenge of the injunctive power and anti-strike laws will cause boards of education to be more cautious in the use of these anti-union devices, and courts will be encouraged to seek better ways to use their power. For instance, in Michigan, most courts now require a school board to show that it has made an effort to bargain in good faith (enter court with clean hands) before an injunction will be issued.

Q: How about federal legislation?

A: It's a good trick if you can do it! There are many political and constitutional obstacles to overcome in order to secure such legislation. Education has been ruled a state function which can be regulated by federal law only when other rights are being denied by the state. CB for teachers may fall within this area, but at present it is a moot point at best. Most of our present problems center around unjust state laws and court actions. The political climate is more favorable to remedial action in some states than it is in others or in the Congress. Once we have been successful in some states, others will follow.

Q: What has been the experience in private industry? Weren't injunctions once used to defeat strikes in the private sector?

A: Yes. Such injunctions were outlawed, in the federal courts, by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, passed in 1932. Before that, however, many states had enacted anti-injunction statutes of their own, and this action was secured at a time when the labor movement was much less powerful than now. The state laws paved the way for a federal prohibition.

Q: What's wrong with the school board doing everything possible—including use of the injunction—to keep schools open? Isn't this a part of its function?

A: Use of the coercive power of the state disrupts normal collective bargaining. The "bargain" agreed upon makes clear the terms and conditions under which teachers will give their labor. If the courts, sheriff's deputies, jails, and heavy fines are thrown in on the employer's side, the "bargain" is apt to be unfair.

Q: Can teachers be fired for striking?

A: Yes. Firing for striking in private industry is prohibited as an unfair labor practice under most circumstances, but a striking teacher is technically guilty of "neglect of duty" and can be fired, despite tenure provisions. Thus, even if unfair injunctions were eliminated, teachers would still be at a disadvantage in bargaining compared with workers in the private sector. Of course, firing several hundred or several thousand teachers would be impractical as well as unjust, because it would be hard to replace so many skilled workers.

Q: Is there any substitute for the strike?

A: Ultimately, no. But there are steps which can be taken to reduce the likelihood of strikes and to minimize possible ill effects. Mediation during the final stages of bargaining helps avoid breakdowns and impasses over wording, for instance. Two-year contracts beginning with the first day of school in the fall reduce tension during the school year, although sometimes this arrangement is not practical due to peculiarities in budgeting schedules and other timetables beyond local control.

Q: How about arbitration?

A: Binding, impartial arbitration is essential as the last step in the grievance procedure in order to avoid work stoppages over interpretation of the contract. But submitting bargaining items to arbitration destroys collective bargaining. No one will negotiate if he knows that, in the end, an arbitrator will decide the issue. Both sides will want to go to the arbitrator with their optimum positions. Incidentally, this is really an academic question because very few school boards will accept arbitration on salaries, fringe benefits, and other budget items. Witness the Rhode Island experience where boards of education very often refuse to accept the terms of an arbitrator's award.

Q: Does the AFT favor no-strike clauses in its contracts?

A: Most AFT locals willingly include no-strike clauses in their contracts—provided the contract also provides for binding arbitration in the grievance procedure.

Q: What would prevent teachers from abusing their power if they gain legal approval for striking?

A: The same restraints operate on teachers as apply to other groups of workers. Teachers risk loss of pay and fringe benefits and possible disciplinary action when they strike, just like other workers. Furthermore, teachers know that after a strike they will still have to bring their students through to academic success, and the longer the strike, the harder this will be. Hence, most teachers are eager to avoid long work stoppages for professional reasons.

Q: Isn't a strike in public employment different from one in the private sector because of the lack of the profit motive and inability to pass the costs of the settlement on to the consumer?

A: This is only a superficial difference. The same "consumer money" must be used for the purchase of public labor, such as school teaching, as for private labor, such as auto manufacturing or the labor which makes TV sets. The question is how much of the total supply of money will be used for public projects, and how much will be used for other things; how much will be used to buy consumer items such as cars and TV sets and how much will be used for taxes (see writings of John Kenneth Galbraith).

Q: Should teachers wait until the law is changed so that teacher strikes are legally permissible before engaging in work stoppages?

A: No. If there is no agreement covering salaries, fringe benefits, working conditions, and other matters, teachers should not work. It will be difficult to induce legislators to vote for changes in present laws and rulings, because the "public" as employer has a selfish interest in the status quo. Teachers cannot wait for politicians to muster up the courage to vote for what is right. If a strike is necessary, and all other methods to resolve the impasse have failed, teachers should have the courage of their convictions and they should push ahead.

Q: How do other countries treat teacher strikes?

A: Almost all democratic countries permit teacher strikes. The communist countries do not permit such freedom, of course. In Canada, federal employees may strike after exhausting preventive procedures. In Alberta, compulsory arbitration was tried for a few years, but by agreement of both sides this system was abandoned in favor of the strike as the final means of settling disputes.

Q: You talk about "forced labor" as a result of injunctions. Isn't this exaggeration?

A: No. Because of various seniority arrangements, such as step advancement on salary schedules, retirement credit, and tenure rights, teachers are trapped in their jobs. It is very difficult for them to move to another system. Hence, when they are prevented from exercising free collective bargaining, they are being forced to work under conditions not satisfactory to them.

Q: When teachers strike, they are not really "quitting." Why don't they resign if they don't like their jobs?

A: Mass resignations have been declared illegal, too! Any concerted action to withhold their services can be enjoined just like an out-and-out strike.

Credits

The basic contents of this teaching unit—including most of the overview and the suggestions for Lessons 1, 2, and 3—were written at the AFT's request by Will Scoggins, a noted labor historian who teaches at El Camino College in California. Mr. Scoggins received his B.A. degree from Baylor University in 1949 and his M.S. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1951. In 1960, he attended the University of Oslo while on a Fulbright teaching grant in Norway. He has taught history and government in several high schools and colleges since 1951. In 1964 and 1965, he served on the staff of the Center for Labor Research and Education of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California, Los Angeles, and spent several months inquiring into the instruction that high schools in Los Angeles County give students who will soon enter the world of work as someone's employee. Out of that study came his book "Labor in Learning," published by the University of California in 1966.

The teaching unit was critically reviewed by John A. Sessions of the AFL-CIO education department, and by several former classroom teachers now on the staff of the American Federation of Teachers national office in Washington, D.C. A number of staff members contributed supplementary information to the unit.

Books and films

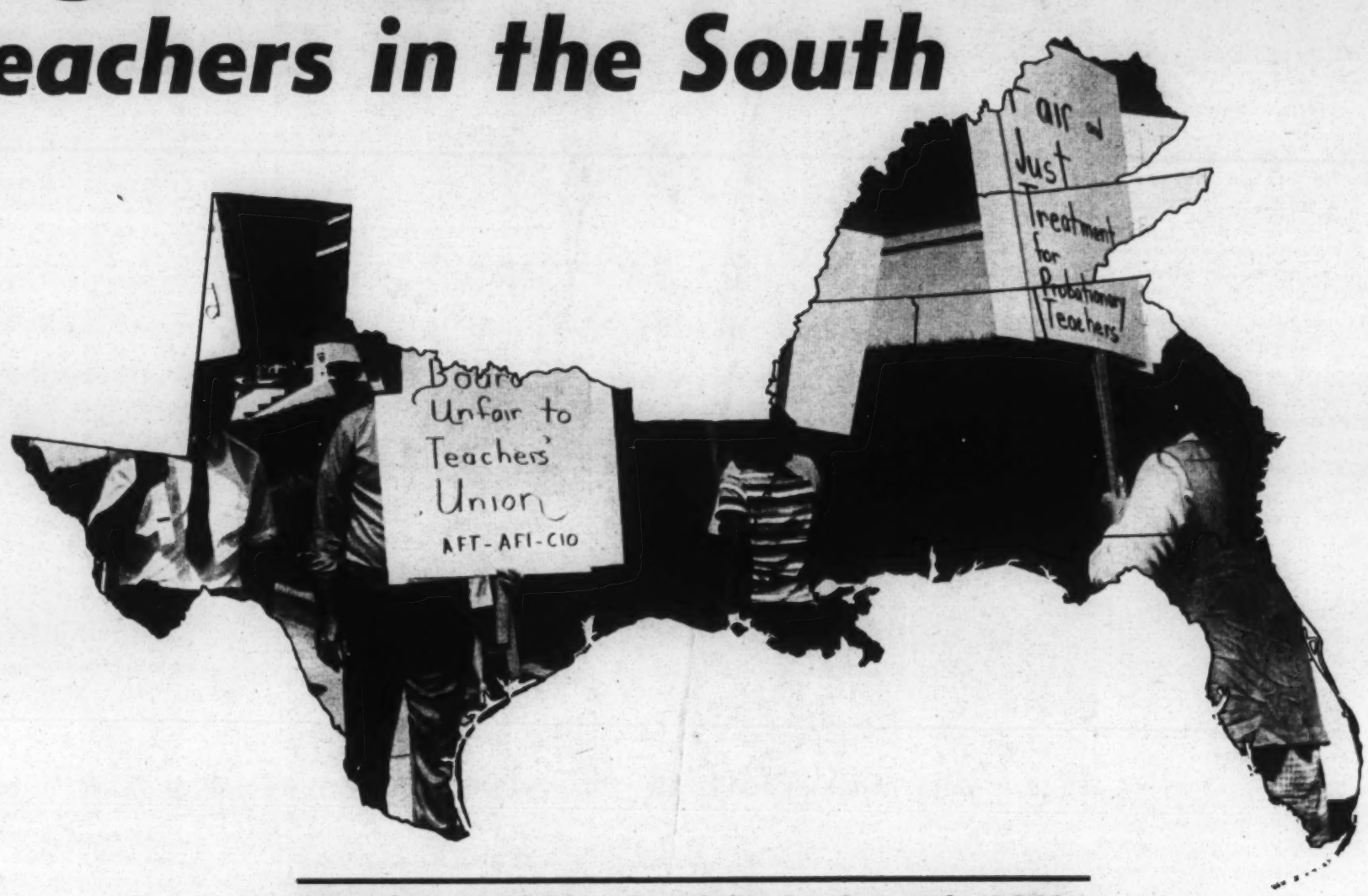
(Continued from Page A-7)

co miners and the mine owners during the mid-1950s. It also shows the conflict between the male strikers and their wives who are seeking an equal voice in the union. Available from Brandon Films, New York and San Francisco.

Richmond Oil Strike. Portrays the 1969 strike of refinery workers in Richmond, Calif. Available from Newsreel, New York and San Francisco.

(The AFL-CIO Film Library is an excellent source of labor films. You can get a catalog for 25 cents by writing the AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, and asking for Publication 22.)

Organizing teachers in the South



From just a trickle of activity in the early 1960s, the AFT's new organizing drive among Southern teachers is picking up power. There are now 25 active locals in Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky filling the vacuum left by weak, ineffective, often racially segregated education associations.

Four years ago, James E. Swilley, then a 39-year-old history teacher in a Mobile, Ala., junior-high school, read in the newspaper that the Alabama state legislature had appropriated and sent to the Mobile school board enough money to raise each teacher's salary by $500.

The superintendent, Swilley learned, had no intention of paying the teachers the full amount. "All you're getting," he told an acquiescent education-association representative, "is a hundred dollars."

Swilley called the headquarters of the American Federation of Teachers, then in Chicago, and asked for help. Within hours, Howard Hursey, an AFT national representative, was on his way to Mobile.

"Howard and I and some other teachers created such a row," Swilley recalled recently, "that we got $475 of the $500 earmarked for teachers' raises, and membership in our new local started growing."

For that time and place in history, Swilley's story was unique.

Just a decade before, the national AFT had forced all of its white locals in the South to either integrate or turn in their charters. Local after local—usually pleading external pressure from their communities—declined to remove their racial restrictions, and the AFT gave up over 7,000 members in lily-white locals in Atlanta, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Chattanooga, New Orleans, and elsewhere, leaving only a handful of teacher unionists scattered below the Mason-Dixon Line. Three formerly all-black locals in New Orleans, Chattanooga, and Capitol County, Ga., stayed in the AFT and bravely tried to build integrated locals, but few white teachers would join. The sole exception occurred in Washington, D.C., where three AFT locals—black, white, and attendance officers—merged into one integrated local which later became bargaining agent for the city's teachers.

"All in all, it was a trying time," recalls Carl Megel, then AFT president and now its legislative director. "The membership loss cost us $50,000 a year in dues to the national and we had to lay off two fulltime organizers. But it was, for us, a matter of principle. As a national liberal organization, we could not tolerate segregation in any affiliate." The AFT's departure from the South left only the weak, administrator-dominated and racially segregated affiliates of the National Educational Association as the organizations for most teachers.

Thus, Swilley's phone call for assistance (which had been preceded by a short-lived attempt to organize an integrated local in Mobile) was a welcome signal to AFT headquarters that the climate for unionizing black and white teachers together in the South might be changing.

"We set up an integrated picket line," said Hursey, "probably the first in Mobile's history. The superintendent met with us and we got the $475 raise. We got the support of the Mobile labor movement, signed up large numbers of teachers, and kept growing."

MIX OF ISSUES

Swilley's and Hursey's reports generally reflect the mix of traditional bread-and-butter issues and social concerns that have set off the renaissance of teacher unionism in the South. The movement is the first to bring black and white teachers together into one organization, but it is not purely a civil-rights phenomenon. Neither is it all bread and butter. When 60 representatives of 18 locals from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Tennessee gathered last month for a conference in Atlanta, the racial mix was about even, and the talk, centering equally on salaries and teacher rights, was just about the same as you might hear in the early stages of a union organizing drive anywhere. "For the South—with its tradition of antiunionism and racism—this conference is a major watershed," noted AFT President David Selden, who was present.

The Mobile experience was followed by a surge of union activity in two other Southern areas during the last half of the Sixties.

The old all-black New Orleans Local 527 had attracted some white members and, by 1968, was the largest of the four teacher organizations in the city, strong enough to lead two major strikes in demand of collective bargaining.

In Florida, when 12,000 teachers deserted the education association after its statewide strike failed in 1968, some began to set up local organizing committees of the AFT. Today there are 3,000 union teachers in 10 active Federation locals.

There are roughly 200,000 teachers in the six Southern states where AFT locals locals exist. While union membership is still only a small percentage of the total, new locals are rapidly being chartered and membership is steadily growing.

(Even in neighboring Texas—where union organizers once had to register with local authorities when they came to town—AFT has locals in Austin and at a private school in El Paso, both chartered last year.)

Representatives of the Southern locals who attended last month's conference in Atlanta gave National Representatives Hursey and David Mann, the two AFT organizers now assigned to the South, an enthusiastic account of current activities.

State by state, here's what they reported:

ALABAMA

There are active AFT affiliates in Mobile and Gadsden. In Birmingham, an AFT organizing committee was set up following a meeting of 375 teachers Sept. 16.

Although Alabama law technically prohibits collective bargaining by teachers with their school boards, both Mobile and Gadsden AFT leaders are making salary demands on their school boards, report Swilley and Mrs. India Temple, president of Local 1241 in Gadsden.

"But our major source of strength with teachers is our effective handling of grievances," Swilley reports. "The association still has lots of administrators and whenever a teacher has a grievance, it's easy for her principal to squelch it in the association." Teachers who are joining the union, he said, "find we give them some muscle. This," he said, "is especially true among some of the black teachers who have been working under autocratic principals who run their

AFT activists from throughout the South listen to David Selden, national AFT president (seated, left) at a recent regional conference in Atlanta. The delegates to the conference represented 18 locals in five states. At left, standing, is George Brickhouse, AFT director of field services. In bottom photo, AFT Vice-President Rosa McGhee, standing at right, urges delegates to establish ties with their AFL-CIO central labor bodies.

schools like feudal lords and ladies." Swilley said the two major grievances now before the board involve violations of the union's faculty-desegregation policy adopted by the board. Desegregation was to have been accomplished in four steps: first, by using new hires; second, by voluntary transfer; third, by involuntary transfer of nontenured teachers; and fourth, by involuntary transfer of tenured teachers according to seniority. At least two black teachers were transferred outside of the policy, and the union is fighting their cases.

Meanwhile, in Birmingham, the AFT organizing committee has developed a 14-point program centering around salary increases, a weak tenure rule, and high class size.

"Last year, Birmingham's school board did not implement the salary increment due teachers," Hursey said, "and there is a great deal of resentment building up among teachers. One of the local's organizers is in his fourth year of teaching here and earns $5,200."

FLORIDA

"The wounds between teachers and the community caused by the association's statewide strike are starting to heal," reports Florida AFT Coordinator Ralph Lloyd, two years later.

Vincent Exley, new president of the Jacksonville local, illustrated the difference between union and association philosophy: "The old teacher organization," he said, "emanated intellectual snobbery and believed that teachers were different and didn't have to get involved in other people's problems.

"When the walkout came two years ago, we found we were isolated and politically sterile. No one did anything for us.

"My activity in the AFT these past months is the antithesis of this approach. I'm now living what I've been teaching about community involvement. We've been meeting with community people who've got problems—not the chamber of commerce types. We've joined the AFL-CIO central labor body and we've been helping them and they've been helping us. Together we defeated a proposed endorsement of one of the school board members who was rough on teachers during the walkout and is now running for the state legislature."

A Floridian from Ocala told the conference that his local was making community contacts by sending all union literature to key officials of parent and neighborhood groups. "We're showing them we're on their side."

AFT affiliates in Florida now have 3,000 members—up by a third from last year, Lloyd reports. By December, when there will be 19 functioning locals, AFT unions will be organized in counties with a total potential jurisdiction of over 50,000 of the state's 68,000 teachers.

In Dade and Jacksonville counties, local unions have won dues checkoff, and most locals have some kinds of recognized rights ranging from mailbox distribution to use of school buildings for meetings.

Lloyd says the major accomplishments of the state federation during the past year were winning a state supreme court case establishing equal rights for all teacher organizations; winning all union security demands made to the Dade County (Miami) board of education; succeeding in having the union's teacher-transfer policy for school desegregation adopted in Dade County; building a community alliance to develop a funded More Effective School in Tampa; lobbying activities by organizer Louise Alford which succeeded in removing regressive measures in the state teacher-retirement system; and winning several important teacher-rights cases.

GEORGIA

Two new locals—in Atlanta and Savannah—were chartered last spring to make a total of three AFT affiliates in Georgia. (The third is in Capitol County, a school district outside Atlanta.)

The Savannah and Atlanta locals, less than six months old, have signed up more than 500 members each. As in Mobile, the unions' effectiveness in grievance handling is their strongest organizing point.

"We have 19 grievances now before the school administration," Ryburn Stephens, president of the Atlanta local says. "We are winning most of them, and the local is building a reputation as an activist organization, while the two NEA affiliates are still quibbling over how they're going to merge the separate black and white associations. Our local is well integrated and gaining members steadily."

That the success of the Atlanta local is worrying the city's establishment was shown when the city council rescinded dues-checkoff rights for all city employee groups rather than give them to the AFT. The union is seeking to have dues-deduction restored for all.

The best-publicized grievance is the union's campaign to win maternity-leave rights for a nontenured teacher. The board forced the teacher to resign rather than give her a leave of absence. The union has won the first skirmish in court with the rejection of a school-board motion to dismiss the case.

KENTUCKY

Technically a border state, Kentucky was not represented at the Southern conference, but two AFT locals are active—Louisville and Jefferson County, Local 672; and Carter County, Local 995.

Richard Miller, president of the Kentucky Federation of Teachers, reports that many teachers are switching over from the education association as a result of the association's "misleadership" during a statewide work stoppage last spring. "While the union maintained a militant stance and urged the association leadership to hold out for its demands, the association leadership capitulated and ended the strike with nothing won," he said. "Association membership is down, and ours is increasing."

LOUISIANA

Teamwork between the Louisiana Federation of Teachers and the state AFL-CIO won a $1,200 raise for all teachers last spring in the state legislature, Pete Saunders, president of the state federation, reports, and that fact is being used to demonstrate why Louisiana teachers should join the union.

A fall-semester membership drive is taking place in New Orleans, the state's largest local. "We've had a lot of apathy in the past," Local 527 President Gene Didier said, "and 2,000 teachers haven't belonged to anything. But our organizing drive picked up 95 new members in the first week of school alone this semester, and we're by far the largest teacher organization in the city."

There are four other AFT locals in the state—one representing public-school secretaries in New Orleans, another at Delgado College, a third in Jefferson Parish, and the fourth in Vermillion Parish.

"Teachers will be working on the board of education election campaign this fall," Didier said. "If we can succeed in electing a labor-endorsed candidate for the board, we'll have at least three votes for collective bargaining, the issue over which we struck two years ago."

Didier said the union was encouraging the formation of a citizens' advisory committee to Local 527 in anticipation of collective bargaining. "We want the community to be in on formulating our bargaining demands. If we have to strike, we want the people on our side."

TENNESSEE

Two new locals were chartered in Tennessee last spring, bringing the total in the state to five. The newest affiliates are in Memphis and Fayette County; the others are in Nashville, Carter County, and Chattanooga.

The Memphis local has run up against a massive union-busting campaign, reported George Dowdy, one of its representatives at the Atlanta conference, but local members are taking it in stride.

Organized in the wake of the sanitation workers' victory in Memphis, the local has thrown the school board into a state of alarm, Dowdy said; when news of the new local leaked out, the board met hastily to increase the membership needed to win official recognition, from 51 percent to 66 percent.

"We didn't get mailbox privileges or any other rights," he said. "The only way we have to communicate is through the press and through mailings, and with the help of those brave enough to stuff teachers' mailboxes with union literature."

The local successfully fought the dismissal of one of its founders. After picketing of the board of education, in which community residents from the neighborhood surrounding her school participated with teachers, the board changed its mind and rehired her.

"Memphis is a hard city," Hursey concurred. "During our picketline, someone tried to ram through with a car, nearly injuring a number of teachers. It's going to take a tough organizing drive to crack it."

OTHER STATES

Texas has two AFT locals; one, in Austin, represents public-school teachers; the other, in El Paso, has a union-shop contract with the management of a privately operated foreign-language-instruction school which teaches oriental languages to U.S. government personnel.

George Brickhouse, AFT director of field services, reports having received inquiries this fall from teachers in Virginia, the two Carolinas, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Of these inquiries, he anticipates that one will result in a new local this fall, in Richmond, Va.

RACIAL BALANCE

Militancy and teacher-domination is one unique feature that distinguishes the AFT locals from the local education associations. The other is racial integration. Most local affiliates of the NEA are still strictly segregated, despite the well-publicized "mergers" of their parent state groups. ("While merger has been accomplished at the state level, many locals remain to be merged," writes North Carolina Association of Educators Executive Secretary A. C. Dawson in the September issue of North Carolina Education.)

"About 25 percent of our new membership this fall is white," says Gene Didier, the president of the New Orleans local, which has been a predominantly black affiliate. "The whites who are joining are young, idealistic, just out of college, and generally prounion. They have no hangups about segregation."

In the other Southern locals, the same kinds of reports are heard and, as nearly as can be determined, black and white membership is about equal throughout the South.

This development, if it holds, may prove that the AFT's approach to the problem of segregation in the 1950s was the right one. While NEA still struggles toward merger, the Seventies are seeing the building of a militant, desegregated movement of unionized teachers throughout the South.

Dept. Empl. Unions

Charter 2nd hospital local in S. Carolina

COLUMBIA, S.C.—With over 1,000 signed authorization cards from workers at two major hospitals here, a second hospital local has been chartered in this state, thus reinforcing last year's historic victory in Charleston.

With the impetus of Charleston behind them, the organization campaigns at the two institutions—Crafts-Farrow and South Carolina State Mental Hospital—were rapid and effective.

Union officials realize, however, that their organizing efforts will be meaningless, as far as gains for the workers are concerned, unless enough pressure can be exerted to bring about passage of state legislation insuring full collective bargaining rights for hospital workers.

The seriousness of this legal obstacle was illustrated last year when the Charleston workers struck for 100 days, drawing considerable national attention and sympathy, in the face of claims by state officials that state law prevented union recognition.

In their efforts to achieve more permanent success and less uncertainty for future campaigns, union officials testified at a state legislative hearing on Oct. 20, while several hundred workers held a lively rally outside.

Org. Horace Small headed up the organization campaign. In the closing stages, Exec. Vice-Pres. Elliott Godoff of the RWDSU National Hospital Division spoke at a rally attended by 500 workers in Columbia, and pledged the full support of the national union in bringing them union conditions enjoyed by their fellow workers in other states.

'315' members make gains in two pacts

ATLANTA, Ga.—Local 315 has negotiated a two-year renewal for 40 employees of the Bumper Service Co. here, and has ratified a first agreement for the workers of the North Georgia Dairies of Dalton, about 50 miles from Atlanta. The union won an election at the dairy plant Aug. 26.

The agreement at Bumper Service provides for across-the-board wage hikes of 25 cents an hour each year, an increase in health and welfare benefits, and for the first time, three days bereavement leave and three weeks vacation after five years. The maximum vacation previously, regardless of length of service, was two weeks.

The negotiating committee consisted of Hugh Smalley, Sam Hughley and Georgia Council Rep. Herschel Holmes.

The two-year pact at North Georgia Dairies calls for a wage increase for the relief driver of $7.50 a week the first year, and ten cents an hour for the loader. All wage hikes are for the first year, as the contract provides for a wage reopener prior to the second year.

There was an important change in calculating commissions for whole milk and ice cream routemen. Under the new procedure, these employees will gain about $100 a month.

Other contract provisions include grievance procedure, dues checkoff, three days funeral leave, an increase to five holidays instead of the former two, and coverage under the Int'l Health and Welfare Plan. The vacation clause calls for one week after one year, two after five and three weeks after 12 years of service.

Rep. Herschel Holmes, who led the organizing drive at the dairy plant, headed the negotiations with assistance from J. C. Barrett.

'441' presents gift to B.S.A.

FIRST ACT of recently re-elected Local 441 officers in Birmingham, Ala., was to present a $400 check to the local Boy Scouts for purchase of a Canoe Trailer. Shown, from left, are Vice-Pres. John Wright (who also serves as the local's Chaplain), Pres. B. J. McCutcheon, Sec'y-Treas. J. L. Ingram, and Tom Ford, executive director of the B.S.A.'s Birmingham Area Council. Not shown are newly elected Sergeants-at-Arms John Steve, Jim Benefield, Bob Guthrie, and Linda Dean.

'satisfactory' progress.

Public Employee

Study shows unions on increase in N. C.

RWDSU

11/22/70

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. (PAI) —A study conducted by the North Carolina League of Municipalities found that some union or other local employee organization exists in 25 percent of North Carolina's cities with populations of 5,000 or more.

The International Association of Fire Fighters was the most prevalent national union. Next came the Fraternal Order of Police and then the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

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PERSPECTIVE IN PUBLIC EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATION

PPA PUBLIC PERSONNEL ASSOCIATION

[preceeding pages not found during processing]

I urge the Congress to provide funds to medical schools, nursing schools, environmental engineering schools, social work schools, allied health professional schools and neighborhood health centers specifically to provide for the training of all the varieties of health professionals--as students--in such integrated health centers, as well as to give the health centers themselves increased capacity for the training of local residents in technical skills for the emerging new health careers that can be opened. This nation has the capacity to train and employ thousands of currently impoverished citizens as environmental technicians and in similar health roles to do the job of improving their own community environments.

Current graduates of the various professional schools are ill equipped to function effectively in a comprehensive program. For example, where does a medical student now learn what a sanitarian does or how to relate to him? Where does a nursing student learn how to work closely with a community organizeer? We feel that community health centers can provide this kind of experience and better equip the professional to deal with these issues. We have attempted to do this at Tufts-Delta Health Center and have had over 60 students with us from across the nation. This, however, requires funds and I urge Congress to make them available.

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PAGE (s) MISSING

THE CAREER OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT ADMINISTRATOR

By Jack London
Associate Professor, School of Education, University of California, Berkeley

Introduction

THE prevalence of the concept of education being for the young, and the organization of educational institutions to serve this age grouping, has resulted in adult education assuming a marginal role within formal educational institutions.* Other indices of marginality of adult education have been discussed by Clark in his study of the Los Angeles adult education program.[1]

While it is posited that adult education has a marginal status within education,[2] it is being assumed that adult education will become less marginal as it becomes better organized; improves the quality of its performance; attracts highly competent personnel to its professional staff; and secures greater recognition of the important role of adult education in a mass industrial society seeking to maintain and extend its democratic character.[3]

A casual survey of the field of adult education reveals varying degrees of legitimacy for its activities which supports the assumption underlying this study. The purpose of this paper is to examine the career pattern of the public school adult administrator in California as a basis for making recommendations for the improvement of the quality and scope of adult education in order to reduce the marginality of the field, and toward the objective of making adult education a central concern of all formal and informal educational programs in our society.

This analysis of the career of the adult school administrator will attempt to outline his relationship to movement through the public school occupational system. It will describe the origin of the position as a separate occupation, its legal basis, the prevailing practice of appointment, the adult administrator's present standing within the system of public education, and the various stages of his career mobility. The primary methods of data collection were interviewing and participant observation over a three-year period. A more detailed discussion of methodology will be presented in the writer's forthcoming monograph on public school adult education in California.

In the beginning, the administration of adult education in the public schools of California was assigned to regular day school administrative personnel. This earlier view of adult education was defined in a 1916 study of the San Francisco Schools:

> The salary schedule for the school system should be revised to provide for the employment of teachers, principals, and directors under the following plans of service: (1) morning and afternoon, (2) morning and evening, (3) afternoon and evening.[3-a]

In 1931, the State Department of Education recognized the need to con-

*This study is restricted to the secondary schools program of adult education in California.

Reprinted from the Autumn, 1959, issue of Adult Education, a publication of the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., 743 N. Wabash, Chicago 11, Ill.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AND PUBLIC
EMPLOYEE UNIONS INSTITUTE

June 7-8, 1960

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

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Labor Relations in the Public Service

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Reprint Series No. 24

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By HARRY R. BLAINE, EUGENE C. HAGBURG
and FREDERICK A. ZELLER

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Discipline & Discharge in the United States Postal Service:
Adverse Action and Appeal

by
Harry R. Blaine, Eugene C. Hagburg,
Frederick A. Zeller

Introduction

Collective bargaining in the Federal Service became a reality when, on January 17, 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10988 into law. This document standardized employee-management relations in the Federal Service and explicitly recognized the right of federal employees to organize and bargain collectively.[1] Among other rights guaranteed qualifying organizations, the Order recognized the right of such organizations to bargain for a grievance procedure.[2] Since, traditionally, government service has distinguished between "grievance" and "appeal", this distinction was written into the Executive Order, thus necessitating separate analysis of each procedure.[3]

The President's Task Force on Employee-Management Relations in the Federal Service found, upon a review of appeal procedures available to federal employees, that while veterans could appeal cases of discipline or discharge to the Civil Service Commission on either the merits of the action or on alleged violations of procedure, non-veterans could appeal only on matters of procedure.[4] The Task Force proposed that this disparity be corrected by extending rights to all civil service employees in adverse action appeals identical to those offered veterans under the Veterans Preference Act of 1944.[5] In addition, the Task Force discovered that not all agencies provided for internal review of actions adverse to an employee, thus creating further imbalance. To correct this, they recommended that all agencies make provision for internal review and settlement of adverse action appeals.[6]

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CHAPTER 111

EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS.

- - - - - - - - - - -

SUBCHAPTER IV.

RIGHT OF PUBLIC EMPLOYES TO ORGANIZE OR JOIN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND RELATING TO BARGAINING IN MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT.

111.70 Municipal employment.

(1) DEFINITIONS. When used in this section:

(a) "Municipal employer" means any city, county, village, town metropolitan sewerage district, school district or any other political subdivision of the state.

(b) "Municipal employe" means any employe of a municipal employer except city and village policemen, sheriff's deputies, and county traffic officers.

(c) "Board" means the Wisconsin employment relations board.

(2) RIGHTS OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYES. Municipal employes shall have the right of self-organization, to affiliate with labor organizations of their own choosing and the right to be represented by labor organizations of their own choice in conferences and negotiations with their municipal employers or their representatives on questions of wages, hours and conditions of employment, and such employes shall have the right to refrain from any and all such activities.

(3) PROHIBITED PRACTICES. (a) Municipal employers, their officers and agents are prohibited from:

1. Interfering with, restraining or coercing any municipal employe in the exercise of the rights provided in sub. (2).

2. Encouraging or discouraging membership in any labor organization, employe agency, committee, association or representation plan by discrimination in regard to hiring, tenure or other terms or conditions of employment.

(b) Municipal employes individually or in concert with others are prohibited from:

1. Coercing, intimidating or interfering with municipal employes in the enjoyment of their legal rights including those set forth in sub. (2).

2. Attempting to induce a municipal employer to coerce, intimidate or interfere with a municipal employe in the enjoyment of his legal rights including those set forth in sub. (2).

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CHAPTER 62

CITIES, GENERAL CHARTER LAW.

62.13 Police and fire departments

(1) COMMISSIONERS. Each city shall have a board of police and fire commissioners consisting of 5 citizens, 3 of whom shall constitute a quorum. The mayor shall annually, between the last Monday of April and the first Monday of May, appoint in writing to be filed with the secretary of the board, one member for a term of 5 years. No appointment shall be made which will result in more than 3 members of the board belonging to the same political party. The board shall keep a record of its proceedings.

(2) EXCEPTION. Subsections (1) to (6) shall not apply to cities of less than 4,000 population except by ordinance adopted by a majority of all the members of the council. A repealing ordinance may be adopted by a like vote.

(3) CHIEFS. The board shall appoint the chief of police and the chief of the fire department, who shall hold their offices during good behavior, subject to suspension or removal by the board for cause.

(4) SUBORDINATES; REEMPLOYMENT. (a) The chiefs shall appoint subordinates subject to approval by the board. Such appointments shall be made by promotion when this can be done with advantage, otherwise from an eligible list provided by examination and approval by the board and kept on file with the clerk.

(b) Any person who, on June 23, 1943 shall have served and acted as a full-time city police patrolman or police officer performing the services by virtue of regular assignment therefor under the orders and supervision of the chief of police of said city, and receiving his salary on the regular official pay roll of said police department for a continuous period of more than 10 years, although not regularly appointed from an eligible list, shall be deemed to have been regularly appointed, as of the time of the commencement of his service, and upon payment into the police pension fund of the amounts required by law since said time, shall be entitled to the same pension rights under this section as if employed for such period as a regular appointee.

(c) For the choosing of such list the board shall adopt, and may repeal or modify, rules calculated to secure the best service in the departments. These rules shall provide for examination of physical and educational qualifications, habits, reputation, and experience, and may provide such competitive examinations as the board shall determine, and for the classification of positions with special examination for each class. The board shall print and distribute the rules and all changes in them, at city expense.

Public Employee Unions

WHY A WRITTEN AGREEMENT?

From the statement of Professor Nathan P. Feinsinger as Chairman of the "Milwaukee Fact Finding Panel".

Written Contract - Except for those matters which are required by law to be dealt with by Ordinance or Resolution*, the Panel recommends that all terms or conditions of employment finally agreed upon by the parties be incorporated into a written signed contract.

On the question of a written contract, it has recently been stated:

> "The applicable state statute provides that if a settlement is reached, on the completion of collective bargaining negotiations, 'The employer shall reduce the same to writing either in the form of an ordinance, resolution or agreement. Such agreement may include a term for which it shall remain in effect not to exceed one year. Such agreements shall be binding on the parties only if express language to that effect is contained therein'.
> Sec. 111.70 (4) (i), stats. (emphasis added by Panel)
>
> "Incorporation of the terms agreed upon between employer and union in a written and signed contract is practically universal, and is required by law when demanded, in unionized private employment.
>
> "Embodiment of the agreed terms with respect to wages, hours, fringe benefits and other conditions of employment in a single written and signed contract, copies of which may readily be printed and distributed to all concerned, is businesslike and has advantages in the way of convenience of reference, and it tends to give to the employees a feeling of assurance that they are recognized as equal parties to the bargain and can rely on wholehearted adherence to its terms."

The above language is quoted from the Report of E. L. Wingert, Fact Finder, In the Matter of the Petition of Shawano County Highway Employees Union, Local 1520, AFSCME, AFL-CIO, Case II, No. 9061, FF-12, dated October 1, 1963, at pages 15-16. See also H. J. Heinz Co. v. National Labor Relations Board, 311 U.S. 514, 61 Sup. Ct. 320, 85 L. Ed. 303 (1941) stating:

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* Those matters required by law to be dealt with by Ordinance or Resolution may be incorporated into the contract by reference or summary and reference.

"in support of this contention (of the Board, that a refusal to sign a contract embodying the terms agreed upon is a refusal to bargain) it (the Board) points to the history of the collective bargaining process showing that its object has long been an agreement between employer and employee as to wages, hours and working conditions evidence by a signed contract or statement in writing, which serves both as recognition of the union with which the agreement is reached and as a permanent memorial of its terms. This experience has shown that refusal to sign a written contract has been a not infrequent means of frustrating the bargaining process through the refusal to recognize the labor organization as a party to it and the refusal to provide an authentic record of its terms which could be exhibited to employees, as evidence of the good faith of the employer. Such refusals have proved fruitful sources of dissatisfaction and disagreement. Contrasted with the unilateral statement by the employer of his labor policy, the signed agreement has been regarded as the effective instrument of stabilizing labor relations and preventing, through collective bargaining, strikes and industrial strife."

See also Section 8 (d) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended in 1947 by the Taft-Hartley Act, defining collective bargaining as including "the execution of a written contract incorporating any agreement reached if requested by either party."

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Pabler Engl. Unions - Wis.

PREAMBLE

ARTICLE I - - - - - - RECOGNITION

ARTICLE II - - - - - UNION ACTIVITY

ARTICLE III - - - - - RULES AND REGULATIONS

ARTICLE IV - - - - - SUSPENSION OR DISMISSAL

ARTICLE V - - - - - - GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

ARTICLE VI - - - - - INSURANCE

ARTICLE VII - - - - - CHECK-OFF

ARTICLE VIII - - - - WORK WEEK

ARTICLE IX - - - - - VACATION

ARTICLE X - - - - - - FUNERAL LEAVE

ARTICLE XI - - - - - RESERVATION OF RIGHTS

ARTICLE XII - - - - - AMENDMENT PROVISION

ARTICLE XIII - - - - WAGES AND SALARY SCHEDULE

A G R E E M E N T

This agreement entered into this _____ day of _____ _____, 1963, by and between the City of Beloit, through its City Manager, R. H. Calland, and resolution of the City Council of the City of Beloit, dated the _____ day of _____, 1963, the Police and Fire Commission of the City of Beloit, by its President Philip Kinzer, by resolution of the Police and Fire Commission dated the _____ day of _____, 1963, hereinafter collectively referred to as the City, and the International Association of Fire Fighters, Local Union 583, AFL-CIO, hereinafter referred to as the Union.

It is expressly understood between the parties to this agreement that the provisions herein shall in no way modify or change the provisions of Section 62.13 of the Wisconsin Statutes, 1961, as provides for the establishment and powers of a police and fire commission for cities, and the rights of firemen employed by the City of Beloit.

It is further understood by the parties that Section 62.13 of the Wisconsin Statutes is an enactment of statewide concern for the purpose of providing a uniform system of regulation of fire departments within the State of Wisconsin, in case of any conflict with the provisions of this agreement and the statutory provisions of the Wisconsin Statutes the said statutory provisions shall govern notwithstanding any provision of this agreement to the contrary.

WHEREAS, the mutual interests of the parties hereto are recognized by this agreement for the operation of the Fire Department of the City of Beloit, under methods that will promote efficiency, safety, cleanliness, proper care of equipment, property and the facilities of fair and peaceful adjustment of differences that might arise from time to time, and promulgating of rules and regulations and ethical conduct of business relations between the employer and employee, and to provide the best possible fire protection for life and property to all of the citizens of the City of Beloit.

NOW, THEREFORE, the parties have reached this agreement.

GRIEVANCE HANDLING QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

Listed below are a number of problems in handling grievances that may exist where you work or they may not. Put a check in the column that most accurately expresses the way you size up the particular problem. If the problem comes up often or frequently put a check in the column headed "frequent". If it comes up rarely check the column headed "sometimes". If it hasn't come up, check the "never" column. If you're uncertain, or you don't know, check the "no opinion" column.

PROBLEM	Frequent	Sometimes	Never	No Opinion
1. Grievances from characters, wise guys and troublemakers.				
2. Members bypass the steward and go directly to a supervisor.				
3. Grievances arising out of personal problems of workers in the department.				
4. Employee expects too much from the steward.				
5. It's difficult getting workers to file a grievance.				
6. It's difficult getting the real facts about a complaint.				
7. Employee is afraid to file a grievance.				
8. It's difficult getting the grievance in writing.				
9. Employee makes back-door deals with a supervisor.				
10. Seniority grievances.				
11. Work load grievances.				
12. Wage rate cases.				
13. Discipline grievances.				

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School for Workers

PROBLEM	Frequent	Sometimes	Never	No Opinion
14. Grievances involving an incentive system				
15. Workers think they'll do better by dealing directly with supervisors.				
16. Member doesn't know the civil service rules and grievance procedure.				
17. New steward doesn't know the routine.				
18. Getting people to serve as stewards.				
19. The steward is too aggressive.				
20. Steward is too timid.				
21. Steward doesn't have the authority to settle cases with the supervisor.				
22. Steward is bypassed.				
23. Stewards work hardest for people they like.				
24. Steward has too many things to do.				
25. Steward doesn't get enough credit for his work.				
26. Supervisors gun for the steward.				
27. Steward goes out looking for grievances.				
28. Steward tries to keep grievances down.				
29. Steward can't separate real grievances from imaginary grievances.				
30. Steward doesn't know how to present his case to management.				

PROBLEM	Frequent	Sometimes	Never	No Opinion
31. Steward doesn't know the grievance procedure and civil service rules.				
32. Steward doesn't get a lot of the important information.				
33. Steward doesn't know how to tell an employee he or she doesn't have a grievance.				
34. Supervisors don't have the authority to settle grievances.				
35. Supervisors are not interested in settling grievances in the first step.				
36. Supervisors have a policy of stalling on settlement of grievances.				
37. Supervisors deliberately try to take grievances to the last step or to the civil service commission.				
38. Top supervisor interferes in the settlement of grievances in the first two steps.				
39. Supervisors are inconsistent in the way they settle grievances.				
40. Supervisors try to discourage workers from taking grievances to the Union.				
41. Supervisors try to make a straw boss out of the steward.				
42. Supervisors quickly promote a sharp steward.				
43. The grievance machinery is too complicated.				
44. Union politics and fights between groups interfere with handling of grievances.				
45. Vague civil service rules create grievances.				
46. Old-time stewards don't want to file grievances.				

PROCEDURE FOR HANDLING EMPLOYEE PROBLEMS

Any employee in the classified service of the University who feels aggrieved or has a personnel problem, may present his problem to university authorities through the established grievance procedure and shall not be discriminated against on that account. The same procedure shall be followed by a group of employees presenting a joint grievance. Any employee, or group of employees, who are members of a union, may, if they desire, be represented by representatives of their union or representatives of any affiliated body. They may enter into the Proceedings under Step I, 1 and 2; Step II, 1, 2 and 3.

Step I

A. A personnel problem, or a charge of unfair treatment by an employee, shall not be considered a grievance until:

1. First, the matter complained of shall have been discussed by the employee with his supervisor. If they have been unable to reach a mutually satisfactory settlement within one working day after such discussion, and

2. Second, the matter complained of shall have been reviewed jointly by the employee concerned, the supervisor and the department head, and they have been unable to reach a mutually satisfactory settlement of the complaint within two working days after such discussion.

Step II

A. A personnel problem or a charge of unfair treatment which has not been settled under the procedure outlined in Step I, shall be submitted to the university authorities in writing as a grievance in the following manner:

1. First, a copy of the grievance, on forms prepared for such prupose by the university, and signed by the aggrieved employee, shall be sent to each of the following:

   The employee's supervisor
   The employee's department head
   The University Personnel Office

2. The aggrieved employee shall discuss the written grievance jointly with the employee's supervisor, department head, and the University Personnel Office.

3. Third, in the event a mutually satisfactory settlement cannot be reached within five days after such discussion, the grievance shall be promptly referred by the University Personnel Office to the University Vice President of Business and Finance, together with all papers, documents, and other information relating thereto, for settlement.

Step III

A. In the event a mutually satisfactory settlement cannot be reached within five working days after the discussion provided for in the third part of Step II, the aggrieved employee may file an appeal to the state bureau of personnel, or the personnel board, in accordance with the statutes relating to employees in the classified service and the civil service rules made pursuant thereto.

B. In order to protect the statutory appeal rights of the aggrieved employee, any employee grievance arising out of circumstances covered by section 16.24 of the statutes relating to removals, suspensions, discharges, reductions, dismissals and layoffs, which has been submitted to the university under this grievance procedure may be appealed to the personnel board by the aggrieved employee, at any time within 10 days following the effective date of the action of the employing officer.

C. In order to protect the appeal rights of an aggrieved employee, any employee grievance arising out of the reallocation of a position under Rule V, (2), Civil Service Law and Rules, Bureau of Personnel, which has been submitted to the university under this grievance Procedure, may be appealed to the personnel board at any time within 15 days from the date of notification of such reallocation.

THE INFORMATION WHICH SHOULD GO INTO A GRIEVANCE OR COMPLAINT

Public Employee Unions

The Circumstances - the Facts

Who is involved: the employee(s), the steward, the supervisor

What happened to the employee - or, what failed to happen?

Where did the occurrence take place - shop, department, section, etc.?

When did it occur - date, shift, time of day?

The Union's Contention

What does the Union believe should have been done, or should not have been done under the circumstances, and in accordance with what rules, ordinances, or policies?

Note: You may not always want to cite the exact section of an ordinance or rule; when you specify, you may limit the area for argument; sometimes it is helpful to be in a position to argue the whole problem.

The Request for Settlement

What action the Union wants management to take: always remember the importance of being specific in your request for settlement, starting with what you consider to be a proper and just settlement -- and don't forget the matter of retroactivity in cases involving pay.

How much to write: a well written grievance need not be long or complicated. Simply state the situation and what you think should be done. Support for your contention can come when you discuss the case with supervision. Any effort to write a complete description may still result in something being left out, and may provide supervision with ideas it may not otherwise think of.

WHERE TO GET THE FACTS

1. From the worker or workers involved - check their facts, however.
2. From employees in the same department on same or different shifts.
3. From workers in other departments related to operation involved in complaint.
4. From agreements, rules and ordinances.
5. From past practices, settled grievances and civil service hearings.
6. From management - how accurate their information is depends upon experience and the facts of the case - check their facts too!

The University of Wisconsin
School for Workers

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DUTIES OF THE STEWARD

Public Employee Unions

1. KNOW THE GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE AND CIVIL SERVICE RULES

- What they say, what they mean, and how they work.
- Examine them in the light of his experience with them and be ready to recommend changes, with the reasons (documented, if possible) for the proposed changes.

2. KNOW THE DEPARTMENT

- The various operations and how they relate to department's work.
- Seniority standings and other details pertaining to the area of the steward's jurisdiction.

3. KNOW THE WORKERS

- Relative seniority standings, wage rates, individual problems, individual abilities, family background and interests.
- Recognize the differences between workers as human beings and be prepared to deal with each worker in the way which will bring the best results.

4. KNOW THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS OF REPRESENTING MEMBERS BEFORE SUPERVISION.

- Remember that the steward is the representative of the workers and is not an impartial umpire, or a straw-boss on behalf of supervision.
- Be able to interview aggrieved workers, prepare notes on the case, write grievances, present the case, follow up on the results.

5. BE A UNION MEMBER IN THE FULLEST SENSE OF THE WORD

- Remember that the steward is often THE UNION to workers in the department.
- Learn about the history and methods and goals of his union and the labor movement and keep up-to-date on local and national developments.
- Introduce new members to the history, business and operation of the union.
- Sign up new workers and explain the union to them.
- Keep members informed of what is going on.
- Urge attendance at meetings and do everything possible to get the members to turn out.
- Develop full participation in the union's program among the workers under his jurisdiction.
- Help develop thought and discussion at union meetings.
- Assist in carrying out the majority decisions of the membership.
- Help to interpret the union's program to the community.

The University of Wisconsin
School for Workers

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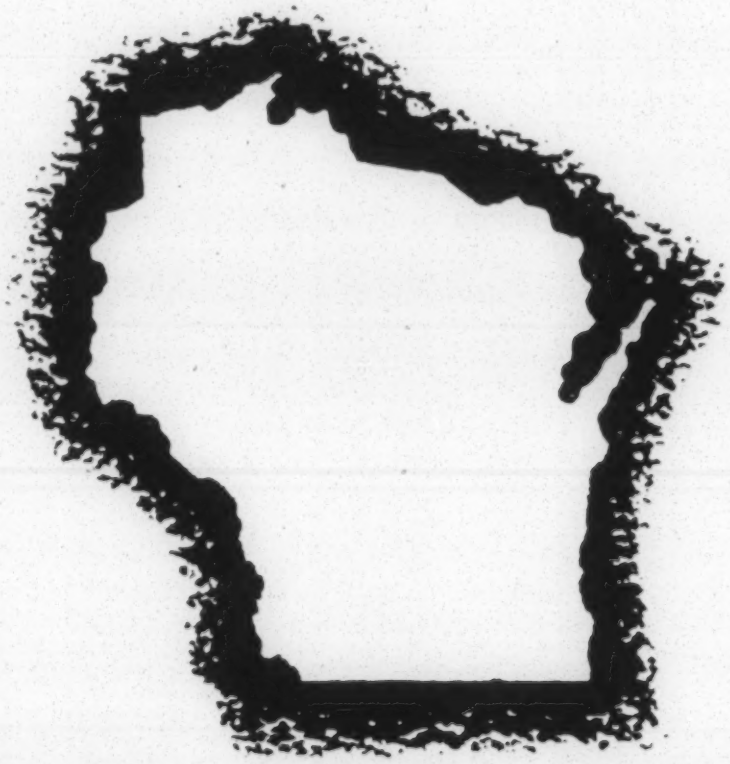
EXECUTIVE BOARD REPORT



Wisconsin

COUNCIL
OF COUNTY
AND MUNICIPAL
EMPLOYEES
AFL-CIO

1960

School board president calls NEA "greatest single fraud:" Walter Davis, president of the Cleveland board of education, right, who addressed Union Teacher Press Association luncheon in Detroit, pinning the label on the National Education Association and, left, Mrs. Marie L. Caylor, American Teachers editor and UTPA founder. Mrs. Caylor and Davis, also a labor editor, are International Labor Press Association vice-presidents.

UTPA Luncheon Speaker Calls NEA Greatest Single Fraud

DETROIT, Mich.—The president of the Cleveland board of education told American Federation of Teachers editors and members at the 8th annual Union Teacher Press Association luncheon that the "NEA, it seems to me, is the greatest single fraud ever perpetrated on the American people."

Walter Davis of Cleveland, O., also a labor editor and vice-president of the International Labor Press Association, spoke at the luncheon, adding "the NEA is a fallacy, promising deliverance but delivers bondage to an employer-oriented philosophy."

He said the NEA is not totally a useless organization since it has performed services in perhaps raising professional standards, and added, "on the basis of what I have seen, there is no better statistical organization in the field of education."

Don't Pay Rent

He continued: "Statistics don't pay the rent either. I know this is old hat to you, but I am saying it now, not you. The hard fact is that the NEA is the best example of the most vicious kind of company union. How can you make out when the boss is chairman of the (employee's) negotiating committee?

"This is bad business for both sides because it only leads to a malignant case of frustration and discontent. What really annoys me is that the NEA has the gall to moan about the serious problems confronted by the American teacher.

"This is like Tommy Manville complaining about the divorce rate. If it is necessary for me to clarify this analogy, then let me point out that it is the NEA which has been primarily responsible for causing the crisis we face in education, and it is the NEA which is having little or no impact on the crisis."

Teachers the Key

Davis said the key to the crisis in education is obtaining and keeping enough qualified teachers and that this can be done, "only through a union which is really a union." He declared bargaining inevitable, and quoted the six principles for bargaining stated by Jack Barbash in the December, 1957, issue of the American Teacher magazine.

Turning to the quality of state and local AFT publications, Davis told his listeners "you have many superior publications," but added that as far as appearance is concerned "you ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

"You wallow in talented manpower," he chided, "yet you turn out horribly unattractive publications in many cases. The wonderful exceptions you produce prove that you are truly capable . . . I think it is fair to say that many of your papers could be improved without spending a single solitary cent.

"I am an old labor press guy. I have long had the dream of a doctor employed by the AFL-CIO—a doctor of sick papers... It seems to me you ought to spend some precious dollars in fixing up the business of communications. It is essential."

Davis urged that school boards be improved by the election of more labor members and by teachers playing a more militant public role generally. Davis is editor of the Cleveland Retail Clerks Local 880 News and Views.

Fourteen Publications Win 22 American Teacher Awards

DETROIT, Mich. — Fourteen publications of state and local affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers carried off the 22 annual American Teacher's citation awards at the Union Teacher Press Association Luncheon at the AFT convention here.

The luncheon was chaired by James L. Fitzpatrick of Milwaukee, UTPA president, and the awards by disinterested judges were presented by American Teachers Editor Marie L. Caylor following an address by Walter Davis, labor-member president of the Cleveland board of education.

Firsts in editorial excellence were taken by the United Teacher of New York City in the newspaper category; the New Jersey Teacher among printed bulletins, and the Milwaukee Newsletter for mimeographed bulletins.

Thirty-six Entries

The competition was the eighth annual at American Federation of Teachers conventions. Thirty-six publications were entered this year.

Judges in the contest were: Harold A. DeLong, editor of the Detroit Labor News, chairman; Dr. Wes Maurer, chairman of the department of journalism, University of Michigan, and Henry Santiestevan, managing editor of UAW Solidarity, Detroit.

Award winners in the newspaper, printed or offset bulletins and mimeographed bulletins were:

Newspapers

Editorial Excellence: The United Teacher of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, Al Shanker, editor, first; and the Union Teacher of the Los Angeles Teachers Union, Local 1021, Robert Crain, editor, second.

Artistic Excellence: The Detroit Teacher of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, Local 231, Frances Comfort and Adolph Koss, co-editors, first; and the Union Teacher, Local 1021, second.

Best Editorial: The Wisconsin Teacher of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, James L. Fitzpatrick and Edward C. DeBriae, editors, for "Collective Bargaining Is Here," in the May, 1962, issue; and the Chicago Union Teacher of the Chicago Teachers Union, Local 1, Eileen Shannon, editor, for "Shall We Use Bottles," in the Sept., 1961 issue, tied for first.

Best Article on Teacher-Community Relations: The Detroit Teacher, for "Co-op Plan Trains for Job," in the May, 1962 issue.

Best Article on Value of AFT Membership: The United Teacher, for "Day of Greatness and Day of Pride" and feature page, "Day of Dignity," in the April 11, 1962 issue.

Printed Bulletins

Editorial Excellence: The New Jersey Teacher of the New Jersey Federation of Teachers, Seymour C. Heck, editor, first; and The Dearborn Teacher of the Dearborn Federation of Teachers, Local 681, Jerry Sherman, editor, second.

Artistic Excellence: The Dearborn Teacher, first; and The Colorado Teacher of the Colorado Federation of Teachers, Herrick S. Roth, editor, second.

Best Editorial: The NTU News Bulletin of the Newark Teachers Union, Local 481, Seymour C. Heck, editor, for "I Just Wish You Could Understand How Exciting It Is to Think We Have the Courage to Stand Up and Fight for Our Rights," in the May, 1962 issue.

Best Article on Teacher-Community Relations: The Colorado Teacher, for "The Bargaining Theme, It Meets the Teachers Needs," in the May 25, 1962 issue.

Best Article on Value of AFT Membership: The Dearborn Teacher, for "Why Teachers Should Join the DFT," in the September, 1961 issue.

Mimeographed Bulletins

Editorial Excellence: The Milwaukee Newsletter of the Milwaukee Teachers Union, Local 252, Edward C. DeBriae, James L. Fitzpatrick, Donald L. Soucie, and Alan T. Wilson, editorial board, first; and the Philadelphia Reporter of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, Local 3, Joe Gavin, editor, second.

Artistic Excellence: The Philadelphia Reporter, first; and 604 Local Notes of the Will County Federation of Teachers, Local 604, Paul Johnson, editor, second.

Best Editorial: The Newsletter of the Milwaukee Vocational Teachers Union, Local 212, Jack Filipiak, editor, for "N. Y. Election," in the January, 1962 issue.

Best Article on Teacher-Community Relations: The Classroom Teacher of the San Diego Federation of Teachers, Local 1278, John E. Westburg, editor, for "First Address to the San Diego Federation of Teachers," by John Westburg, in the January, 1962 issue.

Best Article on Value of AFT Membership: The Milwaukee Newsletter, for "Milwaukee Teachers Benefit from Recent MTU Court Cases," in the February, 1962 issue.

Winners of first awards for editorial excellence in American Teachers contest among AFT publications at Union Teacher Press Association luncheon in Detroit: From left, Mary C. White of Perth Amboy, N.J., who was later elected national vice-president, with award to the New Jersey Teacher, in the printed bulletin category; Al Shanker of New York City, editor of the United Teacher of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, first for newspapers, and Albert C. Siemsen, president of the Milwaukee Teachers Union, Local 252, publisher of top award Milwaukee Newsletter in mimeographed bulletin category.

Lloyds Upped

From Page 1

experience with the liability plan.

Twice As Many Covered

Megel added that almost twice as many teachers are presently covered as at the time of the plan's inauguration and that the increased coverage is another example of the benefits of growth.

Wohlers said that while new certificates will not be issued to each member because of the extensive cost of doing so, nevertheless each claim presented after Oct. 1 will carry the $35,000 protection.

The insurance advisor reiterated the urgency that members report claims against them promptly to their Local president, and to the AFT and Wohlers' office, 111 West Jackson, Chicago.

Protects Against Suits

The liability insurance protects teachers against damages up to the amount of the insurance, in cases following accidental injury or death of a student while in their charge.

The protection applies to civil suits, and the plan covers American Federation of Teachers members only.

Teacher Defended by Lloyds Absolved in Damage Suit

ST. PAUL, Minn.—A Dakota County jury absolved a former West St. Paul high school teacher and American Federation of Teachers member of unreasonable punishment of a student three years ago.

After slightly more than two hours' deliberation, the jury ruled that the teacher, Wilton Gervais, now a Twin Cities attorney, did not exceed the state law's interpretation of reasonable punishment when he slapped Mike Stratton, a sophomore at West St. Paul high school, on Sept. 24, 1959.

The suit, brought by Mike's father, Glenn Stratton, alleged injuries and asked for $3,500 in general damages, $5,000 in punitive damages, and $250 out-of-pocket expenses for treating the claimed injuries.

Gervais was represented by Arthur Nelson, a Minneapolis attorney, who was employed by Lloyds of London, the liability insurance company for the American Federation of Teachers. Nelson presented three students and several teachers in behalf of Gervais who testified that young Stratton was slapped and did not have the lip cut the suit claimed.

Humanities Professor Sounds Call to Arms

Herrmann Warns Convention Shun Fake Professionalism

*By Henry Herrmann, Ph.D.**

My talk rests on the proposition that only teachers who are themselves free, are fit to teach freedom to the young. A teacher who works in an atmosphere of

Dr. Herrmann

coercion and oppression, and accepts it, is therefore *unfit* to transmit the "blessings of liberty" to the new generation of Americans.

A teacher who is enslaved by reason of being a member of an administrator-dominated union must first break the bonds of his own enslavement if he is to teach the young what it means to be free.

We all look to the rapid improvement of our public schools. The success of the American experiment rests on the maximum efficiency of our system of public education. In the feverish attempt to improve matters, all kinds of intemperate critics of our public schools have broken into print.

In educational matters, nearly everybody is a self-appointed expert, and, everything considered, this is not a bad thing. But the idea that teachers can improve matters by building a "profession" in imitation of other professions, has resulted in a much greater hindrance than a help.

A fake professionalism can be a very retarding influence and usually is. I should like to maintain that teaching is *not* a profession. *Teachers are workers.* When members of the medical profession want something badly enough, as they did in Canada recently, they go on strike in the same way that mine workers or factory workers or teachers do.

Puts Teachers First

Let us get rid of the pseudo-professionalism in our thinking. I would rather that the "prestige" professions emulate the teachers than have the teachers imitate the professions. Teachers have a more genuine sense of public service, are more responsive to the needs of people, have a far greater social sensitivity than any other group of the so-called "professions."

This more liberal spirit of teachers has come about through the influence of the American Federation of Teachers and its affiliation with organized labor. I am speaking of not just the good, dues-paying members of the Federation. Teachers who are not members, besides benefiting by the wage increases that the Federation has fought for and won, also come under the spell of the generously outgoing and socially sensitive attitudes that are the distinguishing trademarks of Federation members. The American Federation of Teachers exists for the sole purpose of humanizing the most important of American institutions—public education.

Teachers are workers. They stand for the dignity of work and the dignity of the worker. They will fight for the right to engage in associated activity with other organized labor groups. If the American Federation of Teachers is not growing fast enough, year after year, the remedy is not to weaken our ties with organized labor but to strengthen them.

Workers are the first line of defense of public education and organized workers have led the way. They understand the power that lies in tax-supported schools and colleges to break down divisions of social class thus making for greater social mobility. Tax-supported schools are the most effective instrument our country has, to make for an open-ended society, and workers are the first ones to know it and to believe it.

The answer to the charge that the Federation is tied to organized labor is to build yet stronger ties with the masses of workers who are our principal supporters.

'We Live in Words'

Teaching is still, for many of us, a talking rather than a doing occupation. We live in words, not deeds, for the most part. When a grievance case comes before us, we tend, because of an occupational inclination of long standing, to require a clear definition of the problem before we undertake a protesting action. Or else we insist on getting all the facts before making a decision to act. Teachers just love clear definitions.

Can you hear them saying: "Define your terms!" "State the problem clearly before you begin!" "Get the facts before you draw conclusions!" I can hear teachers in the classroom making these statements again and again. Such statements are surely emphatic but they are philosophic ineptitudes.

They are based on a mistaken notion of scientific method. Scientific inquiry does not begin with the facts. Facts are the outcome, not the raw material of inquiry. And the same thing is true of a clear definition of the problem. For the most part we don't see the problem until we have arrived at the solution. I am speaking of real problems and not pseudo problems.

I have sometimes thought that, in union matters, our insistence on clarity is another way of retreating from the scene of action. Words are, all too often, an apology for a course of inaction. I am sure that careful deliberation is necessary before wise action can be undertaken, but I am equally sure that nothing serves to clarify thinking like vigorous and aggressive action.

Don't wait until all the facts are in. They never are. There is nothing that equals prompt and effective protest in stopping abusive practices in a school, for 1) the full story after a complete investigation may uncover malpractices more widespread than our first suspicions and 2) the protest, even when only partially justified, becomes a deterrent to further abuse.

Members Make History

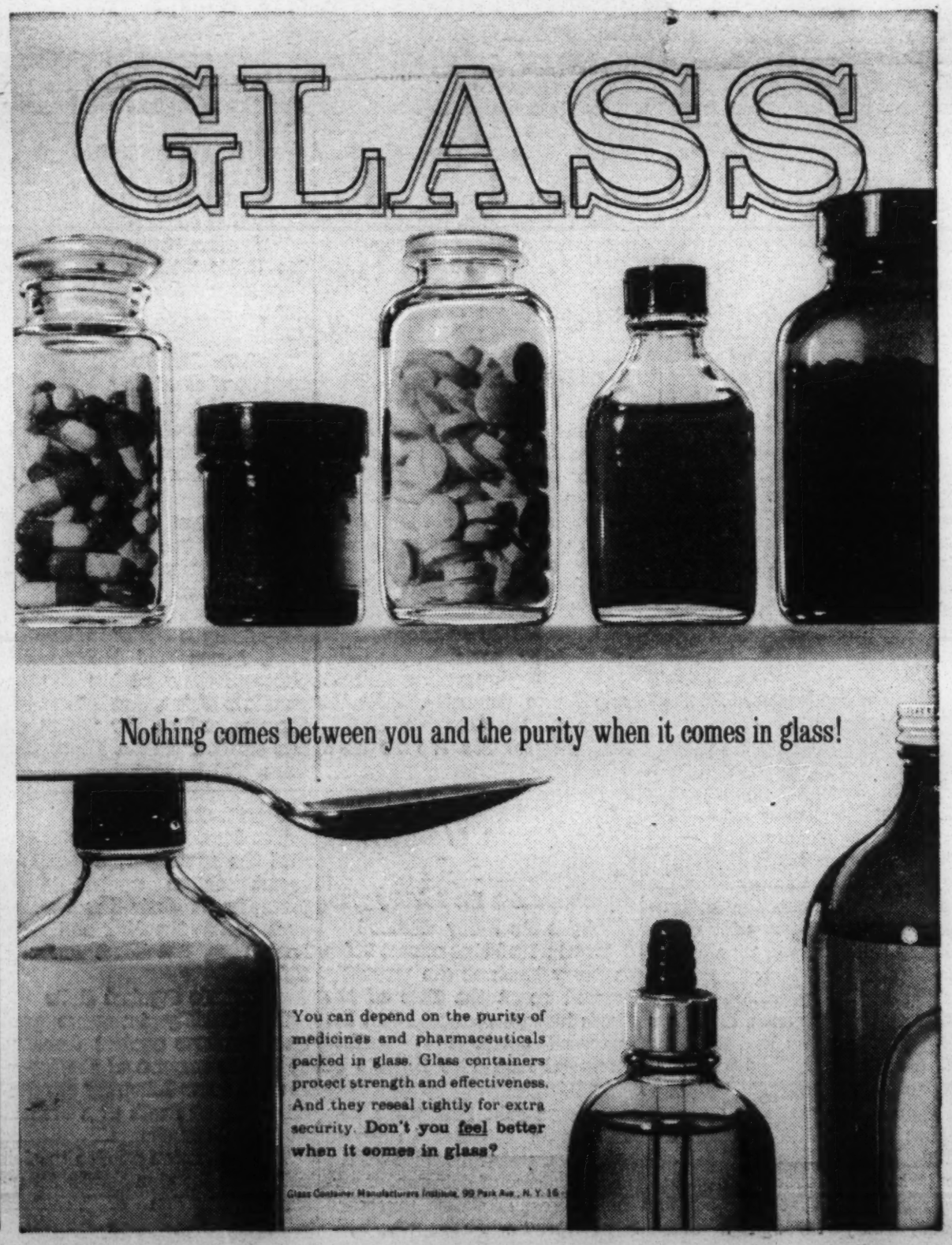
If there is one thing that I would like the delegates assembled here to report to their locals on their return home it is this; the Federation is on the move as never before. Our teachers don't just teach history, they have made history this past year. We believe that in a free society man makes his own history, man shapes his own destiny. It is proper that the future of America should be shaped by those who are educated, the teachers who have fought and won their places as equal partners in the educational enterprise.

The New York City teachers have won the right to collective bargaining. They have fought the battle of the picket line and won that too. By the way, what were the New York City university professors doing while the school teachers were fighting for their rights as free Americans? I haven't heard. Instead of sending school teachers to the professors I should send the professors to learn from the teachers.

We shall not always claim brilliant victories. It is the struggle that strengthens. The American Federation of Teachers has embarked on a course of action, which will result in the emancipation of public education from a tradition which has held teachers and children alike in the bonds of ignominious servitude. I repeat: only a teacher who is himself free is fit to teach the meaning of freedom to the young. . . .

** Professor of Humanities, Department of History, Wayne State University, and member, Wayne State University Federation of Teachers, Local 1295, in an address to the 46th annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Detroit.*

Union craftsmen make the glass containers that keep medicines pure and effective



Past presidents honored at 30th anniversary dinner of Toledo Federation of Teachers, Local 250: Left, Harry D. Lamb, Local 250 president in 1935, now director of the school board's television education, and Kenneth E. Ward, high school teacher, currently president. Dinner speaker Dr. Marvin Shapiro declared, "Teachers must be dedicated to do what they do for the meager salaries they receive."

Long Island Music Teacher Reinstated by High Court

LEVITTOWN, L.I., N.Y.—Mrs. Valerie Moser, a tenure music teacher, was ordered reinstated in her Levittown high school position with back pay by the New York State Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision by the judges.

The decision upheld one by the State Supreme (lower) Court. (American Teacher, Sept., 1962) Mrs. Moser was fired in May, 1961, by the Levittown board on unsubstantiated charges of neglect of duty and insubordination.

Her case was supported in the courts by the Levittown Federation of Teachers, Local 1383; the Empire State Federation of Teachers, and the American Federation of Teachers.

Back salary due her is estimated in excess of $8,000. Dan Sanders, regional field director of the State Federation, said the case is estimated to have cost the taxpayers in excess of $10,000, and added:

"It is a shame that the school board did not utilize these funds for needed services for the children, but rather chose to involve itself in the litigation."

Board Anti-Union

Ernest Fleischman, the unions' attorney for Mrs. Moser, said that the unanimous court decision demonstrates that the case was "a manifestation of the board's political motivations which are anti-union and anti-teacher."

Following the high court decision, Mrs. Moser announced her readiness to resume teaching in her interrupted position."

School Board Nervous After Firing Levittown President

LEVITTOWN, L.I., N.Y.—The Empire State Federation of Teachers and the Levittown Federation of Teachers, Local 1383, announced they will go to court to secure the reinstatement of Joseph H. Tessier, Local 1383 president, in his teaching position.

Tessier was fired by the Levittown school board on charges he and the unions declare false—that he tried to date an unidentified high school girl. Union leaders claim he was discharged because of his union activity.

Offers to Dismiss

During a 3-day hearing, board attorneys appeared nervously willing to drop the case as suggested by Ernest Fleischman, the union's lawyer who carried the Valerie Moser case from the same city to a successful conclusion. *Story above.*

Board Attorney Wexler asked Fleischman whether the case could be settled without going further. Fleischman replied, "Yes, by reinstatement of Tessier with full back pay."

Dan Sanders, ESFT regional field director, said School Supt. Blumberg refuses to agree with the attorneys and offered Tessier a one-year sabbatical with pay if the teacher would then resign. Tessier refused.

Continuation of Attitude

Sanders declared that the Tessier case is "a continuation of the board's and administration's attitude toward teachers, demonstrated by the Moser case." He added:

"It is this attitude that causes the widespread resentment, high faculty turnover and other problems that plague the Levittown school system."

Joliet College, High Teachers Win More Pay

JOLIET, Ill.—Salaries $100 to $400 higher have been negotiated for the 1963-64 school year by the Will County Federation of Teachers, Local 604, for Joliet Township High School and Junior College teachers.

The Bachelors, Masters and Doctors lanes will start $100 higher, as will a Masters plus 30 hours. A 13-year Bachelors step is $400 higher, as is the Masters and Doctors at 15 years.

Paul O. Johnson, editor of 604 Local Notes, pointed out that 21 and 26-year steps were also increased, and that the schedule now runs from $5,300 for a beginning Bachelor to $10,500 for a Doctor in 26 years.

Sick leave was extended 30 days for prolonged illness and convalescence. For first year teachers this would mean a total of 40 days possible leave.

For teachers in the system nine years, it would mean 120 days. Another gain was the granting of one day leave for personal emergency.

ESFT in Long Island Drive For Bargaining

JAMAICA, N. Y. (From the Long Island Press)—The Empire State Federation of Teachers' drive to bring collective bargaining to all Long Island teachers moves forward with the formal opening of an office in Hicksville.

Located at 268 North Broadway, the office will serve as headquarters in the union drive. The ESFT is an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers.

Daniel Sanders, the group's regional director, said: "Collective bargaining for teachers means democratic participation in school policy.

"Such participation by teachers will usher in a new era in education in which the classroom teacher will play a role greater than that of the educational hucksters selling machines and gadgets."

Chicago Credit Union Reports Growing Assets

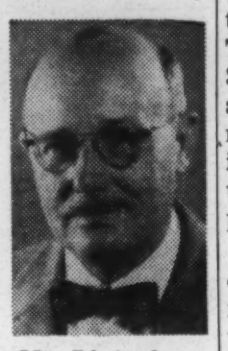
CHICAGO, Ill.—The Union Teachers Credit Union of this city which performs the services its name implies, now has total assets of $5,964,147.19, according to a report submitted by Royce Kinnick, its treasurer, at its 32nd annual meeting.

The report showed an income for the year of $472,921 from interest on loans, investments and other items. Members totaling 8,835 had an average shares balance of $635.22.

Nearly 4,000 borrowers had an average loan balance of $1,072.27 each. The credit union serves union teachers of Chicago.

Illinois High Court Upholds Supplementary Pension Law

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The constitutionality of the supplementary payments fund created by the 1961 Illinois legislature for retired teachers on low pensions was upheld shortly before press time by the Illinois Supreme Court.



Mr. Ligtenberg

The decision was in a suit brought by taxpayers for an injunction against disbursement of the funds to the beneficiaries intended by the legislature. The law was defended by the Illinois State Retirement System and the Chicago Pension Fund. (American Teacher, Jan., 1963.)

John Ligtenberg, legal counsel for the Chicago Teachers Union, Local 1, who argued for the law, on behalf of the union and the Retired Teachers Association of Chicago, estimated that the decision will add $2-to-$3 million annually to pensions of Chicago and Illinois teachers.

$5 Contributions Key

Attorneys supporting the fund pointed out in pre-decision arguments that retired teachers had to make contributions of $5 for each year of service in order to become eligible for the additional benefits under the law.

Basing its decision on previous rulings obtained with aid of the American Federation of Teachers, the court held that the $5 per year contribution created a new contract and it was immaterial whether teachers originally entered the system involuntarily as charged by the taxpayers.

Quoting from several previous decisions, the court said: "The relations between voluntary contributors and the sovereign being contractual, it follows that the rights created are not measured by the rights of pensioners. They are similar, and amount in effect, to insurance contracts providing annuities upon maturity of the contract or policy of insurance."

Moral Obligation Sufficient

The court also pointed out that a moral obligation was sufficient to sustain increased pension payments, and emphasized that it had many times held that a classification of public school teachers as a distinct class for appropriate legislation cannot be successfully challenged.

Ligtenberg called the decision "sweeping" and said it seemed to answer all possible questions with regard to the "validity of this type of legislation;" also, he predicted that the decision will be influential in other states.

New Britain, Conn., Federation of Teachers, Local 871, contributes to United P-TA Dollars for Scholars fund: Mrs. Marion Carlson, Local 871's second vice-president, presents $200 check to Patrick Carlson, P-TA president. Looking on, from left, David Forberg, public relations chairman; Joseph Ferrick, president, and Raymond Newton, first vice-president of the teachers union. Last year, over $1,500 was collected for presentation of scholarships, emblems and pins to elementary and secondary school students of the city.

San Bernardino Wins Open List For Transfers

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif.—Personnel Supt. Dr. Donald Wheeler capitulated partially to a demand by the San Bernardino Valley Federation of Teachers, Local 832, for a public list of positions open to teachers for transfer.

Wheeler agreed to establish a bulletin board in the personnel office freely available to teachers interested in transfer, showing vacancies occurring in schools throughout the district; also, pertinent information regarding each vacancy.

Iowa Union Teacher, New AFT Bulletin

OTTUMWA, Iowa—The Iowa Union Teacher is the new planographed, six page publication of the Iowa Federation of Teachers.

Wallace Flanders of this city is editor. The second of the first two issues contains an account of the charter presentation to the Burlington Federation of Teachers, Local 1434.

Also, general news and comment of the union teachers of the state, and a report on this year's salary gains in Cedar Rapids, Des Moines and Ottumwa.

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Should Teachers Strike?

By Edward A. Irwin*

"Should teachers strike?"

The answer to that particular question is simple and clear, even for a president of a Local of the teachers' union. The answer is no.

But if it were to be phrased in another manner, such as, "Should teachers be prohibited from striking?" then that would be a question of another color. The answer to the second question would be, of course, the same unequivocal no.

Nor is there a dichotomy in such a position. Teachers shouldn't strike, but then conditions shouldn't ever be so bad that they have to strike, or even want to strike. Yet, quite obviously, conditions have been bad enough and teachers have gone on strike.

To consider such action by teachers a national calamity, as have some editorial writers and AFT opponents, is merely to take refuge in the comfortable illusion that nice people never have to take forceful action, and we're all nice people, aren't we?

Apparently forgotten is the fact that the right to strike is one of the trademarks of a free society. You do not hear of many strikes in totalitarian lands, but you do note that the rights of a free labor movement are among the first to be swept aside when a despot gains power.

There are those who say striking is perfectly all right for the working man and people of that ilk, but I'm a professional. Aside from the point that teachers do work, and most of them work very hard, this snob approach would deny teachers the rights held by the mainstream of American society, including a lot of other professionals.

There are those associations that have decried the use of the strike in the educational field. In effect, these associations have told boards of education:

"No matter what you do to the teachers of this district—no matter what you pay us, no matter what working conditions you impose, no matter how many hours or days you force us to work, no matter how you insult us, we will never, never withhold our services, not even for a single day."

For an organization that purports to represent teachers to thus throw away in advance any bargaining strength they may have is sheer idiocy.

The answer to the problem of striking is, of course, collective bargaining. Far from causing strikes, collective bargaining can prevent them. Under collective bargaining teachers can negotiate from a position of more equal power, instead of merely as supplicants. These negotiations can result in a contract that is not just one-sided, a contract that sets forth mutually agreed conditions of employment and salary.

Under one condition only should the right to strike be given up. It can be relinquished *If* there is a collective bargaining agreement that calls for an adequate guarantee that disputes will be settled in (for both sides) an objective manner, such as through compulsory arbitration.

Meanwhile, let it not be said that the AFT is advocating a strike. Far from it. The AFT is advocating collective bargaining, a peaceful approach to attaining goals with fairness and dignity.

**Vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of the Los Angeles Teachers Union, Local 1021.*

Education and Income

Accent on College

For the country as a whole, the average (median) income of families in 1961 was about $5,700; but for families headed by college graduates, the average was $9,300, according to estimates released by the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.* The all-family average was $120, or 2 per cent, higher than in 1960. Consumer prices rose during this period by about 1 per cent; therefore, any increase in family income greater than this amount represented a net gain in purchasing power for the average family.

Average family income has nearly doubled in the postwar period (from $3,000 in 1947 to about $5,700 in 1961). However, consumer prices have risen substantially during the period so that only three-fifths of the increase in current-dollar incomes represented an increase in purchasing power. In terms of constant (1961) dollars, average family income increased from about $4,100 in 1947 to $5,700 in 1961, a rise that averaged approximately $120 a year over this period.

The number of families with money incomes below $3,000 in 1961, although unchanged from the previous year, has decreased markedly since 1947. About 10 million families received money incomes under $3,000 in 1961. This represented a drop of about 8½ million since 1947. In relative terms, the proportion of families in the cash income range under $3,000 has decreased from one-half in 1947 to about one-fifth in 1961.

Average family income in 1961 ranged from a low of $4,800 for families headed by elementary school graduates who had no additional education, to $6,300 for families headed by persons who completed high school but went no further, to a high of $9,300 for the 10 per cent headed by college graduates.

Teacher Public Relations

By William J. McLean*

It has become increasingly apparent in recent years that the proposals for teachers' salary adjustments have been meeting more and more opposition from the taxpaying citizenry. One important reason for this opposition from the community, we feel, is that we as teachers have woefully neglected the very important aspect of good public relations.

It is true that teachers need an improved salary situation. We all know it, but have we been selling this premise to our fellow citizens? . . .

Perhaps a new approach is needed; this is where good public relations enters the picture. Do we let people know what it takes to become a teacher, the long years of study and training, the expense involved? Have we ever publicized the work a teacher does, that our job involves more than five hours a day? Are the people aware of the myriad duties we must perform and the innumerable activities in which we take an active part? Is the public informed about the community activities of many teachers?

To these questions we say the answer is a resounding *No*. We feel that if the citizens were more cognizant of these facts they would give us their unqualified support in our proposals.

To alleviate this situation, the Springfield Federation of Teachers is now preparing a series of articles for publication in the public press. These articles will give the public a different impression of us as teachers and of our needs. We feel that this series will go a long way toward improving our public relations and that we, as well as the city, will benefit from a better community attitude toward us.

**Report on Consumer Income, Feb. 28, 1963.*

**Executive secretary and former president of the Springfield, Mass., Federation of Teachers, Local 484, in the Springfield Teacher.

The President's Column

By Carl J. Megel

IT HAS LONG BEEN the contention of the American Federation of Teachers that teachers have the right to join the organization of their choice without coercion and intimidation of any kind. We presently emphasize this democratic right because in a recent address before the American Association of School Administrators, a representative of the California Education Association encouraged school administrators to prevent—he almost said, in any way possible—unionization of teachers.

We are pleased that his plea produced a negative reaction among many of the enlightened school administrators who were in attendance. Unfortunately, throughout the nation, all too many school superintendents and principals still impose their will in a most undemocratic fashion among teachers to join the various education associations. In so doing, they always emphasize the teachers' obligation to be "professional," a requirement which they say, is satisfied by joining the "professional organization."

We in the American Federation of Teachers maintain that it is the teacher who makes the organization "professional." Membership in an organization does not make the teacher "professional." Nevertheless, it is this self-acclaimed professionalism that is applied as a pressure point; sometimes in ruthless fashion, to obtain 100 per cent membership.

Through these undemocratic methods, teachers are made to feel guilty if they do not affiliate with the self-styled "professional organizations," but which in reality are only "company union" education associations.

IN THE AFT, all 17 members of the Executive Council are classroom teachers. In contrast, while the National Education Association has a membership composed of 92 per cent classroom teachers and only 8 per cent school administrators, the 8 per cent are represented on the NEA board of directors with 56 members; whereas, the 92 per cent are represented by only 31 members. It is obvious that these 56 administrative representatives determine the policy of the organization.

It is for this reason that the NEA is not competent to honestly and effectively represent classroom teachers. And it is for this very reason that the AFL-CIO, at its 1957 convention, named the NEA, its state and local affiliates, "in effect, a company union." Whenever the interest of the classroom teacher conflicts with administrative interest, classroom teachers get the short end. A few recent events are proof of this assertion.

In New Mexico, the New Mexico Federation of Teachers introduced legislation which would have strengthened their tenure law, and a bill which would have increased teacher retirement benefits. Under date of March 27, 1963, the Albuquerque Federation News contained a guest editorial by Senator Morgan, chairman of the senate education committee for the State of New Mexico. In this editorial, the Senator said:

"Many teachers are asking why some legislation was not enacted into law. Two measures were introduced that would have been of great benefit to the classroom teachers of New Mexico, and would have cost very little. One would have increased retirement benefits for teachers. The other would have given more protection for teachers against unjust dismissal.

Both measures were opposed by the New Mexico Education Association. It is hard to reconcile that position with the supposed stand of that organization when the welfare of teachers is involved."

THE TEACHERS of New Mexico are not the only teachers deprived of tenure protection because of the opposition of the education association—company union. The state Federations of teachers in both Iowa and Missouri, under our direction and in consultation with our attorney, John Ligtenberg, introduced bills which would have provided tenure laws for these two states. In spite of the fact that most teachers in these two states have no job security protection whatsoever, the Federations' tenure bills were opposed by the education associations in both states.

A communication received from Missouri states: "there was a great deal of underground opposition from the Missouri Education Association." As a result, tenure bills in the two states were defeated.

Here in the state of Illinois, the same kind of teacher misrepresentation is practiced by the company union. An official of the Illinois Education Association was reported to have said he was on his way to Springfield to bring pressure on the legislature to defeat the union collective bargaining bill.

WE ARE GREATLY encouraged that daily, more and more teachers become aware that only the American Federation of Teachers is capable of serving the needs of the classroom teachers; whether these needs are in reference to salaries, to retirement pensions, to job security and tenure, to sick leave, to class size, to working conditions, or to the establishment of collective bargaining.

We have organized ten new Locals during the past month. May I encourage each of you to participate in our membership campaign, and to make the slogan "every member get a member" a reality in your own Local.

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Coll. Barg for Teachers

NY

Talked about in AFT since 1948
increasing interest over years
NY victory has stimulated other interest
Especially Chicago — has been slow

E. St. Louis has Coll. Barg —
Detroit work on this Fall

Phil. not strong as AFT, in spite of municipal bargaining

Number of locals did contribute to N.Y. campaign —
Convention had workshop on Coll. Barg.
Lawrence Spiers (West Suburban Local Chicago)

Eau Claire fed of teachers has Coll. Barg. agreement with Bd.

Improved AFL-CIO — AFT relations
AFL-CIO. put resources into campaign

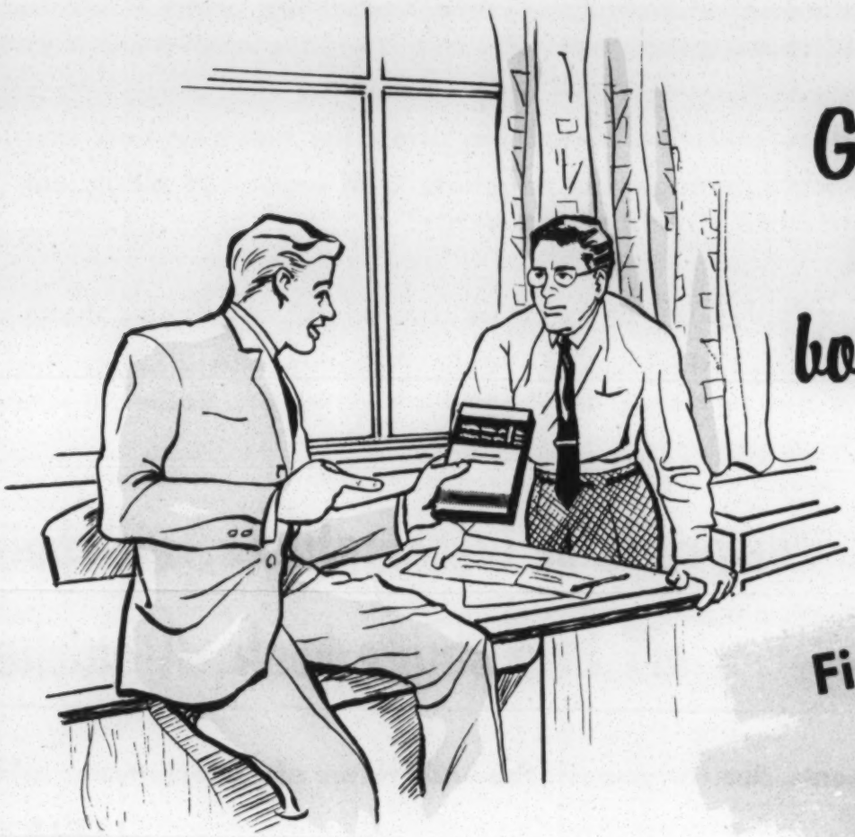
Milw Voc. School local has petitioned for election —
Jim Fitzpatrick feels slow to realize the amount of work to prepare — W.E.A. may intervene —
Hearing on 9/27/62
Question as to who will vote —
full time, day school, certificated — this is the unit the local wants —

Milw Voc. School Association New Wing WERB Open

Otto Jerovavic on Bd — will not attend Hearing — he is pres of Bd. & on staff of Milw Council
Dave Ulman — (Prevailing staff) will represent Union —
Local uncertain of how many full time people —
Total membership, including pres. of WEA officials
Craft teachers (?) talking against AFT representation —

What about Atlanta? Chattanooga New Orleans

Coll. Barg. move has shaken N.E.A.
— policies opposing Coll. Barg
plans for prof. negotiations
Shelby County Ed. Assn. designated by School Bd as the sole ~~bargaining agent~~ — "negotiating representative"
men worried about ~~women~~ "old women" dominant called in AFT but tried and made attempt to get control of Ed. Assn —
Did get man ("an old lady") elected



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Burying the Hatchet

5/22/72

The Two Big Teacher Groups Move Closer Together; A Merger Is Far Off, but More Cooperation Isn't

By ELLIOT CARLSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—After years of squabbling, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers are forging new state and local ties that are turning the longtime rivals into friends.

The contacts are raising a possibility once viewed as remote: nationwide merger between the 1.1 million-member NEA and the 275,000-member AFT.

Such a merger isn't going to happen right away. Current NEA policy forbids its leadership from entering into merger negotiations. The bylaws of the AFT, an AFL-CIO affiliate, also limit the extent to which its top men can make such moves. But both organizations have gone on record to permit—and in some cases assist—mergers on a state and local basis. The trend is picking up so much steam that some experts believe the groups' ruling powers may eventually have to change their policy and consider a national tie whether they want to or not.

Although there is disagreement in each headquarters, the heads of both organizations view a full merger is inevitable. "There'll be a wedding, whether it's shotgun or not," AFT President David Selden recently predicted. Adds NEA head Donald Morrison: "I think you'll see this come about within three years. Teachers are getting fed up fighting each other and having school boards play one group off against the other."

The movement may receive a big boost later this month when the results are announced of a statewide merger vote by members of both groups' New York State affiliates—the 105,000-member New York State Teachers Association and the 90,000-member United Teachers of New York State. If backed by rank-and-filers, the merger proposal would probably be formally ratified at conventions of the two organizations next month.

If approved, the New York teachers merger will be the fourth since 1969, when the two organizations' Flint, Mich., affiliates joined forces. Since then, combinations have been forged in Los Angeles and, earlier this year, Gibraltar, Mich.

Talks Elsewhere

Merger talks are under way or about to begin elsewhere, too. After three months of negotiations, affiliates in New Orleans have worked out a tentative merger agreement. Talks may begin shortly in Rhode Island. Informal discussions have been held in Michigan. And recently, the Illinois Education Association called for immediate talks with the Illinois Federation of Teachers to resolve "organizational rivalries and competition for membership."

"Any such (state or local) merger enhances the chance of merger at the national level," says the NEA's Mr. Morrison.

Spurring the trend is what some educators view as the "anti-education mood" of state legislatures. "We're threatened with more attacks on public education these days," says Thomas Hobart, president of the New York State Teachers Association. He cites two examples: The New York legislature last year put a moratorium on sabbatical leaves for college professors and extended the probationary period during which teachers can be summarily dismissed.

To head off such moves, "teachers should speak with one voice and mount unified lobbying efforts," he argues.

Another factor prompting teachers to do just that is the short supply of cash for schools. School financing was once left primarily to local school districts, but with districts increasingly strapped for funds, the state legislatures and the federal government are being called upon to play a larger financing role. This means, say teachers, that in the future they not only will have to lobby in Washington but also will have to bargain more frequently on a statewide basis for salaries and fringe benefits, rather than solely with local school districts.

Clout and Money

"Schools simply need more money," declares Blanche Erst, president of the NEA's Illinois affiliate. "And to get it teachers will have to acquire more clout in the legislature. This will take collective effort."

Even without merging, some NEA and AFT affiliates are cooperating increasingly in the face of what they view as legislative assaults. Early this year, leaders of the Teachers Association of Baltimore County, an NEA body, and the AFT's Baltimore Teachers Union began meetings aimed at dealing with such alleged threats. Already, the two groups have helped stymie a bill in the Maryland legislature that would have eliminated tenure provisions for teachers in public schools.

The Baltimore talks have steered away from the merger question. But the issue is expected to arise because of a suit filed in federal court in Baltimore that would, like the recent Richmond decision, blur boundaries between suburban and city school districts. The suit has special relevance for Baltimore teachers, as the NEA affiliate represents most suburban teachers while the AFT unit bargains for most in the city.

"If the boundary line goes, there would be a question as to which group would represent all teachers," explains Carroll Miles, president of the NEA affilate. "If the Richmond decision stands, this no doubt will make a merger more likely."

Changing Attitudes

Whatever happens, the historical antiunion attitude among teachers is changing, even if slowly. "For years teachers felt that any link with organized labor would mean a step down to the blue-collar class," says Robert Crowley, executive director of the Orleans Education Association, an NEA affiliate. "And for a long time administrators told teachers they were professionals and shouldn't organize or bargain collectively."

As a result, he claims, teachers in recent years have received few gains in salary or fringe benefits. "We now feel that we've had the wool pulled over our eyes," he says. "So if we merged, teachers could fight the school board instead of each other."

A full merger between the NEA and the AFT won't be easy to achieve. For one thing, the NEA's leadership remains deeply divided on the question. While NEA head Morrison favors merger, he'll be succeeded this July by Mrs. Catharine Barrett, who's cool to the idea.

Also, many members of the NEA, which is strongest in rural and suburban areas, remain distrustful of the AFT, which is strong in big cities and which was the first teachers organization to use the strike weapon. "There's strong opposition among our members to joining a union," says L. P. Sturgeon, executive secretary of the Texas State Teachers Association, an NEA affiliate. "We have an old-fashioned idea that we're a professional organization."

The trouble with the union, he adds, "is that it's far more interested in the personal welfare of teachers than it is in children."

AFT members deny this, and a growing number of NEA members are becoming less inclined to see a conflict between professionalism and union membership. But this conflict, real or not, clearly is the major stumbling block to a national merger. Even NEA forces in favor of merger want the AFT, as a precondition to a full merger, to loosen its ties to the AFL-CIO. This NEA expectation already has complicated some statewide talks in which state AFT leaders are insisting that the NEA group accept ties with the AFL-CIO.

Some AFT members have equally strong doubts about a formal national tie with the NEA. "Many AFT teachers feel we'd lose our militancy if we merged with the NEA," says the AFT's Mr. Selden. "In some cases there's a dislike of the NEA bordering on hatred. On the whole, I think AFT members favor merger, but on their own terms."

NEA

Pub. Empl. Unions — Teachers

FINAL REPORT

Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Desirability of Collective Bargaining

Since the establishment of the Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Desirability of Collective Bargaining (CB) on 19 February 1970, the members of that committee have been involved in rigorous fact finding. Initially the committee agreed on two things: 1. We knew very little about the "ins and outs" of CB; and 2. most of the committee members were "undecided" as to their personal commitments, re: desirability of CB. In order to replace ignorance and myth with the adequate information upon which to base its final recommendations, re: desirability of CB, the committee did the following things:

1. Investigated the legality of CB for the faculty here at URI. It was determined that under the laws of Rhode Island, as amended, Chapter 36-11 of the State Laws, entitled, "Organization of State Employees," and Section 28-7-45 of the State Laws in 28-7, entitled, "Labor Relations Act," that the faculty is permitted to enter into CB.

2. Studied in detail those contracts in institutions of higher learning where CB is already ongoing. (While there are a number of community colleges and junior colleges that have entered into CB, only those contracts that had been negotiated at institutions of a similar nature to URI were studied.) The various contracts reviewed indicated that institutional uniqueness is provided for in each contract. Even when the representative agency of the faculty of a given institution is a national organization, e.g. NEA, AAUP, or AFT, individual institutional needs were represented in the negotiated contracts. Such individual needs include salaries, teaching loads, space, university governance, curriculum control, sabbatical leave policies, etc.

3. Was represented by one of its members at the three day meeting of the City University of New York, National Conference on Collective Negotiations in Higher Education in New York, 30 April-2 May, 1970.

4. Was represented by one of its committee members who visited Rutgers University campus, November 1970, to interview administrative and faculty representatives on that campus, re: their reactions to CB now that they have gone into CB.

5. Interviewed, as a committee of the whole, representatives of the following organizations that are presently involved in negotiating for faculties in higher education:
   a. AAUP, represented by Matthew Finkin
   b. NEA represented by Ralph Chesebrough
   c. AFT represented by Robert Jensen

6. Analyzed the national trend, re: CB in higher education. Again, we reviewed only those institutions which are similar to URI. The committee learned that five of the twelve institutions in the comparison group of institutions used by the FS Compensation Committee for purposes of establishing reasonable faculty salary requests have already gone into CB. They are Rutgers, represented by AAUP and the four institutions in SUNY, represented by NEA. The faculty at Delaware is presently in the "desirability state" that this committee was Fall, 1970. Thus, six of the twelve institutions with whom we compare ourselves have already gone into CB, or are considering such a step. The committee discovered an increased national trend towards CB among institutions of higher learning, especially in metropolitan areas.

7. Analyzed what events here at URI led towards the consideration of CB. In other words, we rigorously examined the status quo.

After sifting the facts from the opinions and the emotionalism that seems to permeate discussions of CB, the committee reached the following two conclusions:

I. Collective Bargaining is desirable for the faculty here at URI. Our position is based on the following reasons:

A. The history of the FS Compensation Committee reflects a failure on the part of that committee to reach compensation goals. This we determined not to be a fault of the many individuals who labored long and hard these past several years; nor is it the fault of the University administration, past or present, that compensation goals were not realized. Rather, the inability to reach reasonable faculty salary goals rests squarely within the system but outside of the immediate university community. It is the present Board of Regents (and the previous Board of Trustees) who in fact determine faculty salaries. The faculty and the university administration has had no recourse in the past but to accept these faculty salaries. A review of salary "gains" show <u>in fact</u> a regression--or a widening gap. Thus, even though considerable strides have been made over the past several years, on a dollars and cents basis with URI faculty salaries, these salaries when compared to those of similar institutions represent no real gain but actually a loss. After nine years of trying to <u>catch up</u> to the <u>average</u> (an odious concept) we are still not at the mid-way point. Rather, the following is true:

Average Salary Comparison with Northeastern Universities*

	Them**	URI	Behind
Professor	$20,001	$17,423	$2,578
Associate Professor	$14,578	$13,484	$1,094
Assistant Professor	$11,526	$10,612	$ 914
Instructor	$ 8,883	$ 8,727	$ 156

*Data presented by Dr. Baum to General Faculty, Fall 1970.
**Them: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, U. Mass., U. Conn., Delaware, Rutgers, Maryland, SUNY (Buffalo, Albany, Binghampton, Stony Brook.)

Thus, the facts show that the present system permits faculty salary gaps to exist. The Committee believes that CB is a more effective means of closing the salary gap. The URI faculty, through a representative agency, can sit down at a conference table with the Board of Regents (or its representative) as equals. This the Committee believes desirable.

B. We feel that CB would make possible the increase in compensation for Extension teaching, endorsed in principle by both faculty and administration but never yet realized in fact. CB is an instrument through which the increase in compensation can be realized. This we deem desirable.

C. We feel, as a committee, the time has come when the faculty can no longer be asked to underwrite the increasing costs of higher education. Rather we feel that like all other professionals, we should be paid the salary our services merit. To date this has not been the case. CB can reverse this.

D. The committee believes that CB can prohibit the kinds of unilateral decision-making concerning faculty salaries that were made by Commissioner Burke to the Board of Regents, and endorsed by the Board of Regents at its 28 January 1971 meeting. Chancellor Dennis left on file in the Commissioner's office that report which the former Chancellor in consultation with the COP prepared, re: a recommendation for faculty salaries 1971-73. For whatever reasons the Commissioner elected not to use these projections even as guidelines when making his recommendations for URI faculty salaries, 28 January 1971. (As a matter of record, the Commissioner, for whatever reasons, elected not to confer with the President of URI immediately prior to making his recommendations 28/1/71.) Rather than continuing to permit the Board of Regents to base their decisions, re: URI faculty needs, on recommendations that are not in fact the result of close and sensitive relationship between the faculty and the Commissioner. The Committee believers that direct negotiations with (go to page 4).

the Board of Regents (or its representative) would be far more desirable. CB can therefore eliminate having the Commissioner act as a "spokesman" to the Board for URI faculty salaries. Based on what we witnessed this past month, the committee views such a change as highly desirable.

E. The committee believes that CB can serve to complement the Faculty Senate. It is obvious to the committee members that the only major weakness of the present Faculty Senate is in its inability to realize reasonable faculty salaries and other monetary fringe benefits. CB and the Faculty Senate as dual instruments of the general faculty can work together to reflect the professional goals and aspirations of the faculty here at the University. Thus the desirability of CB.

F. The committee feels very strongly that CB would prohibit the kinds of "policy decisions" re: promotions, presently being discussed by the administration here at URI. The policy decision presently being determined by the administration is whether faculty members should be promoted if their promotions would <u>in fact</u> lower the salary average in the next higher faculty rank. To prohibit a man or woman from an <u>earned</u> promotion in order to make URI salary averages "look good" by rank is abhorrent. A review of the data of the FS Compensation Committee reveals that URI faculty members, by percentage of total faculty in each of the ranks is <u>in fact</u> "out of line" with the twelve other institutions. Looking at the rank of full Professor we noted that the percentage based on the 1970 AAUP data, of total faculty in this rank, as compared with our twelve other institutions is below the average of those institutions. Specifically: "Them" 26.2% Full Professors, URI 22.5% Full Professors. In addition it must be noted that the salary for rank of full Professor (based on the 1970 figures) is $2,578 <u>less</u> than the average. What does this mean? It means that we stand third from the <u>bottom</u> of the twelve institutions, re: average salary for full Professors. Thus by both percentage of faculty in rank of full Professor and salary paid to those individuals there is <u>no</u> evidence to indicate that we're overly generous with either our promotion or salary policy. Rather, evidence indicates we're just the reverse; parsimonious. And the evidence also reveals that URI faculty salaries over all when compared to "Them" show us <u>third</u> from the bottom. Thus to consider a policy of promotion based on salary considerations threatens promotions to all ranks. For the administration to "determine policy" concerning promotions on any other basis than <u>earned</u> professional recognition is intolerable. If it is the salary average that is causing the administration to even consider a policy whereby salary might limit the number of total faculty promoted, the Committee believes that CB can bring salary averages "into line" and individual faculty members would (go to page 5).

then be reviewed for promotion on the basis of professional criteria, not dollars and cents.

G. While CB will cost each individual faculty member some money the committee views such costs as an investment in one's financial well-being. The committee cannot determine what the annual cost for CB will be until the faculty at large determines which agency will represent them (AAUP, NEA, AFT). What the committee members do know is that on the basis of those institutions that have already gone into CB, the costs of CB will be in the neighborhood of twenty to twenty-five cents a day--or put more "brutally" seventy-five to one hundred dollars ($75.00 to $100.00)per year. In view of the gains than can be realized through CB, the committee believes that the cost is worth it.

Recommendation #1: The FS Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Desirability of Collective Bargaining requests that the Faculty Senate recommend that the faculty of the University of Rhode Island enter into collective bargaining with the Board of Regents or the legally determined representative of the citizens of Rhode Island.

- - - - - - - - - - - -

II. The Second Conclusion reached by the committee concerns agencies involved in CB.

Through its year of deliberation, the Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Desirability of Collective Bargaining learned a great deal about those agencies equipped to represent faculties in higher education. Three such organizations were examined closely: AAUP, AFT and NEA.

A. American Association of University Professors (AAUP):

As noted earlier in this report, the committee met with a representative of national AAUP. While AAUP has always been an organization dedicated almost exclusively to the interests of higher education, it has only recently become involved in CB. As late as Spring 1970 national AAUP had no firm policy regarding CB even though it endorses CB. Thus, the committee concluded that this particular organization was not sufficiently experienced to assist the faculty at URI in CB.

B. American Federation of Teachers (AFT):

While the American Federation of Teachers has been extremely active in the area of CB, its experiences have been largely with Elementary and Secondary education and some junior colleges. When meeting with the representative of AFT (go on to page 6).

the committee found many of the questions it asked were answered in terms of what AFT did in a given school system with a given school board. The committee felt that AFT lacked both the experience and the focus in higher education to be effective for the URI faculty as a representative organization.

C. National Education Association (NEA) - Rhode Island Educational Association (RIEA):

After meeting with the representatives of NEA, the committee was convinced that this organization could best represent the URI faculty. NEA has a strong national organization which has devoted much time and talent to CB in higher education. NEA's involvement in CB in higher education has resulted in that organization representing more (and better) institutions with the greatest number of faculty than any other organization. Thus, nationally NEA is the most active and effective organization.

Turning now to an additional advantage, NEW has a state organization, Rhode Island Educational Association (RIEA). RIEA can offer the URI faculty such tangible assistance as legal advice, negotiating help, lobbying and publicity. RIEA has already had considerable "exposure" to CB problems here in Rhode Island as it represents thrity-one of the thirty-nine school districts.

Thus when considering that organization most experienced nationally in the area of CB, the philosophy that brought into being the Board of Regents, the problems of education peculiar to the state of Rhode Island, the financial climate here in R.I., etc., the committee believes NEA-RIEA the group best able to protect the interests of the faculty here at URI.

D. Another alternative is possible: no outside organization. The law permits the URI faculty to set up its own organization for purposes of CB. However, the committee believes that the evidence clearly indicates that such an alternative would be very undesirable. The expense of this would be prohibitive--that is, the URI faculty would have to retain its own lawyer, be responsible for drawing up the terms of the contract, negotiating its own contract, etc., without the expertise of a larger, more affluent and more experienced organization. After viewing such an alternative, the committee concluded that the faculty should affiliate with a representative organization.

<u>Recommendation #2</u>: The FS Ad Hoc Committee to Study the Desirability of CB requests that the Faculty Senate Chairman transmit this report to President Baum with the request that Dr. Baum call a General Faculty meeting within thirty days to discuss Collective Bargaining.

Respectfully submitted,

L. Patrick Devlin
Frank Dietz
Richard Hauke
Paschale Viglionese
Agnes G. Doody, Chairman

Georgia Stewards At RWDSU [Retail, Wholesale, and Dept. Store Union] Training School

AUGUSTA, Ga.

Forty-five members of four locals of the RWDSU Council of Georgia attended the Council's second annual meeting, which was combined with a training school, at the Augusta Town House Feb. 8 and 9.

"It was an overwhelming success," said Charlotte Whitlock, Council secretary.

Delegates representing Locals 315 and 343, Atlanta, Local 339, Macon, and Local 586 in Augusta participated in the two-day program.

The training school, on oral communication, was held on Saturday. Margaret Robbins of the Alabama RWDSU Council served as coordinator, and Jim Battles of the University of Alabama extension division was the instructor. The Council's education committee—made up of Jim Adams, chairman; Willie Bussey, Andy Thornton, Dorothy Bryant and Miss Whitlock—helped prepare the program.

The Council's annual meeting was held the following day, with RWDSU Vice-Pres. Frank Parker as main speaker. Parker encouraged the delegates to continue their participation in various union activities.

Staffers James Dickinson, Hershell Hol- [illegible] nd several council [illegible] session.

[illegible] president of the [illegible] at the meeting.

ATLANTA GA 30303

CERTIFICATE PRESENTED: Wendell Gresham (right) receives certificate from Int'l Rep. Guy Dickinson as Margaret Robbins and Jim Battles watch.

ATTENDING SESSION: Among RWDSUers at training course were (left to right) Rep. Arthur Hullam, Joan Cross, James Blair and Jasper Beeman.

COUNCIL VICE-PRESIDENTS: Elected vice-presidents of the Georgia Council are (left to right) Andy Thornton of Local 343, Willie Bussey of Local 586, Seab Hindman of '315' and James Moore of '339.'

[illegible] the Georgia Council staff greet RWDSU Vice- [illegible] ngham (third from left), guest speaker at the [illegible] right) Int'l Rep. Guy Dickinson, Arthur Hullam, Charlotte [illegible], James Dickinson and Hershell Holmes.

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Labor-South-Strikes

Reaction is lukewarm to 'CB' bill

WASHINGTON, D.C.

With great fanfare and a packed press conference of unhappy reporters, the National Education Association announced here April 7 that it had obtained congressional sponsorship of a bill providing federal legislation on collective bargaining for teachers. The reporters went away mad because NEA spokesmen refused to tell them who the sponsors in Congress were.

"We're not ready to identify them," said NEA Executive Secretary Sam Lambert. John Lumley, assistant executive secretary for legislation and federal relations, said that he had made an agreement not to reveal the names. "They will announce this themselves after Easter recess," he said.

The proposed law provides for legislation of teacher strikes, under certain conditions, but it also is strongly slanted toward giving the NEA the edge in, as NEA attorney Robert Chanin said, those "whole sections of the country in which teachers do not have the basic rights of other workers."

AFT President David Selden commented that the NEA announcement "has a certain amount of educational value so far as teachers are concerned." He added: "We hope, however, that the NEA announcement is more than a tactic to divert attention away from the failures of its state associations.

"The NEA-affiliated state associations," Selden continued, "have frequently opposed proposed laws which would make it possible for teachers to negotiate with school boards and superintendents. This is particularly so in the case of the state affiliates of the NEA, such as those in Minnesota, California, and Oregon, which have enacted, with association support, laws which restrict the right of teachers to bargain, and in the 35 states which do not have any legislation on this subject.

"The unilateral action of NEA indicates the weakness stemming from its failure to respond positively to our offers to build a united teaching profession. We urge the NEA to meet with us at once," Selden said, "to match strategy for achieving legislation in every state which would accomplish

(Continued on Page 6)

1,500 New Orleans teachers go on strike for right to vote

NEW ORLEANS, La.

An estimated 1,500 classroom teachers were heading into the second week of their strike here as the American Teacher went to press.

Demanding the right to vote in a secret-ballot collective-bargaining representation election, the teachers had shut down an estimated 30 schools and had set up picketlines at school buildings throughout the city. Success of their walkout would make New Orleans the first city in the Deep South to have bargaining rights secured for teachers.

PETITION IGNORED

The teachers, led by the Orleans Parish Local 527 of the American Federation of Teachers, walked out on Thursday, April 3, after board of education officials had ignored a petition signed by a majority of the city's classroom teachers demanding that an election be scheduled.

"We have pleaded with the board for years, we have shown them that collective-bargaining is not only legal in Louisiana, but highly desirable as a means to create a better school system," said Mrs. Veronica Hill, Local 527 president. "But the adamance of the five-member board in not listening to its teachers has forced us to take this militant action." (Two years ago, New Orleans teachers were forced out in a similar strike.)

The walkout, reported Mrs. Hill, has resulted in widespread community support. Many ministers and church groups have offered assistance to the local, and many parents' organizations view an AFT victory as a vehicle to better education, she said.

The Federation is one of four teacher organizations in the city. There are, in addition, two racially segregated affiliates of the National Education Association, and a small independent group. Federation membership in the city surpasses the combined total of the other three groups—"probably explaining why the board refuses to grant an election," Mrs. Hill said. "They know that we would win it."

DAILY RALLIES HELD

Since the strike began, daily rallies, with large, enthusiastic turnouts, have been held. The national office of the AFT has deployed more than 20 national representatives and field representatives to the city to aid in the campaign.

Kenneth Miesen, AFT national representative who has been in charge of the campaign, said picketing would continue until the teachers' demands are met despite an implied threat by lame-duck Supt. Carl Dolce to penalize the strikers.

AFT President David Selden flew to New Orleans for a press conference, telling reporters that a Federation victory was essential for educational progress in the city. Also on hand at the scene was James Mundy, director of organization for the AFT.

AFT President David Selden and Legislative Director Carl Megel prepare to testify before the House subcommittee on higher education. Selden called the laws requiring a cutoff of federal aid to disruptive college students a "step toward neo-McCarthyism."

Student unions seen as answer to turmoil

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Free, autonomous, broad-based, multiracial student unions which could negotiate with college authorities were suggested as an answer to current campus turmoil by AFT President David Selden here last month.

"If such unions were developed on a credible, self-governing basis, students would have a peaceful outlet for legitimate protests," the AFT president said.

Selden made his proposal as he wound up his testimony before a special House subcommittee looking into the question of cutting off federal financial aid to disruptive college students. He told the subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), that Paragraph 504(a) of the 1968 Higher Education Act, which singles out for punitive action students who receive federal assistance, should be repealed.

(The legislation was passed a year ago. Last month, HEW Secretary Robert Finch reminded colleges and universities that they were obligated to deny aid to students guilty of disruption, but left the matter up to local enforcement.)

Selden was supported by the president of the academic senate at San Francisco State College, who followed him in the witness' chair, and by several members of the subcommittee, who said they shared his views.

Much of the special subcommittee's attention has been focused on the events at San Francisco State, scene of recent student and teachers' strikes. The subcommittee's first witness was S. I. Hayakawa, acting president of SFSC.

Selden said the AFT opposed Paragraph 504(a) for several basic reasons:

• "The legislation is an unwarranted interference in local affairs by the federal government." (Selden said it was improper for a committee of Congress to intervene in a local matter like that at San Francisco State and implied that

(Continued on Page 11)

24 resign at CCNY

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Twenty-three of the 27 academic chairmen at City College of New York (one of CUNY's campuses) have joined Dr. Buell G. Gallagher in submitting their resignations to the board of higher education here.

The resignations were in protest to Gov. Rockefeller's budget cuts (see story, Page 15). Gallagher said the cuts would make it impossible for the institution to admit a freshman class in September.

AFT salary survey stirs national reaction

WASHINGTON, D.C.

When AFT President David Selden and Assistant Research Director John Oliver presented the conclusions of the AFT's 1969 salary survey at a routine press conference, there was only a handful of reporters present.

But the report—which shows that teachers' pay increases have not kept up with the increased cost of living—has gained nationwide publicity since its release. (See January American Teacher for a full report.) National stories were carried on the major wire services, and the influential Bureau of National Affairs reprinted the survey summary in full.

The AFT survey declares:

• The average salary paid the classroom teacher was $6,830 for the 1966-67 school year, compared with $11,697 as of March, 1967, for all heads of families with a college degree.

• In general, teachers have made unimpressive gains toward achieving the kind of financial reward necessary to build toward "nationwide educational excellence."

• The startling regional and sectional disparities in teachers' pay have not been significantly improved. Starting salaries for the bachelor's degree holder range from $4,400 to $7,500.

• When one considers inflation and higher taxes, the beginning teacher is no better off today than the beginner a year ago.

• The intolerable gap between the salaries for teaching in the public schools and other professions in business and industry has not improved.

• Salaries, fringe benefits, and other economic benefits paid teachers add up to an income that is lower by 30-40 percent, on the average, than the U.S. Department of Labor's recommended income for a "moderate" standard of living for a family of four.

• Some brighter revelations of the survey are reflected in the very distinct salary gains in areas where AFT locals are the collective-bargaining agents. AFT locals have negotiated salary increases far ahead of the NEA affiliates.

• Despite these gains, won by increased teacher militancy, they are wholly inadequate when one considers the constant erosion caused by inflation and higher taxes at all levels of government, and the persistent gap between teachers' salaries in public education (the nation's most valuable growth-producing industry) and other professional and clerical workers in the private sector.

Minot, N.D., teachers meet in a local union hall for a report on the progress of their strike April 9. Shortly after the meeting began, a sheriff's deputy appeared to serve more than 130 individual injunctions on the strikers. As each was served, an ovation was given by the rest of the teachers. AFT National Representative Robert Crosier is speaking. (Full report, Page 4.)

Response is lukewarm to 'CB' bill

(Continued from Page 3)

the broad objectives the NEA announces it supports."

The NEA admitted at its press conference that it did not have the full support of its state associations on the subject of federal legislation, and that it had not consulted its membership as a whole. It had not consulted other interested organizations, either, Chanin said, when asked if the NEA had spoken to such groups as the AFT and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. "We have not had specific discussions on specific items of this bill," he said, in partial refutation of his preceding statement that "We have the support of every public employee group in this country."

The bill's main provisions:

- Administration by an impartial agency within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, consisting of five members appointed by the President.

MEMBERSHIP LIST

- **"An employee organization would be able to demonstrate its majority support through a verified membership list or other appropriate evidence. An election would generally be held only when another employee organization claimed majority support and submitted as evidence a verified membership list containing at least 30 percent of the employees in the unit."**
- "Strikes would be enjoinable only if they posed a clear and present danger to the public health or safety, or if the employee organization had not attempted to utilize the impasse procedures provided in the statute." These procedures involve mediation by a mediator appointed by the commission; then, if the dispute is not resolved in 15 days, appointment of an arbitrator whose recommendations would be advisory. Or, binding arbitration could be employed if agreed to in the teacher-board contracts, or disputes "in the absence of such procedures, could be submitted by either party to final and binding arbitration in accordance with the rules of the commission."
- It would be unlawful for a board of education to, among other things, deny an employee organization a place to meet, access to work areas, or use of bulletin boards and mailboxes, or refuse to deduct membership dues for an employee organization—"and conversely, once an organization has been recognized as the employees' representative, it would be unlawful for a board to grant those rights to any other employee organization."

Student unions: an answer?

(Continued from Page 3)

subcommittee members were more interested in headline-grabbing than in seeing the conflict resolved.)

- "There are no guarantees of due process for individuals who may be hurt by this legislation. . . . Inevitably the provision justifies and encourages surveillance of the activities of individual students and student organizations."
- **"The legislation is discriminatory on a class and racial basis." He explained, "A high proportion of students receiving federal assistance are nonwhite, and all of those receiving such assistance are poor. This law would wreak a harsh penalty on such students, while the rich remain outside the scope of this section of the law and free to act in any way that they see fit, with only locally imposed penalties to worry about."**
- "College regimes are already too authoritarian and Section 504(a) furthers repression of student initiative."

Selden urged members of the subcommittee and Congress to "stop this initial step toward neo-McCarthyism and neo-Hardingism." He noted the parallels between this law and the two periods of suppression of civil liberties in this century—the 1920 Palmer raids and the fear and suspicion of the 1950 McCarthy period.

Pointing out that the AFT is opposed to civil violence by any individual or group and that it supports the principle of negotiation as a dispute-settling mechanism, he urged that any new law "advance negotiation and dispute settlement by college administrators and representatives of their student bodies."

The federal government, he said, "instead of seeking ways to suppress student protest, should actively foster the creation of genuine free and autonomous broad-based, multi-racial student unions, which could engage in orderly negotiations with college authorities. Within such over-all student unions, various caucuses could function to present minority points of view. If such unions were developed on a credible, self-governing basis, students would have a peaceful outlet for legitimate protests."

Unity - Strike Saved

Chatham Workers Vote For Return Without Contract

Labor News 5-23-69

ELKIN—Striking Chatham Manufacturing Co. workers voted Saturday to return to work at midnight Sunday without a new contract with the company.

The vote came after the negotiating team for Local 1744 of the Textile Workers Union of America recommended the action.

The strike was in its 12th day Saturday.

Scott Hoyman, regional director of the union, said the workers are returning because they have "shown that the union can be a threat to the company's production." The company, which produces bedding and upholstery, has continued its operations.

About 1,800 of the company's 2,200 production employes were striking, said the union.

There were no negotiations during the strike.

At issue, said company officials, was the matter of dues checkoff. A checkoff requires the company to withhold union dues from employes' checks and turn them over to the union.

The union said before the strike was called it would trade the check off for other concessions.

Atlanta Strike

strike:

Atlanta's thirty-six-day-old garbage strike is over. At least in the narrow sense of the word it was a victory for the union, no matter what the Chamber of Commerce says. All the things Massell said he couldn't do–a one-step pay raise, dropping charges against strikers–were done before the strikers went back to work. According to the Union, the pay raise will be granted to 2800 workers. That has been guaranteed by the city and Massell's claim of guarantees for only 2300 is only p.r. for the Chamber of Commerce. In addition, strikers returned to their jobs without prejudice, and strikers have priority to the overtime work resulting from the strike. Massell lost the strike, but the real question is whether the union will be able to turn what most agree is simply a token victory (a one step raise isn't much) into a real victory when negotiations begin again this summer.

It was clear before the vote at the strike vote meeting on Wednesday that the Union had to go back to work. In the first place, only 275 men out of 800 strikers were at the meeting–a sign of weakness. As the discussion of the city's offer began, it was clear from their response to the speakers that about 2/3 of the men wanted to accept the offer. The only problem with the settlement, and it was a very real one, was that strikers would not be paid for their time out. Had the strike been stronger, the Union could have gotten that too–but it wasn't.

The weakness of the strike did not lie with the workers. They held well, came to meetings, and above all were militant as hell most of the time.

One weakness of course was the ease with which the City was able to collect garbage. As long as people brought their garbage to the dumpsters, it took only a few trucks to pick it up.

A more serious problem was the inability of the black community to support the strike wholeheartedly. Some black leaders, like Dr. Middleton from Morris Brown, Bishop Hickman from the A.M.E. Church, the people from the Butler Street Y.M.C.A., Rev. Joe Boone, Ethel Mae Matthews, and Hosea Williams supported the strike all the way. Other, like Leroy Johnson, Rev. King Sr., and Joel Stokes functioned in such a way as to sabotage the strike at several important points. Others, such as Julian Bond, gave only token support and stayed away from the strike. Maynard Jackson's support was crucial but a couple of weeks late. The most militant black paper, *The Atlanta Voice*, printed late in the strike a full-page ad paid for by the City describing Massell as a friend of the workers.

The fact that it was their boy sitting in the Mayor's chair confused things for the black community. The black community had elected him, his campaign rhetoric promised to deliver the goods, and after all, he was in political debt to them. Surely he would listen to the leaders of the black community. But efforts to reason with Massell only hindered efforts to pull the strike together because everyone kept waiting for the results of the latest effort.

Another factor was the black community's distrust of unions. Unions should be distrusted, particularly by the black community, in light of their record of racism. But the Mayor and those who worked with him were able to use this fear effectively against the Union that offers the most immediate hope to large numbers of black people in Atlanta.

More than that, though, there is the problem of black "leadership" itself. As one black union official put it, "They're all Chieftains and no indians." Each "leader" represents his own institution and they all are in competition with each other. Getting broad support from Atlanta's black leadership is kinda like getting broad support from the Left these days, except that in the black community the form it takes seems to be ego tripping rather than ideological nitpicking. However, it should be remembered that, contrary to reports in the straight press, support in the black community was building as the strike ended.

Support from the white community was minimal. The labor organizations gave money and plenty of endorsements but no help in marches or on the picket line. The only sustained liberal support came from the churches, and only two really helped–Father Austin Ford from Emmaus House and the Catholic Church. Father Dillman set up a strike fund with money supplied by the Archbishop which was used to help pay strikers' bills, and Sister Marie was arrested on the picket line. Even support from the Left was sporadic. Students from Emory picketed at the Northside Drive station for several days straight–but only for several days.

The Union made some mistakes. The most serious was made before the strike started. Like the black community, the Union was tricked by Massell. The one step demand the Union agreed upon without dissention was not a strike demand where you start out high to leave room for negotiation. It was a "reasonable" raise worked out with the city.

bill fibben

slim victory

When the City forced the Union to strike,they were pretty much stuck with the one step because it's hard to demand in a strike more than you asked for originally.

Once the strike started, the Union continued to think that Massell could be changed behind closed doors. AFSCME area director Mort Shapiro consciously kept civil rights support away from the strike at the beginning "to give Massell a way out of the strike." No demands were made on Jackson at that point because the Union didn't want to mess up Jackson's functioning as vice mayor.

Then Shapiro was forced into the hospital with kidney trouble and the Union's international people came in. Still for another week or so there were no real efforts to develop a program for a long strike. Finally Hosea Williams pulled together the downtown marches and the boycott and thus deserves much of the credit for the success of the strike.

There were other problems with the Union's efforts. It wasn't until late in the strike that the Union made a serious effort to shut down the Northside Drive station where most of the trucks were working from. Had the jails been filled earlier, more pressure might have been put on the black leaders to support the strike. Early in the strike, an effort was made to organize the strikers' wives, but it spon turned into cooking and wives were discouraged from coming to the picket lines. Had the men been unable to shut down a substation, perhaps a line of women could have done so.

From before the strike there was a split in the Union between older, more conservative leadership and the younger militants. In the second week of the strike, some of the conservative members of the negotiating team asked John Wright of the Atlanta Labor Council to set up a meeting with Massell. They did not let the militant staff members of the Union know about the meeting and other members of the negotiating committee learned of the meeting minutes before it occurred. Led by staff member Marvin Bradford, the negotiating committee agreed to an offer of free life insurance and a raise in the minimum wage. The rank and file rejected the offer the next day, but it took a valuable week for the union to overcome the demoralization.

It is hard to run a large strike of public employees and it's hard for underpaid public employees to strike for any length of time. Once the Union got over its illusions about Massell, it ran a good strike, but the real momentum was lost by then and could not be regained.

The strike may have a very good effect on the Union. It may have propelled younger, more militant leadership into the local. If that happened, AFSCME still may develop into the most militant, democratic trade union in Atlanta. If the local allows the old leadership, rank and file and staff to maintain control, it'll be just another union–not so bad, not so good either.

–gene guerrero, jr.

Secretary

File Teamsters

Teamster old guard wins

Appointment of new secretary-treasurer assures status quo in policies, leadership. Defeat of Gibbons may mean this "non-traditionalist" is at the end of the road in union

The recent appointment of Thomas E. Flynn, 62, to the $75,000-a-year job of secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was a significant victory for the union's old guard. Flynn, until his appointment a Teamsters vice-president, now holds down the second highest office in the IBT—and one of the most important in all labor.

Harold J. Gibbons, 58, St. Louis vice-president of the Teamsters, was the big loser as the IBT elevated Flynn, one-time Chicago milk and ice wagon driver, to fill a vacancy created by the death of John F. English last month.

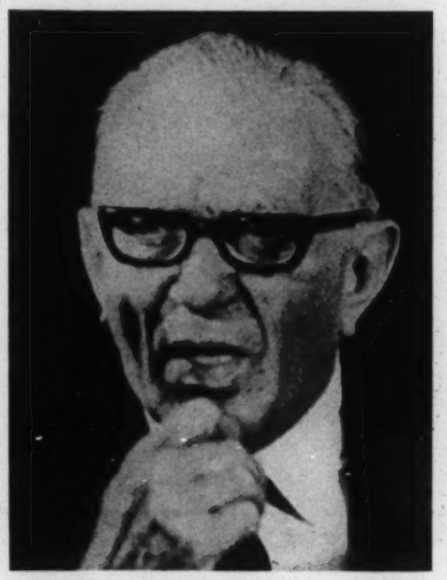
The designation of Flynn practically assures the continuation of the present leadership and basic policies of the union. And, insiders say, it could very well mean that Gibbons, who has had ambitions to move to the top in IBT, has now reached the end of the road in the Teamsters. A board member who attended the meeting that chose Flynn said Gibbons left "licking his wounds."

Anniversary. Flynn will move into his new post on St. Patrick's Day, exactly 33 years after his first appointment to a Teamsters office. On March 17, 1936, the late Daniel J. Tobin named Flynn—then a rank-and-file union member—as a general organizer. He had never held even a local union office when Tobin spotted him as a "comer" at age 20.

Flynn, assigned to South Bend, Ind., proved himself after a year and built a 5,000-member local in less than two years. And in March, 1941, Tobin designated Flynn to be his executive assistant. He has been near the top ever since.

On a basis of seniority, he was fourth vice-president of IBT and an executive board member since 1957. Situated in Washington, he had been head of the Eastern Conference of Teamsters since 1953, with a power base of 600,000 members in 15 states, the District of Columbia, and five eastern Canadian provinces.

He is definitely old guard—in the sense of Teamsters background and traditions. That counts for a lot in the IBT today. Teamsters leaders, from the top down, are wary of changes in the union structure—particularly in their freedom to operate now with considerable autonomy in their bailiwick.



Thomas E. Flynn was elevated to #2 spot after 33 years with the Teamsters.

Gibbons different. Unlike Flynn, Gibbons is not a Teamster in the traditional sense. Rather he is an able union leader whose home base is in CIO-founded warehouse and retail and wholesale trade unions. Gibbons led his St. Louis locals out of the old CIO in a leadership quarrel in his international. For a time, the locals were independent, and then Gibbons took them intact into the Teamsters. Gibbons, an intellectual with views mostly foreign to IBT's old hands, quickly became a power in the union.

In 1957, Flynn picked Gibbons as administrator of Teamsters locals placed under his trusteeship, and when James R. Hoffa nudged Dave Beck out of the IBT presidency, he chose Gibbons as his executive assistant in Washington. For a number of years, the two worked closely and effectively as a team. Eventually, serious strains developed and Gibbons broke with Hoffa and returned to St. Louis.

With the prospects of a prison term ahead for him, Hoffa took steps at the last convention to assure a successor who would be committed to Hoffa-like policies and who wouldn't balk at stepping aside if or when Hoffa could return to the Teamsters presidency. He chose Frank E. Fitzsimmons, a long-time friend and ally. For a time, Gibbons considered running against Hoffa. Lacking needed support, he didn't. But, insiders say, he has been biding his time, hoping to move toward IBT's top job.

Showdown. After the death of English during a Teamsters board meeting last month, Gibbons bid for the secretary-treasurer job. One board member commented privately that Gibbons would be "a damn good secretary-treasurer, he's as good an administrator as you can hope to get." But, he added, "It's not a question of his doing the job, it's a question of his using it." An international secretary-treasurer can build a union political machine.

When the IBT board met in Washington to choose a successor to English, a number of names had been considered, but only two were important—Tom Flynn and Hal Gibbons. Fitzsimmons' choice was the trusted Flynn, whose ambitions were known to stop with the $75,000-a-year secretary-treasurer job and whose loyalty to Fitzsimmons and IBT structure and policies, were unquestioned.

What it means. Teamsters leaders still talk of Hoffa as "the boss" and "the old man" and predict that he will return to his presidency.

But for many of them, the predictions are strictly for the record. In the inner circles of the IBT, there is a growing feeling that the Justice Dept. won't allow Hoffa to resume the presidency. They say that "if the boss can, he'll be reelected by acclamation."

Otherwise, they expect Fitzsimmons to be elected to the job he now holds on an acting basis. He wants it. And, the feeling is, with Gibbons sidetracked, and Flynn in the No. 2 spot, bulwarking Fitzsimmons politically, there will be no contest.

Many lower-level teamsters officials hope Fitzsimmons will keep the job; Hoffa centralized power in the president's office, undermining second-echelon officialdom in their power bases, but Fitzsimmons returned to former Teamsters policies of decentralization and autonomy. **End**

For EV

VOL. CLXXIII NO. 116

A Special Case?

A Louisiana Teamster Eludes Courts Since Hoffa Trial Testimony

EV

Embezzlement Case Against Partin Fails to Surface; Critics Say He's Rewarded

Justice Agency Denies Bias

6/13/69

By NORMAN PEARLSTINE and HERBERT G. LAWSON
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BATON ROUGE, La.—~~Edward G. Partin~~ is no candidate for a good citizenship award. At various times during the last three decades, he has been jailed on a conviction of burglary, arrested on charges of robbery, larceny and rape, indicted (but not tried) on a charge of manslaughter and charged with kidnapping (later dismissed).

But Mr. Partin is a man to reckon with in the Baton Rouge area. As chieftain (his official title is Business Manager) of Local 5, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, he exerts great influence in construction and petrochemical projects and other endeavors in the region.

However, his most noteworthy connection is a past one, with the conviction of Teamster boss James R. Hoffa for jury-tampering in 1964. Mr. Partin was the Government's key witness. Released from jail in 1962 by the Department of Justice to work as an undercover agent, he provided damning testimony that Hoffa offered to "pay $15,000, $20,000—whatever it takes to get to the jury." The Teamsters boss still is in jail.

Mr. Partin faces continuing trouble himself, however. Outstanding charges against him include embezzlement. But no action has been forthcoming from the Federal officials chiefly responsible for pursuing such matters.

Everlasting Immunity?

Mr. Partin's critics, who are strongly disputed by the Justice Department, offer an explanation for his seeming good fortune over the last several years. They say that he became something of a hero to men who worked for the late Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General at the time of the Hoffa case. These persons are said to fear that further prosecution of Mr. Partin might cause him to revise or recant his 1964 testimony, nullifying the Hoffa conviction.

The situation raises a troubling question: Has Mr. Partin been put above the law for his aid in convicting Hoffa? Gov. John McKeithen of Louisiana professes to think so. So do others in high academic, corporate and governmental positions in this state. Federal judges frown on promises of immunity given prospective witnesses by the Justice

agent, he provided damning testimony that Hoffa offered to "pay $15,000, $20,000—whatever it takes to get to the jury." The Teamsters boss still is in jail.

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The Justice Department vehemently denies that such is the case with Mr. Partin. "He's not being protected," says Henry Petersen, deputy assistant attorney general in the criminal division. On the other hand, Mr. Petersen says, "We don't want him subject to reprisal because of his (Hoffa) testimony." Mr. Petersen says there is clear evidence of attempts to persuade Mr. Partin to recant that testimony.

Seeing Conspiracies

Among those who spent a decade or more fighting Hoffa for the Justice Department, there is a tendency to see a Hoffa-inspired conspiracy behind every threat to Mr. Partin. Walter Sheridan, chief of the Justice team that investigated Hoffa and now an executive with the National Broadcasting Company, says: "It's natural for people to think I'm paranoic and see Hoffa behind every bush. But Hoffa is behind a lot of bushes."

Much of the controversy centers on a blue-ribbon Labor-Management Commission of Inquiry appointed by Gov. McKeithen, a Democrat, to look into labor strife that shut down $500 million of petrochemical plant construction in this industrial city in 1967. The commission's report, issued late last year, described a "reign of terror and lawlessness" and alleged numerous suspected violations of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Sherman Antitrust Act and other Federal laws. It singled out Mr. Partin and other members of Local 5 as the prime suspected offenders.

No Federal charges have resulted yet. Commission members, who have included the deans of Louisiana's two major law schools, charge intense Justice Department pressure hampered their investigation. And Gov. McKeithen makes this charge: "We have been harassed by people representing the Justice Department who we hoped were here to help us, but instead insisted we were tools of some sinister force to free Hoffa from the penitentiary."

The governor himself has been the center of storms in recent years. In 1967 it was disclosed that one of his key aides, Aubrey Young, had been conferring with a Mafia leader. Mr. Young resigned. Life magazine has accused the governor of tolerating widespread gambling and other organized criminal activity in the state.

Reports of a Letter

Mr. Partin denies any wrongdoing and says that the attacks on him indeed are a Hoffa-inspired conspiracy. But the talk of immunity persists, confronting John Mitchell, the current Attorney General, with a potentially explosive problem.

One persistent, though unconfirmed, report is that Mr. Partin has a letter signed by Robert Kennedy making certain commitments in return for his testimony. Public disclosure of such a letter—whose existence Mr. Partin denies—would be highly embarrassing. In any case, Mr. Partin could inject himself into the controversy over wire-tapping and other methods used in the Hoffa case that led Chief Justice Earl Warren to write a blistering dissent to the Supreme Court's affirmation of the Hoffa conviction.

Under pressure from Louisiana Congressmen and business leaders, Attorney General

Please Turn to Page 22, Column 1

A Special Case? Teamster Eludes Courts Since Hoffa Trial Role

Continued From Page One

Mitchell is said to have ordered a full review of Mr. Partin's treatment by the Justice Department in recent years. The outcome of that review isn't clear, but there are hints that Mr. Partin's luck may be running out.

The Justice Department's antitrust division has convened a New Orleans grand jury to look into possible labor-management collusion in the petrochemical plant labor strife. In mid-April, the grand jury was said to have been ready to issue an indictment or indictments, but it suddenly was recessed. The decision whether to push for indictments now rests with the antitrust division chief, Richard McLaren. Mr. McLaren and other sources in the antitrust division decline comment on the situation.

Another complication: The Commission of Inquiry here is under attack. Two members of Mr. Partin's union filed suits charging that the body was unconstitutional. Various lower courts upheld the commission. Earlier this week the Supreme Court declined to rule the body unconstitutional, but it sent one of the suits back to a Federal district court for further hearing on the Constitutional question. The decision left the commission open to new challenges.

Mr. Partin is 44. He says he has been shot twice and knifed once since 1961, but he still has a boxer's physique (he briefly was a professional fighter). He possesses an air of confidence and a persuasive manner. In answer to questions, he denies that he has supporters in the Justice Department. "I wish I had some pull up there," he says, sitting in a windowless office at the shabby Local 5 headquarters. "If I have a friend there, I don't know it."

There is evidence that Mr. Partin indeed has friends in Washington, and specifically in the Justice Department. One of them is Michael Epstein, an attorney considered the ranking "Hoffa expert" in the Justice Department.

Last year Mr. Epstein made a public admission of the Justice Department's commitment to Mr. Partin. He went before U.S. District Judge E. Gordon West here to ask dismissal of a 26-count charge of embezzlement and falsification of union records brought against Mr. Partin in 1962.

Assistance Rendered

Mr. Epstein told the judge that records in the case had disappeared and that one witness had died. He added: "Even if a successful prosecution could be maintained, the interests of justice warrant the dismissal. . . . We cannot be oblivious to assistance rendered the Government by those who provide and/or testify as to significant facts in important criminal cases."

The reference to the Hoffa case was clear. Judge West characterized the Government's request for dismissal as a "payoff" to Mr. Partin and asked if "the interests of justice are going to continue to be served by granting a lifetime immunity to someone who cooperates in some case that the then Attorney General might have particular interest in."

The judge declined to dismiss the charges.

Certainly the governor continued to be a subject of some controversy. A report now circulating in the state alleges that he received a campaign contribution of $10,000 from Louisiana Loan & Thrift Corp. through a conduit company.

A McKeithen Denial

The loan company collapsed. Its principal organizers recently were indicted on charges of Federal securities fraud. Jack P. F. Gremillion, Louisiana's attorney general, also was indicted, on charges of fraud and conspiracy for allegedly shielding the company from Federal scrutiny.

Federal sources confirm that such a contribution apparently was made to Gov. McKeithen's campaign. Says the governor: "I have never knowingly received anything from Louisiana Loan & Thrift—not as much as a shoeshine. If there was a contribution, I'm not aware of it, and my campaign committee tells me there was none."

Another key contact of Mr. Partin's is Mr. Sheridan, the former Justice Department aide who now works for NBC. Mr. Sheridan calls Mr. Partin "the only man in Louisiana who never lied to me." This friendship undoubtedly helps Mr. Partin maintain his aura of having powerful supporters.

Herbert J. Miller is another Washington friend. Under Robert Kennedy, he was chief of the Justice Department's criminal division. Now Mr. Miller heads a private law firm in Washington, and he is Mr. Partin's attorney. "I pay him when I can," says Mr. Partin, but Mr. Miller says he serves without fee. Mr. Miller says he represents the Local 5 leader because "he is a witness who testified for the Government at great personal risk."

Mr. Miller did Mr. Partin a favor before leaving the Justice Department in 1965. It appeared that lower-level officials might proceed with the embezzlement case against the Teamster leader. Mr. Miller personally intervened to block prosecution. "I made that decision," he acknowledges. Now Mr. Miller is using the contacts he still has at the Justice Department to argue that Mr. Partin shouldn't be indicted by the New Orleans grand jury. (Mr. Miller acknowledges that he hasn't read the commission report.)

Focus on Local 5

The labor troubles here, which started to get serious in 1966, were marked by a severe labor shortage, pirating of workers by various companies, a jurisdictional dispute between Local 5 and an electricians' union and, finally, a six-week shutdown of construction projects by most of the major petrochemical companies in 1967. The commission undertook to investigate reports of widespread extortion and other wrongdoing in the dealings of unions and various contractors.

Most of the 79 pages in the commission's report on the petrochemical shutdown and other labor disputes deal with Mr. Partin's union. The report concludes that there is "probable cause to believe that there have been violations of the Federal antiracketeering (Hobbs) Act,

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The judge declined to dismiss the charges. The decision to prosecute is a Federal one. Mr. Partin hasn't been prosecuted. One source close to the Justice Department says flatly that the case never will be prosecuted.

In March of 1968, Mr. Epstein paid a visit to the New Orleans home of Cecil Morgan, former dean of the Tulane law school and the first chairman of the Commission of Inquiry. Mr. Morgan relates that the Justice Department attorney "in essence told me that there was a strong feeling within the Department of Justice that the commission was set up to go after and discredit Mr. Partin, thereby springing Hoffa."

Mr. Epstein then spoke of some commission investigators "playing a dual role of investigating for us and giving information to Hoffa," Mr. Morgan recalls. Mr. Morgan asked for proof. Mr. Epstein declined to offer any. The dean recalls saying, "I didn't care whether the chips fell on Mr. Partin, other labor leaders or on management. . . . I knew nothing of my investigators playing a dual role. And privately I didn't see what difference it made, so long as they were bringing the information to light."

An Angry Exit

Mr. Epstein wasn't pleased. He left, after telling Mr. Morgan, "You're being used by the Hoffa people as a tool." Mr. Morgan now says, "I couldn't help linking his statement to the fact that U.S. Attorney (Louis) LaCour had told us that neither he nor the FBI would be able to assist us in our investigations." Soon afterward Mr. Epstein confirmed that the Justice Department was investigating the commission for possible attempts to undermine the Hoffa conviction. A Federal grand jury in Nashville, to which Mr. Epstein is presenting evidence, still is looking into the matter but hasn't returned any indictments.

Mr. Epstein declines to discuss his conversation with Mr. Morgan. He says the talk was "confidential." But he emphatically says that "its absolutely not true" that the Justice Department is protecting Mr. Partin or allowing itself to be used by Mr. Partin. (Mr. Partin allegedly has been telling some of his critics that they can expect to be indicted by the Nashville grand jury.)

It is known that FBI agents were investigating the commission last June and July. On July 16, agents Troy H. Gist and Donald Hughes told commission staff members privately of Federal suspicions that the commission was a Hoffa tool. Commission members, meeting in official session nearby, invited the FBI men to air this charge publicly. The agents declined. Minutes of the meeting for that day show that Paul M. Hebert, dean of the Louisiana State University law school and then vice chairman of the commission, described the FBI assertions as "preposterous."

Gov. McKeithen, who set up the commission, says that Mr. Epstein last year "commenced an investigation to see if something possibly couldn't be uncovered on me."

contacts he still has at the Justice Department to argue that Mr. Partin shouldn't be indicted by the New Orleans grand jury. (Mr. Miller acknowledges that he hasn't read the commission report.)

Focus on Local 5

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—S. G. Broussard, a trucking contractor, said he was compelled to contribute to a defense fund set up by Local 5. The day after disclosing this to the commission, he was fired by his employer, Industrial Fills Materials, allegedly on Mr. Partin's instructions. The commission termed this "open and raw intimidation."

—What the commission called "an extortive pattern favoring AAA Contracting Co." in construction of the Louisiana National Bank building here. J. Ray Queen, a construction foreman, testified that he met frequently with Mr. Partin to discuss Teamster troubles on the job. Mr. Queen was asked this question: "Did he (Mr. Partin) make it clear to you that by using AAA that your job would then be expected to go better?" Mr. Queen replied, "That is correct."

—Clay Jones, warehouse superintendent at the Baton Rouge Uniroyal Inc. plant, testified that he was beaten up by Terry George, a Local 5 member, "because he did not comply with (Local 5's) desires concerning equipment rental" at a Uniroyal construction project. Mr. Jones is a 132-pounder. Mr. George, who weighs 265 pounds, was convicted of assault.

A Watched Man

Investigators for the commission complain that the Justice Department's closeness to Mr. Partin impeded their investigation. U.S. marshals still were protecting Mr. Partin against possible retaliation for his Hoffa testimony. "People knew about the Federal protection," says A. Harry Roberts, the commission's chief investigator. "And they thought the Justice Department was treating him like a football hero. They were afraid to talk because they thought he had been given lifetime immunity from prosecution."

Justice Department officials stress that Mr. Partin indeed did need protection after the Hoffa conviction. There is no indication of any attempt by the marshals to interfere with the commission's work. There reportedly still are threats to Mr. Partin and harassment by Hoffa supporters.

Mr. Petersen of the Justice Department's criminal division says that Carlos Marcello, identified as chief of the Mafia in Louisiana, has offered a bribe of $100,000 or more to Mr. Partin if he recants his Hoffa testimony.

Another attempt to get Mr. Partin to change his testimony involved Malcolm V. O'Hara, a criminal district judge in New Orleans. Judge O'Hara admitted in a 1967 Chicago court proceeding that he asked Mr. Partin to sign an affidavit prepared by a Teamsters International attorney. The affidavit would have modified Mr. Partin's testimony in the Hoffa trial.

Judge O'Hara said that he was asked to contact Mr. Partin by Zachary Strate, a New Orleans contractor who had been convicted in 1964 of conspiring to defraud a Teamster pension fund of $20 million. Strate had obtained a loan from the fund to finance a New Orleans motor hotel.

Mr. Partin says he has evidence that three investigators for the commission have bribed witnesses to give false statements about him and other Local 5 members. And he says he has furnished the Justice Department with tape recordings proving that some commission investigators were on Hoffa's payroll. The investigators deny the charges.

Mr. Petersen of the Justice Department declines comment, except to say that "even if commission investigators were motivated by a desire to spring Hoffa, that is immaterial," if the evidence against Mr. Partin or others proved to be substantial. Mr. Petersen agrees that no one has raised any questions about the integrity of the commission members.

October 20, 1969

Mr. William Goode
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Training School
Everglades Hotel
244 Biscayne Blvd.
Miami, Florida 33132

Dear Bill:

A belated welcome to the region and also to the ranks of AFT Local 189.

The real reason for this letter is to offer such services of the Southern Regional Council which may be of use to you in your training program. I realize that your program is a national one but it could be that our interest in this region and its social and economic problems could be helpful in some of your activities.

My own program here at the Council works extensively with the labor movement throughout the region. Under separate cover I will send you a selection of publications which may prove of interest in discussions relating to the South, to racial relations and civil rights, and even to national social and economic issues.

I trust if you, or anyone else from your staff, is coming into Atlanta that they will take the time to be in touch with me and to stop by our offices.

Please feel free to call on me for assistance.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Original to BA & Rs
Copy to EU, AC, BW, JW, RC

Population Shift to Change Political Map

IF IT'S TRUE that political candidates go where the voters are, then campaigns for public office will move more into the suburbs of major cities in future election contests.

The reason is that the population is rapidly moving from many major city areas into the suburbs.

Preliminary statistics emerging from the 1970 census show that the "outward" movement is evident at every level—not only outward to the fringe areas but outward to the West Coast.

Congressional experts calculate that on the basis of the most recent nose count by the U.S. Census Bureau, at least a dozen seats will almost certainly change in the House of Representatives as a result of census-based reapportionment.

Of the 12, five will go to California, three to Florida, and one each to Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut and Texas.

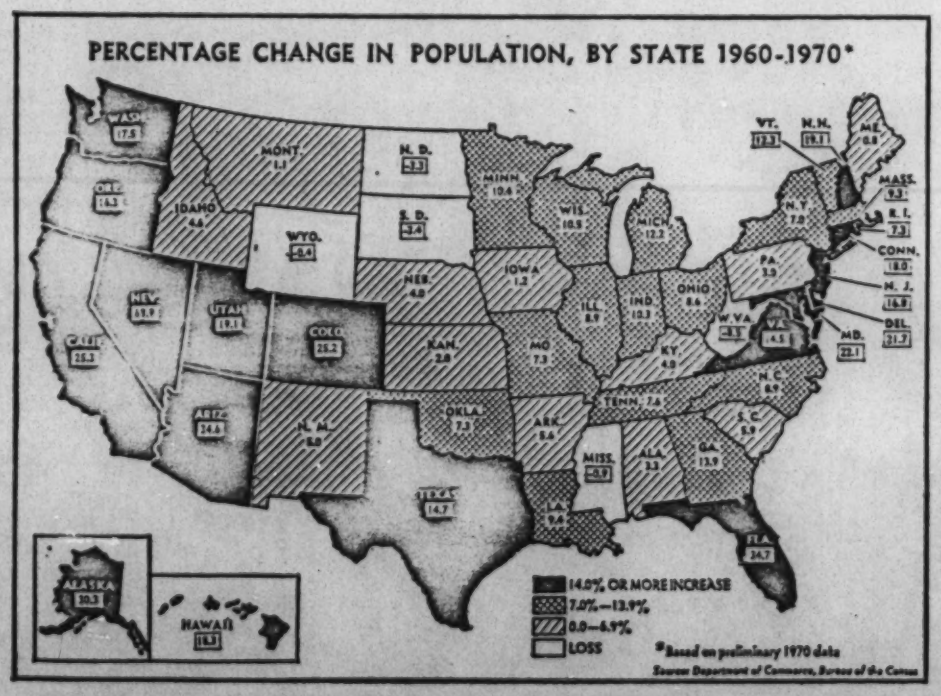
Because of smaller increases in population—or, in some instances, decreases in the number of residents — New York and Pennsylvania are likely to lose two seats each in the House of Representatives. Likely to each lose a seat are Alabama, Iowa, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

California—with a growth of nearly four million in population since 1960—has displaced New York as the most heavily-populated state in the union. California has nearly 19.7 million inhabitants, about a million more than New York.

Florida has gained more than 1.7 million people in the last 10 years, many of them retired citizens eligible to cast ballots after satisfying residency regulations.

Arizona has gained nearly one-half million people since 1960, bringing its total to more than 1.7 million.

Colorado and Connecticut each



The Int'l. Teamster

have increased their populations by nearly half a million in the last decade. Texas has gained 1.4 million.

City Populations

City population alignments have gone greatly out of kilter since the last census also.

New York City has actually lost residents since 1960, while Los Angeles has grown more than 12 per cent.

Chicago, another political beehive, has lost nearly a quarter-million of its citizens in the last 10 years—down more than 6 per cent.

St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh together have had a total of more than a half-million people move outward to the suburbs since 1960. Detroit's loss was 177,000.

Other cities that have lost major chunks of population include Milwaukee, San Francisco, Philadelphia and Boston.

Jacksonville, Fla., has been the fastest grower since 1960. A mecca for retired people and growing industry, Jacksonville has ballooned from 201,000 to 513,000—an increase of more than 155 per cent.

Other fast-growing communities that together have added more than 1.1 million in the last 10 years are Houston, Dallas, San Diego, Indianapolis, Memphis and Phoenix.

Reapportionment

A burst of activity in reapportionment will undoubtedly occur in state legislatures across the land in the next 24 months to meet the "one-man, one-vote" standard decreed by the U.S. Supreme Court decision of March 26, 1962. The court ruled that the judiciary has the authority to allot legislative seats fairly in state assemblies when lawmakers themselves fail to do the job.

In the past eight years, all but four of the various state legislative bodies have been reapportioned to meet the boundaries of the 1960 population count.

Realignment

Realignment following the latest census, of course, will hold top priority in all 50 states in the coming months. Because of this, the outcome of legislative elections this fall and in 1971 may be especially important not only to the major political parties but to special interest groups.

Elections for some 6,244 legislative seats will be held in 45 states this fall. (Five states choose their state lawmakers in odd-numbered years.) Included are 1,192 state senatorial seats and 5,052 house seats.

As a result of reapportionment of the past—and prospective reapportionment of the immediate future — the number of urban lawmakers at the statehouse level is dwindling and will continue to decline.

The latest census figures show that instead of the city dwellers emerging as the dominant force in the state lawmaking process, that it is the suburbanites that will be grabbing the political bull by the horns.

The effects of reapportionment in recent years have already shown a marked change in emphasis away from small-town problems to the concerns of the major metropolitan areas.

Just as rural legislators in some areas tried to resist reapportionment after the *Baker v. Carr* case in the Supreme Court nearly nine years ago, it is problematical that some city political chieftains will try to resist the shift to the suburbs.

But there is already plenty of precedent to overcome the diehards. Courts stepped in and carved out new districts in 13 states when legislatures refused to face up to their responsibility following the Supreme Court decision.

Politicians reluctant to submit to redistricting will have little real alternative. As in recent years, many a firmly-entrenched lawmaker will face the end of his political career as the boundary lines are redrawn.

Though insistent that legislatures must be equitably apportioned on a strict population basis the Supreme Court avoided handing down specific guidelines as to how much leeway might be permitted.

Generally, state tribunals have accepted arrangements in which the variant was as much as 10 per cent between the largest and smallest district.

This is a great mark of progress, however, when it is remembered that before the "one-man, one-vote" decision there were places like California where less than 11 per cent of the population controlled the state senate —and Nevada where only eight per cent of the population elected a majority of the state's senators.

Champions

The West Tampa Senior League All-Stars have clinched the world championship at Gary, Indiana, and a lot of the credit goes to Danny Bazarte. Danny, who knocked in three runs in the final game, was voted the most valuable player in the league. His father, Daniel Bazarte, works for Ryder Truck Lines and is a member of Teamster Local 79 in Tampa, Fla.

Teamster Seeks Governorship

Francis T. McGeever, a member of the Teamsters for 32 years and presently a member of Local 229, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, is a candidate for the Office of Governor of that state on the American Independent Party ticket. This is the same party George Wallace used as his power base when he sought the U.S. Presidency in 1968.

McGeever is married and has three children. He is a member of the Knights of Columbus and a member of the Holy Name Society of St. Mary's Church in Scranton.

Paint Firm

Employees of Blatz Paint Co., a paint manufacturer in Louisville, Ky., voted overwhelmingly for representation by Teamster Local 89 in a recent National Labor Relations Board election.

Marion Winstead, Local 89 secretary-treasurer, said 16 loaders, dumpers, mill operators and truck drivers were eligible to ballot. The vote count was 10 for the union and five against.

Subsidies Total $9.7 Billion During 1969

Subsidies granted by the United States government during 1969 totaled $9.77 billion according to the legislative reference service of Congress.

Of the nearly $10 billion, labor subsidies were estimated at $842 million—mostly for operation of the unemployment trust fund. The remainder of the subsidies went to big business and corporate farms with a trickle for home purchases.

Total subsidy figures for earlier years include: 1955—$3.7 billion; 1960—$5.7 billion; 1965—$6.6 billion.

UMW — United Mine Workers.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
DEC 26 1968

Pension Fund Fuss

Critics Say UMW's Retirement Program Shortchanges Miners

Many Claims for Benefits Are Rejected; Investment Practices Are Questioned

$67 Million Checking Account

By JERRY LANDAUER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MADISON, W.Va.—Duffy Raines was a lad of 13 when he left school before World War I to toil in the coal mines. Today he's a stoop-shouldered 68 and nearly blind. Yet he must still work, earning $75 a month plus free use of an old house trailer for standing by at a mine to answer the phone or call for help in case a miner gets hurt.

He continues to work for one reason: He can't prove enough years in a union-controlled job to qualify for a miner's $115 monthly pension. The United Mine Workers of America, which collected Mr. Raines' dues for 31 years, claims to have evidence that he worked too long as a company foreman to be eligible.

Mr. Raines insists: "I done never hired a man or fired a man in my life, and I wasn't never no foreman. I ain't been treated fair and square." But the UMW's retirement fund won't grant him a hearing to present testimony from as many as eight witnesses who say the "evidence" isn't true. President R. R. Humphreys of UMW District 17 in Charleston wrote him: "There is nothing we can do for you in this matter."

Here in Boone and neighboring West Virginia counties, a visitor can hear dozens of similar allegations of autocratic pension practices that appear to shortchange miners. Their discontent helps explain the frequent wildcat strikes and violence in the coal fields. Hundreds of miners who think they have been treated unfairly have joined the Association of Disabled Miners and Widows here in Madison, a group describing itself as "an organization of living dead men trying to help each other." Its attorney, P. W. Hendricks, says one key aim is to reform the pension fund, at least to the extent of requiring it to grant hearings in disputed cases.

Leaders Fare Better

As many once-loyal union members see it, certain UMW chiefs have forgotten what it's like to sweat in the mines, preferring instead to draw handsome salaries and pile up fat pensions.

Certainly, the retirement pay of UMW leaders appears far from comparable to that of working miners. The leaders' separate pension kitty, financed by miners' dues, now counts assets of $18 million, an ample sum to assure full benefits for the 400 union officeholders and their employes. District presidents, who earn between $20,000 and $30,000 a year, generally retire on half-pay, and the three top national union leaders can look forward to retirement at full salary—$50,000 annually in the case of UMW President W. A. (Tony) Boyle. Currently a miner's pension comes to just $1,380 a year.

Nor must union higher-ups contend with seemingly arbitrary decisions about qualifications for pension. If there's any doubt about years of service, a UMW leader can appeal to the union's own pension committee (Tony Boyle is the committee chairman) or even to the union's international executive board.

The miners' pensions and accompanying rights to medical care flow from a $100 million fund financed by employer payments of 40 cents for each ton of coal dug by union men; the pension benefits may rise and fall according to the amount of money in the fund. This retirement fund is the achievement of John L. Lewis, the UMW's 88-year-old former president who serves without pay as one of three trustees. The employer-appointed trustee is Henry G. Schmidt, chairman of North American Coal Corp. in Cleveland, who supplemented his $75,000 corporate salary last year by drawing $25,000 for his services to the pension fund.

Promoting UMW Objectives

In theory, the fund is entirely independent of the union, as the Taft-Hartley act requires. But because the fund's $30,000-a-year director and "neutral" trustee is 82-year-old Josephine Roche, a long-time Lewis associate ("She's his alter ego," a UMW spokesman says), the miners tend to overlook any legal distinction. To mischoolcd man like Duffy Raines, the union and the fund are identical, and a glance at the fund's investments suggests that it promotes some particular UMW objectives—sometimes at the expense of the miners.

For example, the fund is known to keep $67 million in checking accounts drawing no interest in the National Bank of Washington, a bank that the union happens to control; of one million outstanding shares, the UMW holds 736,944. This act of generosity to the union-controlled bank deprives the pension fund of more than $3 million a year in interest income.

In addition to the interest-free $67 million, the fund lets the union-controlled bank enjoy the use of $50 million more in interest-bearing time deposits. And for fees that in one recent year totaled $22,281, the bank also manages the separate $18 million retirement fund for UMW leaders and employes. But the far bigger pension fund for miners lacks such expert bank management, nor do the trustees consider it necessary to hire investment advisers.

A Slim Return

The results of this in-house management of the miners' pension fund haven't been particularly gratifying. Starting at least 10 years ago, the fund has accumulated a portfolio of common stocks for which it paid $44,189,000. As of last June 30, the portfolio was worth just $110,000 more than the fund paid, not enough even to keep pace with inflation.

In annual reports, the fund boasts about its "long-established policy of full public disclosure," yet outsiders can't determine why the investments haven't been more productive. The fund declines to detail its holdings. Director Roche doesn't grant interviews and Mr. Schmidt, the employer-appointed trustee, believes any comment should come from Miss Roche. "I'm not the chief executive officer so I have no comment," Mr. Schmidt says.

Some critics of the fund's operations suggest its shortcomings may reflect practices similar to those of the union itself. They say the union has often tended to invest not for maximum profit but rather to safeguard union jobs or to gain a voice in the management of coal companies with which the union negotiates wages, payments to the pension fund and other benefits.

In 1963, for example, the UMW sold—for $6,018,849—a big block of common stock in West Kentucky Coal Co., for which it had paid $13,072,946. An added $125,000 went down the drain on a sale of West Kentucky preferred stock. The UMW-controlled National Bank of Washington has lent millions of dollars to companies in coal or allied industries, taking care, however, to accept as collateral U.S. Treasury bonds provided by the union—rather than any security put up by the borrowers themselves; in one year, the union pledged bonds worth $5,230,000 to secure such loans. (UAW officials say that under the five years of the Boyle regime the union has not been nearly so ready to help management.)

But this union concern for management, officials contend, is more than matched by the fund's generosity toward beneficiaries—$96.7 million paid to nearly 70,000 pensioners last fiscal year, along with $50.2 million for hospital and medical care and $5.1 million for survivors' benefits. As for the fund's handling of pension applications, "I can't imagine any benefit plan bending over more backwards," a fund spokesman in Washington asserts.

Yet critics say serious inequities seem apparent. The fund has rejected many hundreds of pension claims besides that of Duffy Raines, and the grounds for a number of the rejections appear questionable to some observers.

Howard Linville is another disabled miner who has run afoul of "evidence in trust fund files" based on unspecified sources. For one thing, the pension fund claims he was born in April 1914 and thus hasn't reached 55, the minimum age to qualify for a pension. But ledgers on the Lincoln County courthouse record the birth of a Howard Linville in Bernie, W.Va., on April 4, 1911. Further, the fund claims that Mr. Linville didn't work in the coal industry during 1940. Yet a job classification sheet of the defunct Ridgeview Coal Co., dated May 16, 1955, lists a Howard Linville as having begun work as a machine helper on June 3, 1940.

A Demand From the Fund

Then there's Tommy Gibson, wheezing painfully from asthmatic bronchitis. He bought a group "hospital money plan" sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. "No restrictions on benefits," the plan promised, "because money is paid to you—not the doctor or hospital—to spend as you see fit." Later Tommy was hospitalized, and the UMW fund paid $708 toward the bill. From the insurance company, he collected $20 per day, or $480, all of which the fund wants; it says the money isn't indemnity for loss of pay, as Tommy thought, but represents the proceeds of insurance, "which must be applied toward the hospital and medical bills which have been paid by the fund."

Tommy Gibson refused to pay. The fund retaliated by grabbing his card entitling him to hospital benefits, and he fears he may have trouble when he applies for a pension. But he still vows: "I'll not be penalized because I had the foresight to buy insurance. Some other fellow, he can't buck them, but my wife works, and if worst comes to worst, I might be able to get into a VA hospital."

As for Duffy Raines, his pension eligibility would seem unquestionable, if it weren't for the contention that he served as a foreman. Basically, he must prove that he labored 20 years in the mines within the 30-year period immediately preceding his application for pension. Time spent on picket lines or looking for work or serving as a foreman doesn't count, even though the miner scrupulously kept paying his union dues.

Mr. Raines can easily show that he put in the required number of years, but he can't overcome the pension fund's mysterious "evidence" that he worked as a tipple foreman for Princess Dorothy Coal Co. from July 1932 to August 1953. To counter that contention, he asked UMW District President Humphreys in Charleston to question John J. Combs of nearby Sylvester. Back came this letter from Mr. Humphreys:

"We contacted Mr. John Combs and several other pensioners whose names you gave us and each stated that you were a foreman and they could not make a statement that you did not work as a foreman."

Curiously, Mr. Combs denies saying any such thing. "That's wrong!" he exclaims. "I never told nobody that Duffy was a foreman."

Support From Other Miners

Other ex-miners speak up for Duffy Raines. James E. Harris says, "At no time was Duffy classified as my boss." William McKnight declares, "I personally know that Mr. Raines was only a gang-pusher." Arthur Underwood says, "It was made plain that Duffy was only a leader of the men because he was the oldest man on the job."

G. T. Gibson of Whitesville, chief payroll clerk and office manager for Princess Dorothy from 1939 to 1953, supports the recollections of the union men that Mr. Raines didn't perform a foreman's duties. "Mr. Raines was carried on our payroll as a gang or tipple leader, with no authority to hire, fire or handle any grievances," Mr. Gibson remembers. And W. A. Miller of Pineville, who was the company's

Continued on Page 6

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NEW YORK TIMES DEC 26 1966

I.Q.'s of Underprivileged Infants Raised Dramatically by Tutors

By JOHN LEO

A three-year study has indicated that tutoring of infants of underprivileged families can raise their I.Q.'s dramatically by the time they reach the age of 3.

The study, conducted by the National Institute for Mental Health in cooperation with Catholic University, tested 64 fifteen-month-old boys in a Negro section of Washington.

Half the group was tutored an hour each weekday, the other half was not. Twenty-one months later the tutored group scored an average intelligence quotient of 106, compared with 89 for the untutored group. An I.Q. of 100 is average.

Since the children were too young for any formal schooling, the tutoring, conducted by woman college graduates, consisted of play activities designed to stimulate mental and verbal capacity.

"I think the study shows that we need to reach down into infancy if we want children to reach their intellectual potential," Dr. Earl S. Schaefer, said recently. He is a psychologist with the national institute, and conceived the project.

He said the study indicated that the ultimate intellectual level of any social group could be established at the age of 21 months. "Until now the assumption has been that the level is set by 36 months, but that now seems too high."

The study identified what it called "the twin syndromes of maternal neglect and maternal hostile uninvolvement," and found a correlation between these and the child's hostile behavior and lack of intellectual development.

The tutors functioned more as part-time mothers, reading to the children, talking and playing with them, and taking them on walks or short trips.

In a follow-up study the researchers are discovering that when the tutoring stops the child's I.Q. begins to decline, although his language skills do not, Dr. Schaefer said.

"Dr. Betty Caldwell is finding the same thing in a similar study at Syracuse Medical School," he said. "It means that tutoring has to be continuous as well as early."

In the study, eight tutors saw an average of four children each weekday in the Cardozo area of Washington, roughly from 12th Street to 14th Street between T and V Streets.

The hypothesis of the study was that children between the ages of 15 and 36 months were especially receptive to verbal stimulation because it is the period of rapid language learning.

Using census data the researchers selected children who met two of three criteria: family income under $5,000, mother's education less than 12 years and mother's occupation, if any, either unskilled or semi-skilled.

After six months of tutoring, tests of learning and language skills showed that tutored group had an average I.Q. score of 96, and the untutored a score of 90. The tutored group earned increasingly higher scores at 27 and 36 months, while the untutored group continued with low scores.

MEDIATION SERVICE
(continued)

Equality questioned

Second, said Mr. Simkin, the "myth about . . . the 'equal bargaining power' concept ought to be punctured." Power equality can't be adequately defined or measured, he noted, since the "will, strength, intelligence, and staying power" on both sides of the table depend on factors outside the domain of the bargaining that may change drastically and quickly. Unions are quoting this Simkin comment widely now, in view of widespread management demands for legislative changes to "equalize" bargaining powers.

Third, said Mr. Simkin, bargaining relationships, like a yo-yo, have long-term ups and downs; they aren't static—today's peace may mean slackened efforts and tomorrow's strife.

And fourth, bargaining isn't the same everywhere all the time. It is constantly changing—the "little contract books are getting fatter and fatter"—and vastly more complex. It varies from industry to industry and employer to employer. Differences "make it somewhat unrealistic to attempt to formulate any general rules about mandatory subjects for bargaining."

Generally, Mr. Simkin said, there's no "crisis" for collective bargaining now, if the word is to be broadly interpreted. There might be, however, in a single area.

NEW YORK TIMES DEC 25 1966

Projest Equality Striving to Get Jobs for Members of Minorities

By PETER MILLONES

A religious group, planning a meeting at a hotel near New York City, telephoned the offices of Project Equality recently to ask for a check on whether the hotel gave equal employment opportunities to minority groups.

The project staff began its check, as part of an effort slowly taking form to channel the spending by religious groups here only to companies and unions that make a proven effort to employ Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Project Equality, which is sponsored by 17 Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish groups here, was announced last July. It expects in the next few months to have virtually all of its initial paperwork completed.

The agency, whose modest offices are at 1501 Broadway, at 43d Street, is now supplying forms to the more than 4,000 units, such as schools and offices, affiliated with the original sponsors. The forms will be given to businesses with which these units deal.

The businesses are asked to pledge to provide equal employment opportunity and to allow Project Equality to investigate to make sure that the pledges are carried out. Many of the pledges are now being attached to checks paying bills.

Booklet Planned

Once the pledges are returned, or a business indicates it does not care to sign, the project will compile a booklet for the religious groups listing those businesses that agree to equal employment opportunity.

Although no one has an overall figure at this stage, millions of dollars in spending, including construction funds, could be affected.

Eugene P. Heller, the project director, said this week in an interview that "we are not merely playing a numbers game." He said the project was interested in minority employment at all job levels and not simply a fixed percentage of a payroll.

"We want to know what jobs minority members hold, and also how we can help to increase minority representation," Mr. Heller said.

He said that the sponsoring groups had selected coordinators to deal with his group and that they could, in turn pass on the project's findings to the various smaller units.

For example, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York has 1,300 units, each which does some purchasing and each of which will be to be informed of the project's aims.

Board Head Named

The National Council of Churches and the American Jewish Committee are among the other sponsoring groups. The Right Rev. Richard H. Martin, Episcopal Suffragan Bishop of Long Island, has been elected president of the board of directors of the project.

Mr. Heller pointed out that ultimately the religious groups would expect construction contractors to use integrated work forces wherever possible. Although the project may not be dealing with unions directly, it hopes to encourage contractors to think more seriously about the employment of minority groups.

The project will concentrate at the outset on general manufacturing and services, insurance, banking and real estate and construction.

PENSION FUND
(continued)

general "outside" foreman from 1936 to 1950, says Mr. Rains didn't clock miners' working time. "This was done by me," Mr. Miller swears in an affidavit.

Some other miners have lost out on pensions because they narrowly missed meeting certain eligibility requirements requirements that tend to shackle pension-seekers to mines organized by the United Mine Workers.

To be eligible for a pension under existing rules, a miner's last full year of employment must be in a union mine paying royalties to the pension fund. But last August the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia struck a blow against this regulation.

The court's ruling requires the trustees to prove why it was reasonable to deny pensions to two aged miners who quit the industry after working many years in union mines and then briefly for nonunion coal operators. One miner had put in 39 years altogether; he lost his pension because he worked the last two years in a nonunion mine.

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United Mine Workers —

Both the Big Board and the Amex have studied and restudied the possibility of supplying back-office services for their members, but they only added to the confusion of an already messy situation. Brokers have never been clear just how much the Big Board and Amex would be able to do for them, and how much they would be left to do themselves. That made some brokers reluctant to invest in the big, expensive systems they need.

The new Midwest system will at least provide medium-sized brokerage houses with the chance to see how a very sophisticated system works out. And they need not belong to the Midwest Exchange to try it.

Old hand. The Chicago exchange is no newcomer at doing back-office chores. Its service subsidiary now processes data for 87 securities dealers, and Rubin claims that his clients account for nearly 20% of the total volume of all trades on all exchanges. But Midwest's current work is limited to back-office accounting, not the complex tasks of switching messages, matching orders, and on-line data-processing that Signet 80 will offer. If the system works as planned, it will be as fast and accurate as those that have been installed at such firms as Hornblower & Weeks-Hemphill, Noyes, which return a completed confirmation from the trading floor to a branch office in seconds.

Rubin and Tobin say that the Midwest operation will be nonprofit, but that they will try to make enough money to continue development and to expand the number of services. "The demise of the trading floor is possible," says Tobin, "and this system puts the Midwest Exchange in a good position to meet any changes that come."

Signet 80 has not been cheap to set up. Rubin says that programming for the computer communications system has alone cost more than $1-million. A small Culver City (Calif.) company, Computer Communications, Inc., did much of the design work and will supply terminal and control equipment. The basic computers are IBM/360s.

Initially, customers will be able to choose from about 17 "modules" that provide communications, order switching and matching, and accounting services. Prices have not yet been set, says Rubin, but the basic charge for a terminal will be from $650 to $750 a month. Eventually, Rubin hopes to add an automated document control system to help solve "cage" problems in handling stock and bond certificates.

With that service added, he believes, the Midwest system will be able to realize the ultimate in back-office systems—the so called "locked-in trade"—where all paperwork and accounting are completed and checked the instant buys and sells are made. ■

UNIONS

Coal walks out before it bargains

Spreading wildcat strikes in West Virginia coalfields this week provided a preview of what could happen this summer when the United Mine Workers presses demands for "fat" wages and benefits in the bituminous industry. The union will ask for wage increases of at least 35% over three years. Basic steel and oil companies that own major mines will be strongly involved on management's side. This could harden the negotiations and bring a serious threat of strikes.

More than 50,000 miners walked out this week in West Virginia and other Appalachian coal states in what the union called a "spontaneous" strike to protest a court-ordered ouster of UMW President W. A. "Tony" Boyle as trustee of the UMW Welfare & Retirement Fund. The court ruled that the fund had been mismanaged because over a 21-year period, millions of dollars in reserves were kept in an interest-free account in the UMW-controlled National Bank of Washington. The court called this a breach of trust and ordered the union and bank to pay damages, to be set at a hearing next week. Boyle retorts that the interest-free deposits started far back in the John L. Lewis era. But there is more behind the wildcat strikes than support for Boyle on this issue. Mine owners, who went to court against the "illegal" stoppage, called it "a general strike," involving union politics and the bargaining ahead.

UPI

The UMW's Boyle: Government action and a split in his ranks imperil his power.

Union split. With contract bargaining ahead, the Boyle faction in the sharply divided UMW is pointing to the pro-Boyle demonstrations to indicate that the union is militantly behind him. An anti-Boyle bloc claims a majority of working miners, raising questions of the ability of the UMW leadership to negotiate a contract and get it ratified.

Led by Boyle, the UMW in 1968 settled with coal operators for raises totaling $7 a day over three years, which increased the miners minimum daily pay to $37. Boyle has pledged to boost daily pay to $50 in this year's negotiations, and the UMW's National Scale & Policy Committee recently set that as its wage demand.

> Contracts covering 90,000 miners can be terminated after Sept. 30 on 60 days' notice

The union also plans to go after an 80¢-a-ton royalty on all coal mined under UMW contracts, double the present 40¢ a ton. Its aims here are to shore up the Welfare & Retirement Fund and to make it possible to increase pensions and insurance welfare benefits.

Contracts covering 90,000 soft coal miners can be terminated after Sept. 30 on 60-day notice and the UMW is expected to serve this notice in early August. The negotiations will be crucial for Boyle. Unless he produces a settlement that is eminently satisfactory to the miners, he could be the target of open rebellion in the rank and file. Yet this year, a big settlement may be harder to win than ever before.

Operators' position. The Bituminous Coal Operators Assn., which bargains for the soft coal industry, has strengthened its negotiating team by two strategic moves. It has named R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of United States Steel Corp. and basic steel's top negotiator with the United Steelworkers, to the new post of chairman of the BCOA.

In addition, it has called in Joseph Moody as the association's president and day-to-day negotiator with the UMW. Moody built a reputation as a shrewd, tough negotiator for Southern coal mine operators in the 1960s. He succeeds George Judy, who has been widely criticized in the BCOA for the 1968 settlement with the Mine Workers, which many operators called "excessively expensive."

Larry and Moody are expected to take a hard position against the $50-a-day wage demand and against doubling the tonnage royalty. Their presence also could mean the end of the tradition set by John L. Lewis of private bargaining by a top negotiator for the industry and his UMW counterpart. ■

Dawson & Pugh — [(205) 323-5961]

ACLU

Shamblin — Strutting on own — no organization no "Salary"

Bill ~~Thimbleby~~ — (talked with Barney)

Harold Underwood
Bl, Coalminer } on Miller ticket

Nation of Ala. Univ of Ala, NSA
W. Va. Univ. — ARC — Working in Ala } Guerro —

Dist. Election is being stolen

(MR Drake's office)

Not UMW —
Paid volunteer

Miller has endorsed (Miller opposed)
Clements
Foster
Underwood

20-35%
Bl. miners

Bagby people
3 whites long time
really control locals

Barry Julius

Stripping (?)

18-20 Bl. reps could be represented from Sixth mining districts — Bessemer cut off area —

Ben Franklin Work Bureau NYT
Council Beach

from Ala case — Court order —

No Union funds

What Role of Legal Counsel?

What Role of Hugo → Farmer Strikers reporting —

Thurs & Fri (Pat and men) → Welfare & Atomic Fund Bd. ←

9T members on Lab. Dept List
4,300 have voted —

Susan Williams ~~Pl~~ Reese —

[Opponents Littlefield]

1) Legal action to Protect
Morris Dees → only interested

2) DOL — Administration
Harrison W
State

DOL
Superior
Sexton in charge
Joe Shannon Davis
526-3046
Rep. @ each polling pl.

3) Press —
None —

"Admits" Don't have adequate admis — Only local officials —
35-40% illiteracy factor

Violated Rule #5 — electioneering @ polling place —

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TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

EVC
White Collar Unions

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

January 27, 1967

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Your people responsible for the general subject of the organization of white-collar employees might be interested in an article about the study of TVA unions.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith
Director

Enclosure

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

Personnel Journal 46, No. 1, Jan. 1967

To what extent are the attitudes of non-managerial white-collar employees and management toward unions at a government-operated facility, like TVA, different from the attitudes of similar employees and management in private enterprise? Perhaps the crux of the difference lies in the posture of TVA toward collective bargaining.

White-Collar Employees and the Unions at TVA

ARTHUR THOMPSON
Asst. Professor of Economics
and
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Professor of Management
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
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It is no secret that white-collar employees have been less than eager to acquire union membership cards. This lack of eagerness has been characteristic of employees in most white-collar occupations and in both private and public employment. For example, federal employees, even though granted the formal right to form, join, and participate in unions (Executive Order 10988, January, 1962), have not yet swelled the membership rolls of government employee unions, despite informal predictions that such unions might well become "one of the best growth stocks in organized labor."[1]

Explanations for this general lack of white-collar enthusiasm usually center around the ideas that white-collar employees feel unions are beneath their dignity; they closely identify with management; they are afraid unions will hurt their opportunities for advancement; they are more satisfied than blue-collar workers with their jobs and their status; and they view union tactics (strikes, picketing, etc.) as crude and exploitative.

In striking contrast to this disinterest or hostility generally evinced by white-collar employees, a case study of white-collar employees at the Tennessee Valley Authority reveals strong and widespread support for unions and the concept of collective bargaining. The TVA study also furnishes empirical evidence that the degree of employee interest in unions varies significantly among employees according to age, length of service and education, although the key variable seems to be management's posture toward collective bargaining.

Collective Bargaining at TVA

The Tennessee Valley Authority is one of the few federal government agencies which maintains a collective bargaining relationship with white-collar employee organizations. Ever since its creation in 1933, TVA has staunchly subscribed to the principle of "democratic management."[2] TVA has implemented this principle by standing ready to bargain collectively in good faith with the representatives of the em-

[1]"Government Workers Getting Organized," *Business Week* (February 9, 1963), p. 72.

[2]For a more detailed discussion of TVA's philosophy of management, see Harry L. Case, "Cornerstones of Personnel Administration in TVA," *Personnel Administration*, Volume XI, No. 3 (January, 1949) pp. 10-12; or Harry L. Case, *Personnel Policy in a Public Agency: The TVA Experience*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955).

ployees. Through their unions, employees are given the opportunity to participate in decisions relating to personnel policies and procedures. TVA management then attempts to execute its function in matters affecting employees with the concurrence and positive cooperation of the unions.

As a corollary to its belief in "democratic management," both blue-collar and white-collar employees have been *encouraged* by TVA management to join and support employee organizations. An illustration of this encouragement is found in the Agreement between TVA and the employee organizations representing the white-collar TVA employees.

> "Membership on the part of employees in an employee union . . . and participation in the activities of the organization are recognized as improving relations between management and employees and promoting employee efficiency and understanding of TVA policy, thereby contributing to the accomplishment to TVA objectives. Therefore, such membership and such participation are among the positive factors of merit and efficiency to be considered in selecting employees for promotion, transfer, and retention."[3]

Consequently, both blue-collar and white-collar groups have formed employee organizations and negotiated written agreements with TVA.[4] These agreements between TVA and the employee organizations constitute one of the most outstanding and successful examples of collective bargaining in public employment.[5] The principle of exclusive majority representation is firmly recognized; procedures are established for the settlement of employee grievances with binding arbitration as the final step: and annual conferences and negotiations are designated as the means of determining rates of pay, hours of work, and other conditions of employment. In addition, TVA management and the employee organizations support a systematic program of "union-management cooperation," whereby joint efforts are made to increase efficiency, productivity, and teamwork.[6] With the exception of union security, the subject matter of collective bargaining at TVA is, perhaps, as broad as that which normally prevails in private industry. Such matters as classification of position, work schedules, salary schedules, promotion, tenure, filling of vacancies, demotion, transfer, suspension, reduction in employment, grievances, fringe benefits, and employee training are bargainable issues at TVA.

Methodology

Questionnaires were sent to a random sample of 1300 salaried, non-managerial, white-collar employees in TVA installations throughout the Tennessee Valley in order to ascertain their attitudes toward union representation and some of the factors underlying those attitudes. All of these employees are represented by employee organizations.[7] The types of white-collar positions covered by the survey included accountants, administrative personnel, clerks, secretaries, custodial and maintenance personnel, building guards, engineers, chemists, technicians, and inspectors.

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[3]Salary Policy Employee Panel and the Tennessee Valley Authority, *Articles of Agreement and Supplementary Agreements*, negotiated December 5, 1950, renewed and reaffirmed May 7, 1964, p. 35.

[4]"Blue-collar-employee organizations have had a formal agreement with TVA since 1940. A formal agreement covering "white-collar" employees was signed in 1950.

[5]For an analysis of the collective bargaining relationship between TVA and its white-collar employees, see Arthur A. Thompson, "Collective Bargaining in the Public Service—The TVA Experience and Its Implications for Other Government Agencies," *Labor Law Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (February, 1966) pp. 89-98.

[6]For an up-to-date survey of the "union-management cooperation" program at TVA, see John E. Massey, "Labor-Management Cooperation in TVA," *Public Personnel Review*, (July, 1965). pp. 130-4.

[7]The salaried, non-managerial employees at TVA are divided into five bargaining units. Each unit is represented by one of the following:

1. TVA Engineer's Association.
2. TVA Association of Professional Chemists and Chemical Engineers.
3. Public Safety Service Employees Union, AFL-CIO.
4. Office Employees International Union, AFL-CIO.
5. Building Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO.

While precise figures are not available, it is reliably estimated that 80-90% of the eligible employees are union members.

The questionnaire contained six items relating to the employees' attitudes toward employee organizations in general, and four items concerning the performance and effectiveness of the specific organizations which represent these employees. Each item had five possible responses. The category of responses to each item was constructed in the form of a continuum with one end of the continuum being "favorable" and the opposite end being "unfavorable." The "favorable" end of the continuum indicated attitudes or opinions judged to be most favorable to the union.

Mean scores for each of the ten items were calculated to determine the consensus among the respondents, and to provide a basis for comparing the responses to the ten items.[8] The mean scores were computed in such a manner that the *higher* the mean score the *more "favorable"* was the attitude toward, or evaluation of, the employee organizations.[9]

In order to examine the influence of the selected biographical variable, the respondents were classified according to age, length of service, sex, and educational attainment. Mean scores for each age group, sex, education level, and length of service classification were computed, as before, to serve as an index or measure of each group's attitude or evaluation with respect to each item. These mean scores were then tested for statistically significant differences.

Findings

Approximately 70 per cent, or 911 of the original sample of 1300, responded to the questionnaire survey. The 911 respondents constituted nearly 17 per cent of the salaried, non-managerial employees at TVA.

Attitudes of White-Collar TVA Employees Toward Employee Organizations

The responses of the 911 white-collar employees to the 10 attitude statements indicated strong support for employee organizations and collective bargaining at TVA, as indicated in Table 1.

For example, the response to item 5 which received the highest mean score among the 10 items, showed that more than 80 per cent of the respondents believed that employee representatives should be consulted before TVA management changed policies or procedures that directly affected employees. The response to item 7 revealed that less than 6 per cent believed TVA would be a better place to work if there were no employee organizations. The mean scores and percentage distributions for items 1, 6, and 10 further confirm, to only a slightly lesser degree, the findings of generally strong support for unions among white-collar employees. The responses to items 2, 4, and 8 reflected favorable employee opinions regarding the performance and contribution of the specific employee organizations at TVA.

On only two items were there even minor indications of somewhat unfavorable attitudes regarding employee support of unions and collective bargaining. The response to item 3 showed that barely one-fourth of the respondents believed that membership in an employee organization at TVA *increased* a person's professional status. Such a finding is not surprising and is a much discussed problem among those attempting to organize white-collar workers. Many white-collar employees are said to have a strong belief that union membership is, in fact, quite "unprofessional" and TVA employees are, apparently, no exception.

The second item which evoked a relatively less favorable response concerned the performance of the employee organizations. Slightly more than 10 per cent rated the quality of union representation as "poor", and 27.6 per cent gave their representatives a "fair" rating.

[8]The mean scores were computed according to the method of successive categories. For a detailed description of the method of successive categories, see J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1954), pp. 237-41.

[9]The mean scores in ascending order were —1.69, —0.73, 0.00, 0.98, and 2.31. The mean scores were assigned so that the lowest score was given to the most "unfavorable" response and the highest score given to the most "favorable" response.

TABLE 1

ATTITUDES OF WHITE-COLLAR TVA EMPLOYEES TOWARD EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS

No.	Attitude Statement*	Mean Score	Percentage Distribution of Responses (N=911) 1	2	3	4	5
1.	I believe that the membership of employees in employee organizations IMPROVES relations between TVA management and the employees.	.71	13.3	52.4	21.7	10.6	2.0
2.	The employee organizations at TVA obtain more benefits for the employees than would be obtained without such organizations	.92	19.8	54.4	18.3	5.6	1.9
3.	Membership in an employee organization at TVA increases a person's professional status.	-.07	3.2	23.2	32.6	33.6	7.5
4.	The employee organizations make TVA a more effective and more efficient government agency.	.58	9.9	49.8	25.4	12.1	2.9
5.	When the employees are directly affected, I believe that employee representatives should be consulted before TVA management changes its policies or procedures.	1.09	27.4	53.8	11.2	6.4	1.2
6.	Being a member of an employee organization results in a loss of individual prestige.	.76	2.6	7.2	15.8	64.7	9.7
7.	I think TVA would be a better place to work if there were no employee organizations.	.99	2.6	3.3	15.0	58.0	21.1
8.	The employee organizations at TVA accomplish very little that is worthwhile for their members.	.72	3.5	9.8	18.3	55.1	13.3
9.	How well does your employee organization represent you? (1) extremely well, (2) very well, (3) well, (4) fair, (5) rather poorly.	-.01	5.3	25.1	31.5	27.6	10.5
10.	If there were no employee organizations at TVA, the employees and management would get along: (1) much better, (2) slightly better, (3) about the same, (4) slightly worse, (5) much worse.	.90	2.3	3.0	31.4	37.8	25.6

*The responses to the first eight attitude statements were: (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) undecided, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

TABLE 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND THE ATTITUDES OF WHITE-COLLAR TVA EMPLOYEES TOWARD EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS

No.	Attitude Statement*	Mean Scores n=141 18-29 years	n=268 30-39* years	n=297 40-49 years	n=173 50-59 years	n=32 60+ years
1.	I believe that the membership of employees in employee organizations IMPROVES relations between TVA management and the employees.	.62	.61	.72	.79[ab]	1.33[abcd]
2.	The employee organizations at TVA obtain more benefits for the employees than would be obtained without such organizations.	.81	.75	.96[b]	1.09[ab]	1.43[abcd]
3.	Membership in an employee organization at TVA increases a person's professional status.	-.18	-.24	-.00[a]	.05[ab]	.56[abcd]
4.	The employee organizations make TVA a more effective and more efficient government agency.	.48	.45	.61[b]	.74[ab]	.97[abc]
5.	When the employees are directly affected, I believe that employee representatives should be consulted before TVA management changes its policies or procedures.	1.07	1.00	1.12	1.22[b]	1.16
6.	Being a member of an employee organization results in a loss of individual prestige.	.65	.67	.78	.89[ab]	1.12[abc]
7.	I think TVA would be a better place to work if there were no employee organizations.	.92	.87	1.06[b]	1.06[b]	1.19[b]
8.	The employee organizations at TVA accomplish very little that is worthwhile for their members.	.63	.59	.76[b]	.87[ab]	.95[b]
9.	How well does your employee organization represent you? (1) extremely well, (2) very well, (3) well, (4) fair, (5) rather poorly.	-.09	-.11	-.05	.17[abc]	.58[abcd]
10.	If there were no employee organizations at TVA, the employees and management would get along: (1) much better, (2) slightly better, (3) about the same, (4) slightly worse, (5) much worse.	.79	.79	.93[b]	1.14[abc]	1.09

*The responses to the first 8 statements were: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree.
[a]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the 18-29 age group.
[b]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the 30-39 age group.
[c]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the 40-49 age group.
[d]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the 50-59 age group.

However, these responses do not indicate disinterest in unions as much as they suggest dissatisfaction with the functioning of the unions involved. Even so, more than 60 per cent gave their union representatives a better than "fair" rating.

Age and White-Collar TVA Employee Attitudes Toward Unions

Although the data indicated generally favorable attitudes toward employee organizations among all respondents, the mean scores of the five age groups displayed a consistent tendency to rise as age increased, thereby indicating more favorable union attitudes among older employees (Table 2). On all ten items there were statistically significant differences among the mean scores of the five age groups. For eight of the ten items the mean scores of the respondents in both the 50-59 and the 60+ age brackets were significantly higher than the mean scores of at least one of the three younger age groups. Not only did the respondents' attitudes toward unions in general become more favorable as age increased (items 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10), but approval of the unions' performance and effectiveness also grew stronger with age (items 2, 4, 8, 9). These results thus clearly suggest that the older white-collar employees at TVA are more intense supporters of unions and collective bargaining than are the younger ones.

Length of Service and White-Collar TVA Employee Attitudes Toward Unions

As might be anticipated, the response pattern of the groups arranged according to length of service (Table 3) was similar to the pattern exhibited by the various age groups. Again, statistically significant differences in the mean scores were found for all ten items. In all instances, the mean scores exhibited a tendency to increase with length of service, although this tendency was not as strong as in the case of increasing age. Thus the data indicate that at TVA the attitudes of white-collar employees towards unions and union performance tend to

TABLE 3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF SERVICE AND ATTITUDES OF WHITE-COLAR TVA EMPLOYEES TOWARD UNIONS

No.	Attitude Statement*	Mean Scores 0-2 yrs. n = 69	2-5 yrs. n = 153	5-10 yrs. n = 140	10-20 yrs. n = 321	20+ yrs. n = 228
1.	I believe that the membership of employees in employee organizations IMPROVES relations between TVA management and the employees.	.56	.58	.72	.73	.81[ab]
2.	The employee organizations at TVA obtain more benefits for the employees than would be obtained without such organizations.	.70	.75	.94[ab]	.89	1.12[abcd]
3.	Membership in an employee organization at TVA increases a person's professional status	-.06	-.21	-.21	-.03[bc]	.04[bc]
4.	The employee organizations make TVA a more effective and more efficient government agency.	.45	.39	.57	.60[b]	.73[ab]
5.	When the employees are directly affected, I believe that employee representatives should be consulted before TVA management changes its policies or procedures.	.85	.96	1.20[ab]	1.14[ab]	1.12[a]
6.	Being a member of an employee organization results in a loss of individual prestige.	.63	.57	.78[b]	.83[b]	.81[b]
7.	I think TVA would be a better place to work if there were no employee organizations.	.86	.83	1.01	1.00	1.10[ab]
8.	The employee organizations at TVA accomplish very little that is worthwhile for their members.	.57	.54	.76[b]	.69	.89[abd]
9.	How well does your employee organization represent you? (1) extremely well, (2) very well, (3) well, (4) fair, (5) rather poorly	-.24	-.12	.02[a]	-.05	.17[abd]
10.	If there were no employee organizations at TVA, the employees and management would get along: (1) much better, (2) slightly better, (3) about the same, (4) slightly worse, (5) much worse.	.68	.74	.84	.94[ab]	1.05[ab]

*The responses to the first 8 statements were: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree
[a]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the group with 0-2 years of service.
[b]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the group with 2-5 years of service.
[c]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the group with 5-10 years of service.
[d]Mean score is significantly greater (at .05 level) than the mean score of the group with 10-20 years of service.

TABLE 4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX AND ATTITUDES OF WHITE-COLLAR TVA EMPLOYEES TOWARD UNIONS

No.	Attitude Statement*	Mean Score: Male (n=659)	Mean Score: Female (n=252)	Statistically Significant Difference Between Mean Score (at .05 level)
1.	I believe that the membership of employees in employee organizations IMPROVES relations between TVA management and the employees.	.71	.69	No
2.	The employee organizations at TVA obtain more benefits for the employees than would be obtained without such organization.	.90	.96	No
3.	Membership in an employee organization at TVA increases a person's professional status.	-.08	-.04	No
4.	The employee organizations make TVA a more effective and more efficient government agency.	.59	.56	No
5.	When the employees are directly affected, I believe that employee representatives should be consulted before TVA management changes its policies or procedures.	1.10	1.07	No
6.	Being a member of an employee organization results in a loss of individual prestige.	.75	.79	No
7.	I think TVA would be a better place to work if there were no employee organizations.	1.00	.96	No
8.	The employee organizations at TVA accomplish very little that is worthwhile for their members.	.69	.78	No
9.	How well does your employee organization represent you? (1) extremely well, (2) very well, (3) well, (4) fair, (5) rather poorly.	-.03	.04	No
10.	If there were no employee organizations at TVA, the employees and management would get along: (1) much better, (2) slightly better, (3) about the same, (4) slightly worse, (5) much worse.	.91	.86	No

*The responses to the first 8 statements were: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree.

TABLE 5

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND ATTITUDES OF WHITE-COLLAR TVA EMPLOYEES TOWARD UNIONS

No.	Attitude Statement*	Mean Scores by Education Level: E_1	E_2	E_3	E_4	E_5	E_6	E_7
1.	I believe that the membership of employees in employee organizations IMPROVES relations between TVA management and the employees.	.91	.90	.73	.78	.63[b]	.45[bcd]	.60
2.	The employee organizations at TVA obtain more benefits for the employees than would be obtained without such organizations	1.28	1.10	.99	.97	.83[abc]	.63[abcd]	.58[abcd]
3.	Membership in an employee organization at TVA increases a person's professional status.	.68	.32	.07[ab]	-.01[ab]	-.26[abcd]	.50[abcde]	.45[abcd]
4.	The employee organizations make TVA a more effective and more efficient government agency.	1.20	.78	.60[a]	.66[a]	.51[ad]	.14[abcde]	.39[a]
5.	When the employees are directly affected, I believe that employee representatives should be consulted before TVA management changes its policies or procedures.	1.23	1.45	1.10[bd]	1.26	.93[bcd]	.79[bcd]	.63[abcd]
6.	Being a member of an employee organization results in a loss of individual prestige.	.58	.83	.82	.91	.68[cd]	.31[bcde]	.41[bcd]
7.	I think TVA would be a better place to work if there were no employee organizations.	.92	1.16	1.01	1.11	.90[d]	.62[bcde]	.83
8.	The employee organizations at TVA accomplish very little that is worthwhile for their members.	.64	.79	.69	.82	.72	.35[bcde]	.63
9.	How well does your employee organization represent you? (1) extremely well, (2) very well, (3) well, (4) fair, (5) rather poorly.	.19	-.19	.04	.07	-.03	-.26[acd]	.41[acde]
10.	If there were no employee organizations at TVA, the employees and management would get along: (1) much better, (2) slightly better, (3) about the same, (4) slightly worse, (5) much worse	.68	1.11	.94	1.04	.80[bd]	.51[bcde]	.65[bd]

E_1 = 8th grade or less (n = 20)
E_2 = some high school (n = 46)
E_3 = high school graduate (n = 231)
E_4 = some college (N = 291)
E_5 = college graduate (n = 232)
E_6 = some graduate work (n = 67)
E_7 = advanced degree (n = 24)

* The responses to the first 8 statements were: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree.
[a] Mean score is significantly lower at .05 level than mean score of E_1 group.
[b] Mean score is significantly lower at .05 level than mean score of E_2 group.
[c] Mean score is significantly lower at .05 level than mean score of E_3 group.
[d] Mean score is significantly lower at .05 level than mean score of E_4 group.
[e] Mean score is significantly lower at .05 level than mean score of E_5 group.

grow more favorable as length of service increases.

Since length of service and age are closely correlated, it is not surprising to find that age and length of service have similar influences upon employee attitudes toward unions.[10] However, the typical union emphasis on seniority privileges should tend to promote favorable attitudes toward unions among employees with greater years of service, irrespective of the age factor.

Sex and White-Collar TVA Employee Attitudes Toward Unions

Tests revealed no significant differences between the responses of men and women on any of the ten items (Table 4). Although the female respondents indicated slightly more favorable responses on five items and the male respondents on the other five items, none of the differences in mean scores were statistically significant. Thus the data reveal no real differences in the attitudes of male and female white-collar employees toward employee organizations.

Education and White-Collar TVA Employee Attitudes Toward Unions

The mean scores of the respondents grouped according to education (as shown in Table 5) indicate that interest in, or support of, unions varies inversely with the level of education. Those employees with less education tended to look upon unions more favorably than did employees with more years of formal education. The tendency to view unions less positively was most evident among college graduates and among those employees who had done work beyond the B.S. degree.

[10]It is quite difficult to statistically isolate the separate effects of such characteristics as age and length of service due to the high variation within individuals. Although the behavior of various groups can often be reliably predicted, it is much more difficult to predict individual behavior because of the vast number and complexity of the variables involved.

Why the Strong Support for Unions at TVA?

The strong approval of unions and collective bargaining evidenced by TVA white-collar employees—a group which includes a sizable percentage of professional employees—presents a noteworthy contrast to the widespread resistance of other white-collar workers to labor organizations. It is obvious that at TVA the typical objections of white-collar employees to unions have been overcome. In the absence of evidence to suggest that these white-collar employees are inherently different from white-collar employees of other organizations, it is revealing to consider TVA management's rather unique philosophy regarding the role of unions.

TVA has consistently displayed an affirmative willingness to bargain with employee organizations over the terms and conditions of employment. Unions are viewed as essentially constructive forces rather than as necessary evils, and the determination of personnel policies and procedures is unhesitatingly shared with employees through their union representatives. Instead of the typical battle for employee loyalty, there exists a firm, unambiguous belief that cooperation between unions and management can enhance the achievement of TVA's objectives. TVA even encourages union activity to the extent of declaring that union membership and participation are "among the positive factors of merit and efficiency to be considered in selecting employees for promotion, transfer, and retention."

Within such an environment, professional development, close identification with management, and increased opportunities for promotion are all perfectly consistent with employee participation in union activities. And since strikes against federal agencies are prohibited, there is little likelihood that union membership will involve the overt exercises of force so distasteful to many white-collar workers. Thus, it is not surprising to find employees supporting an organization (union) which clearly has the power to exercise control over the work envi-

ronment in a manner that is favorable to them.

Nevertheless, certain personal attributes, particularly age and education, seem to influence significantly the degree of employee support of unions. At TVA the older, more senior employees are typically stronger supporters of unions than are the younger, less experienced employees. And the educational attainments of the white-collar TVA employees seem inversely related to acceptance of employee organizations. If these findings are also characteristic of other white-collar government employees, they spell trouble for organizers of government employees, given the rising educational level among white-collar employees and the declining average age of labor force participants resulting from the influx of young workers and earlier retirement.

Transferability of the TVA Experience

Without question, the TVA experience with white-collar unions is characterized by somewhat unique circumstances. Still, the findings are instructive on the following points:

First, it seems fair to conclude that the environment for collective bargaining created by managerial attitudes has a much greater impact than the influence of employee attributes, particularly since the attitudes toward unions and union performance were relatively favorable even among the younger, less experienced, and more educated employees.

Second, white-collar resistance to unionism appears to diminish significantly in an environment where participation in unions is consistent with the achievement of white-collar employee objectives. The propensity to join and participate in unions probably increases as employees become aware of the union's ability to control the work environment in ways which are favorable to them.

Third, managerial attitudes toward employee organizations may prove to be the most important factor influencing the success of collective bargaining in the public service. There can be little doubt that the attitudes of white-collar TVA employees toward unions and the obvious success of collective bargaining have mainly been the product of TVA management's affirmative willingness to share its decision-making powers with unions in matters affecting the employees.

About the Authors

Leonard W. Ferguson, Professor of Psychology at Ohio University, received his B.A., M.B.A and Ph.D. degrees from Stanford University. He is a diplomate in Industrial Psychology. A member of the American Psychological Association, he has served as president of its division of industrial and business psychology. Prior to his present association, Dr. Ferguson served as program director in the Research Division of the Life Insurance Agency Management Association and as Editor of The Journal Press. He also taught psychology at the University of Connecticut and was affiliated with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and Aetna Life Insurance Company. He is the author of many published articles in business and professional journals and of two books.

John W. Lawrie is currently Assistant Professor of Psychology and Consultant to the Wabash Institute for Personnel Development, Wabash College. He teaches courses in Social Psychology, Industrial Psychology, and Perception and Personality. Dr. Lawrie is also Consulting Psychologist on the Staff of the Division of Mental Health of the Menninger Foundation in Topeka, Kansas. A graduate of Beloit College, he took the M.B.A. from the University of Michigan and the Ph.D. from Wayne State University. He previously was employed as Training Director and Assistant to the Personnel Director by the Manufacturers National Bank of Detroit, and as a Senior Staff Specialist at General Motors Institute in Flint, Michigan.

(*Continued on page* 49)

managers and union negotiations: "They are never satisfied."

What can be done to tap more of man's inherent storehouse of emergent motives? Here again, practical advice is hard to come by. Trying to make operating a ten-key adding machine a job which operates in the service of social self-esteem and self-actualization motives is the intellectual analog to "pounding sand down a rat hole." Short of entirely revamping organizational philosophies and physical facilities (an alternative which is clearly financially prohibitive, even if it were intellectually possible) apparently not much can be done. Furthermore, the problem is likely to become exacerbated as more people get more education and their aspiration levels continue to rise as a consequence. (There is some evidence, for example, from a study we're now completing that this is one reason why bright students may shy away from business careers.)

Summary

People need organizations and organizations need people. This is a fact of our social system. Yet we find that the mutual facilitation of the satisfaction of these needs has been hindered by incomplete or simplified notions of human motivation on the one hand, and organizational inertia on the other. This is a problem with a long history and as the future unfolds we can expect it to become ever more pressing. The "bargain" whereby an individual will sacrifice personal growth on the job for physical and psychological security will become less and less of a bargain as people become more educated and more strongly motivated toward fulfilling their potentialities. It is not likely that human nature will change; the question is, will organizations?

About the Authors

(*Continued from page* 21)

Peter B. Marshall received his B.A. at Middlebury College (Vt.) and joined the Norton Company as a Personnel Assistant following studies at Harvard Business School and service with the U. S. Army in the Counter-Intelligence Corps. He has served as Supervisor of Sales training, Assistant Director of Personnel and Assistant Office Manager. Mr. Marshall is active in many community organizations and is a member of the Personnel Directors Association and the American Management Association.

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G. Harris Melvin is presently District Manager, Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Company in New Orleans. He was formerly employed by Southern Bell in Florida where he served in various staff assignments. Prior to this he was State Training Supervisor in Louisiana for Southern Bell, in charge of Management Development training for 1350 management personnel. Mr. Melvin has worked extensively with sensitivity training, spending over one-half of his time leading conferences of managements people; the balance in supervising employment testing and evaluation. He attended University College at Tulane University and the University of Oklahoma.

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(*Continued on page* 56)

EUC Public Employee Unions (White Collar)

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMISSION ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT POLICY FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

MARCH, 1967

Whites

THE TROUBLED AMERICAN

A Special Report on the White Majority

All through the skittish 1960s, America has been almost obsessed with its alienated minorities—the incendiary black militant and the welfare mother, the hedonistic hippie and the campus revolutionary. But now the pendulum of public attention is in the midst of one of those great swings that profoundly change the way the nation thinks about itself. Suddenly, the focus is on the citizen who outnumbers, outvotes and could, if he chose to, outgun the fringe rebel. After years of feeling himself a besieged minority, the man in the middle—representing America's vast white middle-class majority—is giving vent to his frustration, his disillusionment—and his anger.

"You better watch out," barks Eric Hoffer, San Francisco's bare-knuckle philosopher. "The common man is standing up and someday he's going to elect a policeman President of the United States."

How fed up is the little guy, the average white citizen who has been dubbed "the Middle American"? Is the country sliding inexorably toward an apocalyptic spasm—perhaps racial or class warfare or a turn to a grass-roots dictator who would promise to restore domestic tranquillity by suppressing all dissent and unrest? To get a definitive reading on the mood of the American majority, NEWSWEEK commissioned The Gallup Organization to survey the white population with special attention to the middle-income group—the blue- and white-collar families who make up three-fifths of U.S. whites.

The survey, bolstered by reports from NEWSWEEK correspondents around the country, suggests that the average American is more deeply troubled about his country's future than at any time since the Great Depression. The surface concerns are easy to catalogue: a futile war abroad and a malignant racial atmosphere at home, unnerving inflation and scarifying crime rates, the implacable hostility of much of the young. But the Middle American malaise cuts much deeper—right to those fundamental questions of the sanctity of work and the stability of the family, of whether a rewarding middle-class life is still possible in modern America.

America has always been the most middle-class of nations, the most generous and the most optimistic. But the pressures of the times have produced confused and contradictory impulses among the people Richard Nixon likes to call "the forgotten Americans." Himself a prototypical expression of the middle-class majority ("These are my people," he says. "We speak the same language"), the President presides over a nation nervously edging rightward in a desperate try to catch its balance after years of upheaval.

The reassertion of traditional values has festooned millions of automobile windows with American-flag decals, generated nationwide crusades to restore prayers to the schoolroom, to ban sex education, to curb pornography. The uneasy new mood has also spawned a coast-to-coast surge to law-and-order politicians—one of them a roly-poly Malaprop named Mario Procaccino, who may oust America's most outspokenly progressive mayor, John V. Lindsay, in New York City, once the Athens of American liberalism.

'You better watch out—the common man is standing up'

For the Negro, the turn in the tide can have the most momentous consequences. More and more American institutions are opening their doors to Negroes—mostly as a result of the social momentum generated in the Kennedy-Johnson years. Still, with the Nixon Administration setting the tone, the country seems to be retreating from active concern with its black minority—as the nation did nearly a century ago with the demise of Reconstruction. Self-reliant or self-delusive, the trend to separatism among younger blacks only intensifies the withdrawal. More ominous, even well-educated liberal whites have begun once more to speak openly of genetic differences between the races, an intellectual vogue before the turn of the century. "One has to consider the evidence that the Negro may be inherently inferior to the white and incapable of competing with him," says an MIT professor. "Look at the ones who have succeeded—they're almost all light-colored."

Such talk is only the tip of the iceberg. All around the country—especially among blue-collar workers—whites feel increasingly free to voice their prejudices and their hostility. "Everybody wants a gun," reports a community worker in a Slavic neighborhood in Milwaukee. "They think they've heard from black power, wait till they hear from white power—the little slob, GI Joe, the guy who breaks his ass and makes this country go. Boy, he's getting sick and tired of all this mess. One day he'll get fed up and when he does, look out!" A sign of the times: near-violent demonstrations by white construction workers en-

Color photo by Burk Uzzle

Tribune 11/13/65

Metal Workers Union: A Race Breakthrough

11/13/65 - TRIBUNE

By Sue Reinert
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Nine Negroes and two Puerto Ricans scored high enough in an aptitude test to be admitted to a 30-man apprentice class of Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers, it was announced yesterday.

The achievement was described by civil rihgts leader Bayard Rustin as "perhaps the most tremendous breakthrough" so far in the effort to get minority group youths into building trades unions. And Dr. Kenneth Clark, the Negro psychologist who criticized the Local 28 test last spring when it resulted in the admission of only one Negro, has this comment: "Hooray!"

Mr. Rustin said the event was an announcement to building trades unions that "minority group members are prepared" to be admitted, and it would also give "heart and inspiration" to Negro youths who previously had little hope of passing such tests.

As for the union, Thomas Mulhearn, secretary-treasury, said: "As long as the boys made it according to the rules, more power to them."

Local 28 has agreed to begin a 30-man apprentice class shortly after Nov. 15, when it must name the members of the class. However, the union may be ordered by the Appellate Division of State Supreme Court to enlarge its class to 65 members. Fourteen Negroes and Puerto Ricans scored among the top 65 marks on the test, which was given Oct. 24.

The successful applicants came to a press conference yeterday after being interviwed by officials of the union. In deciding whom to admit, the union must grade each applicant, with a weight of 500 points given for the four-hour written test, and 150 points for the interview.

The press conference, held at the offices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 217 W. 125th St., was sponsored by the Workers Defense League, which administered a three-week tutoring program for minority-group applicants.

NONE LAST TIME

Last spring, the league attempted a similar tutoring plan, although it was more hastily planned. The result: no Negro applicant scored in the top 65. However, because some white youths dropped out, one Negro, Scott Green, an Air Force veteran, was admitted to the 65-man apprenticeship class. Previously there had been no Negro members for at least 30 years.

The est was given as the result of a historic court ruling in 1964, striking down

ELEVEN PASS APTITUDE TEST

Local 28's father-son admission policy as discriminatory and ordering "objective" tests for apprentices. The examination tested aaptitude in learning, in mechanical rea-e soning, in visualising three-dimensional objects, and in mathematics. It was compiled and administered by the New York University Testing and Advisement Center.

Dr. Clark's criticism was that such an examination did not test for qualities required in sheet metal work, and, furthermore, was the type of test that disadvantaged Negroes scored worst on.

Mr. Rustin said yesterday that while the league still agreed with Dr. Clark's assessment, "this achievement shows that if they can get help and proper tutoring, Negroes and Puerto Ricans can compete with the majority of society.'

Mr. Rustin also noted that the Negro and Puerto Rican applicants knew they would be "rewarded with real work" if they succeeded. In this situation, "the impossible can be accomplished," he said.

Actually, the minority group applicants did much better than the white applicants in proportion to their number. The league sent 25 applicants, of whom 14 placed among the top 65, or a successful percentage of more than half. There were 135 white applicants, of whom 51 placed among the top 65, or 38 per cent of the white applicants.

The scores of the 14 Negroes and Puerto Ricans ranged from 440, out of a perfect 500, to 262. The top scorer was Bennie Newton, 20, a graduate of Haaren High School. Mr. Newton said he had studied electronic technology at New York City Community College for a while, but had to drop out because of finances. After 6 months in the Army, he worked as a stock clerk.

4-YEAR PROGRAM

One applicant, Herbert Young, 21, said he would have t otake an initial cut in salary to become an apprentice. He has been working at United Parcel for $3.25 an hour. Sheet metal apprentices start at $2.10 an hour. After the four-year apprenticeship program, journeymen make more than $6 a hour.

Asked why he was willing to take the cut, Mr. Young said with surprise: "Why, I've always planned to be a sheet metal worker. I went to school for that."

Twelve of the 14 successfully Negroes and Puerto Ricans were graduated from New York City high schools. Of the twelve, seven had academic diplomas, two general, and three vocational. All three vocational school graduates went to Aviation Trades High School.

All but two of the 14 attended the tutoring sessions run by Dennis Derryck, 25, a high school math teacher who is writing his doctoral thesis in educational administration at Fordham University. Mr. Derryck, an easy-going but persistent instructor, praised his students for "working so hard." In turn, most of them thought he was the best teacher in their educational careers.

Ray Murphy, director of the WDL apprenticeship program, said the league was thinking of training applicants for the painters union, and already had 18 applicants who are waiting for a test to be administered by Local 2 of the plumbers.

The league has also filed a $151,000 proposal with the city's Anti-Poverty Board to extend its turtoring program and to initiate research.

UNION ACCEPTING NEGROES FOR JOBS

Construction Breakthrough Provided by New Course

NYT - 11/13/65

N.Y Times
11/13/65

By NATALIE JAFFE

The door to membership in the city's construction unions was opened a little wider yesterday for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The Workers Defense League announced that 14 young Negro and Puerto Rican men were among 65 applicants who passed an apprenticeship test given last month by Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association. Of the 330 young men who took the union's first test last spring, not one of the 30 Negro applicants passed.

For the second test, the league organized an intensive, four-week tutoring program. Fourteen of the 25 students passed, 11 of them scoring among the top 23 applicants.

The first test was given last spring after the State Commission on Human Rights and the State Supreme Court ordered the union to abandon its father-son admission practice which, the court said, "automatically excluded" Negroes.

Although no nonwhite men scored high enough then to qualify for one of the 65 openings in the apprenticeship program, the withdrawal of three white applicants left room for the admission of 21-year-old Scott Green. He became the first Negro among the 78-year-old union's 3,300 members.

Further Advances Seen

In announcing the results of last month's test yesterday in the room where the boys studied four nights a week for a month, Bayard Rustin, founder of the league's apprenticeship program, said:

"This is the most tremendous breakthrough in the craft trades we have had. It will lead the way for other unions, it will give heart and inspiration to other boys, and it proves conclusively that if these young men get the help they need, they can meet the requirements of the majority, society."

The sheet metal workers union and the plumbers union have been two of the major targets of civil rights groups who have been battling alleged discriminatory admission practices in the unions since 1962. Ernest Green, assistant director of the league's apprenticeship program, said the next target would be the plumbers' union.

"Since the state ruled against discriminatory practices in unions two years ago," he said, "the plumbers have not taken on any apprentices. We have 16 applications with them now, and as soon as they form a new class, we're ready to go."

Although the program's directors were jubilant yesterday, the future is not yet secure even in the sheet metal workers union. Union officials have yet to judge the results of physical exams and a personal interview given yesterday to the high-scoring applicants.

More important, the original court order for examinations did not require that they be conducted regularly. Mrs. Shirley A. Siegel, an assistant attorney general in charge of the state Civil Rights Bureau, suggested that further court action might be required.

The question of further exams, and the number of apprentices to be admitted, she said, is now before the Appellate Division. The union has agreed to accept 30 apprentices, which would include 11 from the Workers Defense League program, until the court decides whether or not the original order, stipulating 65, shall be followed.

Just how eager the young men are to enter the apprenticeship program at $2.10 an hour, was indicated yesterday by 21-year-old Herbert Young who will be giving up a $3.25 an hour job with United Parcel if he is accepted by the union.

"Money's not everything," he said yesterday in the auditorium of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at 217 West 125th Street. "There's always the future."

Fix leaking faucets. Officials say one leaking faucet can waste 15,000 to 100,000 gallons in a year.

Decimals

Sheet 1.

In each of the following problems choose the decimal fraction that is largest in value.

1. (a) .1 (b) .01 (c) .001
2. (a) .5 (b) .005 (c) .05
3. (a) .1 (b) .11 (c) .110
4. (a) .5 (b) .55 (c) 5.5
5. (a) .35 (b) 3.5 (c) .005

Find the sum of the following.

6. 3.1, 2.35, 4.006, .754
7. 4.82, .1, .665, 3.2074
8. 5.6, 4.832, .01, .6274
9. 232.5, 4.6, 756, 25
10. 8.321, 750, 6.801, 91.2

Find the product of each of the following.

11. .6 × 3.2
12. 4.8 × 2.7
13. .01 × .001
14. .005 × 2.1
15. 1.001 × .01

How many decimal places must be taken care of in each of the above problems 11 through 15.

Find the quotient of the following:

16. .1 ÷ .001
17. 16 ÷ .003
18. 5 ÷ .5
19. .5 ÷ 5
20. 1.6 ÷ 4
21. .016 ÷ .4

Round off each of the following to the nearest tenth, hundredths and then thousandths:

22. .167
23. 2.438
24. 17.406
25. .665
26. 18.556
27. 18.394
28. 24.289
29. 284.399

Decimal (cont) Sheet 1.

Find the difference between

30. 4.32 − 1.62 31. 31.56 − .5 32. 8.32 − .75

33. 19.8 − 2.43 34. 18.2 − 17.34 35. 21.66 − .098

Find the sum of

36. −8.75, 13.05, 7.95 and 11.22

37. −3.24, 14.6, −8.92 and 16.01

38. 4.3, 8.925, 7.82 and −11.1

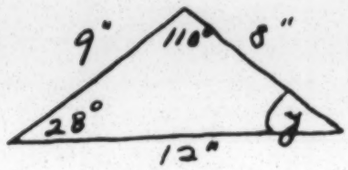
39. 81.001, −49.2, −4.92 and .01

4.32
1.62
2.70

Geometry Sheet 2.

Remember triangles are classified 1. according to the angles 2. according to the sides. In each of the following classify the triangle first by the angles, then by the sides.

(1)

(2)


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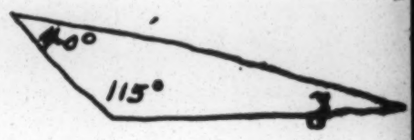

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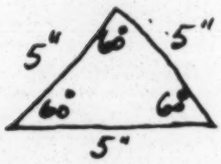

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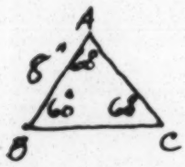

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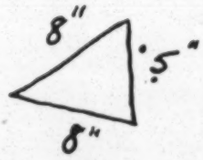


(7)

(8)

(9)

How many degrees do each of the following ∡s contain

(10) ∡ x in problem 1
(11) ∡ y in problem 2
(12) ∡ y in " 3
(14) ∡ y in " 7
(15) ∡ x in " 9.

Find the perimeter of each of the following figures

(16) a Δ each of whose sides is 6"
(17) a Δ with sides 4", 8", 12".
(18) a rectangle with ~~length~~ $l = 4'$ and $w = 2'$
(19) " " " $l = 2\frac{1}{2}'$ and $w = 3''$
(20) " pentagon each of whose sides is $4\frac{1}{2}'$
~~trapezoid~~ square with $s = 2'$.

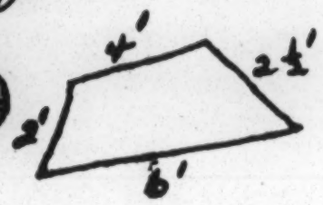
The name given to each of the figures

(b) eight sides (c) nine sides

23. A hexagon has how

Find the perimeter of each of the following figures.

(24)



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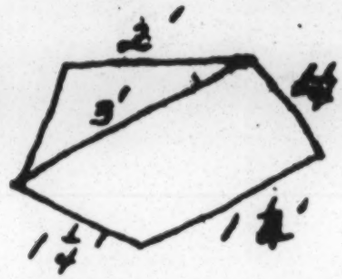

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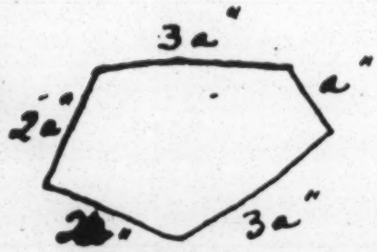


(27) What does the perimeter measure.

Find the circumference of the following circles:

(28) r = 7"

(29) r = 3½"

(30) r = 14'

(31) r = 3⅓'

(32) r = 1⅚'

(33) r = 21"

(34) d = 14'

(35) d = 7'

(36) d = 3½'

(37) d = 9½'

Geometry Sheet 3.

Find the areas of the the following Δ's.

(1) $b = 12'$ $h = 6'$ (2) $b = 14'$ $h = 4'$

(3) $b = 7\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 3\frac{1}{2}'$ (4) $b = 3\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 4\frac{1}{8}$ ft.

(5) $b = 4\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 18''$ (6) $b = 5\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 6'$

* Find the area of trapezoid:

(7) $b = 4'$ $B = 8'$ $h = 2'$ (8) $b = 3'$ $B = 4'$ $h = 5'$

(9) $b = 3\frac{1}{2}''$ $B = 7\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 2''$ (10) $B = 7\frac{1}{4}'$ $b = 2\frac{1}{4}'$ $h = 5'$

Find the area of a parallelogram

(11) $B = 4'$ $h = 3'$ (12) $B = 6\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 3\frac{1}{2}'$ (13) $B = 8\frac{1}{2}''$ $h = 3\frac{1}{2}'$

(14) $B = 4\frac{1}{2}'$ $h = 2\frac{1}{2}'$

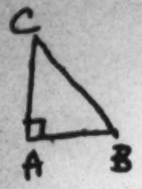
~~Area~~ Find the area of the following circles:

(15) $r = 7'$ (16) $r = 14'$ (17) $r = 3\frac{1}{2}'$ (18) $d = 3'$

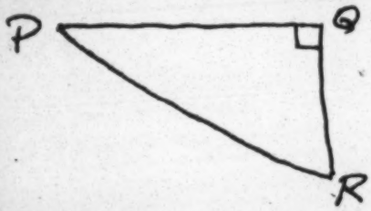
(19) $d = 16'$ $d = 14'$

Sheet 4. Trig.

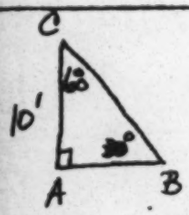
Remember: $\sin A = \frac{\text{opposite}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$ $\cos A = \frac{\text{adjacent}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$ $\tan A = \frac{\text{opp}}{\text{adj}}$.



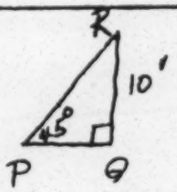
Facts to remember.
① ∡A is the right ∡ ② CB is opposite ∡C, therefore it is the hypotenuse. ③ ∡B is opposite side CA. Can you tell why? ④ ∡C is opposite side AB. ⑤ AB is adjacent to ∡B. ⑥ CA is adjacent to ∡C.



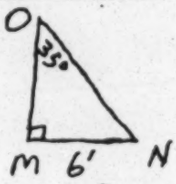
Name the hypotenuse
Name the side opposite ∡P, ∡R
Name the side adjacent ∡P, ∡R.



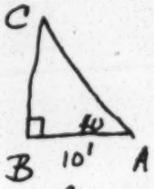
① Find CB



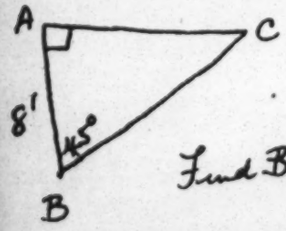
② Find PR



③ Find ON



Find BA



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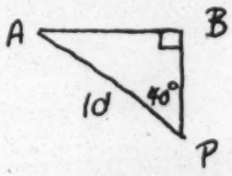
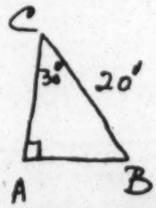


Find BP



Find AC.

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① A ladder 32 ft. long leans against a building and makes an angle of 68° with the ground. Find, correct to the nearest ft., how high up the building the ladder reaches.

② A 20 ft. ladder leans against a building and makes an angle of 65° with the ground. Find, correct to the nearest ft., the distance from the foot of the ladder to the foot of the building.

③ The distance from the ft of a hill to its top measured along a straight road is 1250 ft. The road rises at an angle of 8° 9' with the ground. Find the ht. of the hill to the nearest ft.

④ An approach to the of an overpass above a highway is 725 ft. long. The approach rises 6° angle. How high above the ground is the overpass?

(5)

*(1) Round off to the nearest hundreds $357 — 400

*(2) Round off to the nearest tenth 242.54 — 242.5

*(3) Find the product of .005 × 1.001 — .005005

*(4) Find the sum of 1.62, −3.542, −4.63, 14.99 — 8.438

*(6) What is the quotient of .0021 ÷ .07 — .03

*(6) Find the sum of $32, $.70, $1.42, $3.50, 7¢ — 37.69

Solving equations - Can be found in Algebra Review Book on pages 50 and 51.

(1) $3x = 15$ (2) $10x + 5 = 15$ (3) $.04x = 16$

(4) $3\frac{1}{2}x = 6$ (5) $\frac{2}{3}x = 10$ (6) $\frac{3}{5}x = 24$

*(7) $\frac{n}{8} = 16$ (8) $\frac{p}{5} = 24$ (9) $\frac{r}{6} = 30$

450 + 450 · $\frac{1}{4}$ · $\frac{2}{3}$

(10) $\frac{30}{r} = 5$ (11) $\frac{25}{5} = x$

+ 450
75
525

---

*(12) If $A = p + prt$. Find A when p = $500 r = 8% t = 6 months

(13) If $A = p + prt$. Find A when p = $50 r = 10% t = 3 months

(14) If $A = p + prt$. Find A when p = $450 r = 25% t = 8 months

(15) If $A = p + prt$. Find A when p = $250 r = 3[redacted]% t = 9 months

(16) If $A = p + prt$ Find A when p = $900 r = 5½% t = 3 years

---

Write out what 3c means eg 2c = c + c

example. 3c = c + c + c , 4c = c + c + c + c

what does 8c = c + c + c + c + c + c + c + c.

Write what 3p means? 3p = p + p + p

3^2 means c + c + c = 3^c

$2^2 = 2 \cdot 2$ $2^3 = 2 \cdot 2 \cdot 2$ $2^4 = 2 \cdot 2 \cdot 2 \cdot 2$.

$3^2 = 3 \cdot 3$ $4^2 = 4 \cdot 4$ $5^3 = 5 \cdot 5 \cdot 5$

$\left(\frac{2}{3}\right)^2 = \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{2}{3} = \frac{?8}{?27}$ $\left(\frac{1}{2}\right)^3 = \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} = 8$ ans.

Find out what the value of each of the following is?

(1) $\left(\frac{1}{4}\right)^3$ $\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4} = 64$

(2) 8^2 $8 \cdot 8 = 64$

(3) $\left(\frac{4}{5}\right)^3$ $\frac{4}{5} \cdot \frac{4}{5} \cdot \frac{4}{5} = \frac{64}{125}$

(4) $\left(\frac{5}{2}\right)^4$ $\frac{5}{2} \cdot \frac{5}{2} \cdot \frac{5}{2} \cdot \frac{5}{2} = \frac{625}{16}$

(5) $\left(\frac{9}{10}\right)^2$ $\frac{9}{10} \cdot \frac{9}{10} = \frac{81}{100}$

(6) $\left(\frac{1}{2}\right)^4$ $\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} = 16$

product of 62.4 and .34 is (6)

The sum of \$7.59, \$55.60, \$63.58 and \$347.85 is

What is the average of 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, and 42?

(4). What is the value of n, if $\frac{n}{8} = 16$

(5). What is the sum of 3 hr. 20 min, 4 hr. 15 min, 2 hr. 50 min, 1 hr. 5 min and 5 hr. 10 min

6. The quotient of any number ~~two~~ other than zero divided by itself is.

7. In the number 4785.019 what does the figure 4 represent

(8). The quotient of 3 divided by $\frac{1}{4}$ is.

(9). The plane figure of five sides is called.

(10). The quotient of 0.1 divided by 0.001 is

(11). Triangle ABC has sides a = 12", b = 14", and c = 12". ABC is an example of what type of a triangle.

(12). The value of $(\frac{1}{2})^3$ is equal to.

13. What is the perimeter of parallelogram ABCD if AD = 9" and CD = 4"

14. The expression 3C is equal to.

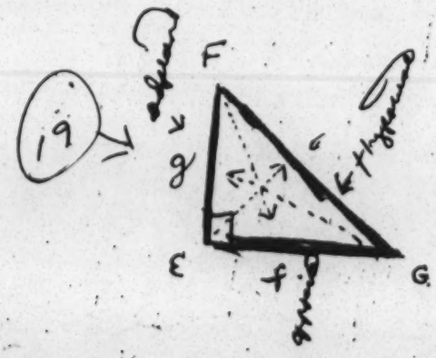
(15). The sum of −8.78, 13.05, 7.95 and −11.22 is

(16). If A = p + prt, what is the value of A when p = \$500, r = 8% and t = 6 months.

17. The product of $\frac{23}{24}$ and $\frac{8}{9}$ is

18. What is the area of a circle with a diameter of 12 inches ($\pi = 3.14$)?

19. In the right Δ EFG, of which FG is the hypotenuse, the fraction f/g is designated as —? you must draw the right Δ for the problem to make sense.



$3^C = 3 \cdot 3 \cdot 3 =$

$\frac{E}{C} = E$

$3C = 3 + 3 + 3 =$

$\frac{23}{54} \times \frac{8}{9} =$

$\frac{23}{24} \times \frac{8}{9} = \frac{23}{27}$

A. 1. The difference between $\frac{7}{8}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ is
2. The difference between $\frac{4}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ is
3. The difference between $\frac{7}{9}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ is.

B. 1. What fractional part of 15 is 12.
2. What fractional part of 6 is 2.
3. What fractional part of 8 is 3.
4. What fractional part of 18 is 6
5. What fractional part of 10 is 12.

} Change each of the fractions to a percent

C. 1. The square root of $4a^2$ is ___ 2. of $9b^2$ is ___
3. of $16c^4$ is ___ 4. of $25a^2$ is ___

D. What is the value of x, if $\frac{4}{x} = \frac{x}{16}$ (2) if $\frac{3}{x} = \frac{x}{3}$
3 if $\frac{x}{5} = \frac{5}{x}$

E. What is the value of (1) $x^5 \div x^3$ (2) $x^6 \div x^2$ (3) $x^7 \div x$
(4) $x^9 \div x^3$

F. Express each of the following as a percentage
(1) $\frac{1}{9}$ (2) $\frac{2}{5}$ (3) $\frac{4}{9}$ (4) $\frac{1}{3}$ (5) $\frac{6}{5}$

G. What percent of 200 is 12. (2) What percent of 80 is 8
(3) What percent of 18 is 9.

Here are some examples of arithmetic series. Please Note the pattern. Make up some examples of your own
(1) 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17 (2) 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, (3) 3, 7, 11, 15, 19
(4) 17, 21, 25, 29, 33, 37.

Here are some examples of geometric series. Make up some of your own
(1) 1, 3, 9 27, 81, 243 (2) 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32

H. (1) $xz = y$ Solve for x, solve for z
(2) $pq = r$ " " p " " r

I (1) Which of the following is nearest in value to 79
(1) $80\frac{2}{3}$ (2) 77.400 (3) 80.66.0 (4) $77\frac{1}{3}$
1.666.

SHEET 8

City	Extreme Temperatures in Degrees. High	Low	Annual Precipitation in Inches.
Tampa	95	27	47.20
Chicago	104	-15	37.72
Nashville	107	-13	45.03
Houston	105	10	45.37
Eastchester	85	13	45.30
Yonkers	100	16	38.40
Albany	96	-23	39.2

1. Which station has the greatest temperature range?
2. What station has the smallest normal annual precipitation?
3. The average of the low temperatures for the 7 stations is?
4. If Oliva has 185 hits out of 300 at bat, what percentage is he hitting. If Wills has 175 hits out of 290 what percentage is he hitting. Who has the higher average.
5. A round-trip plane fare ~~cost~~ is $172.30 plus tax. If the tax is 10%. What is the total cost.
6. A scatter rug, on sale for 60% of its original price, was sold for $15. Find the original price.
7. A dress marked down 25% from its original price has been reduced $9.00. What was the original price.
8. The length of a rectangle is 6' and its width is 4'. (a) What is the ratio of the length to the width (b) ratio of the width to the length. (a) $\frac{6}{4} = \frac{3}{2} = 3:2$ (b) $\frac{4}{6} = \frac{2}{3} = 2:3$
9. What is the ratio of the circumference of a circle inscribed in a square to the perimeter of the square.

(9) Sheet

1. If you were asked to construct a graph which cannot be more than 5 inches wide, and on which the values to be plotted range from zero to 4500, which of these scales would you choose: (1) 1" = 500 (2) $\frac{1}{2}$" = 500 (3) 1" = 100 (4) $\frac{1}{4}$" = 100

2. The kinetic energy of a moving body is one-half the mass times the square of the velocity. What is the kinetic energy of a body with a mass of 20 which is moving with a velocity of 10?

3. If P is the product obtained by multiplying M by N, what change would there be in P if both M and N were doubled.

4. A dress marked down 30% from its original price has been reduced $8.25. What was the original price?

x	1	2	3	4
y	3	5	7	9

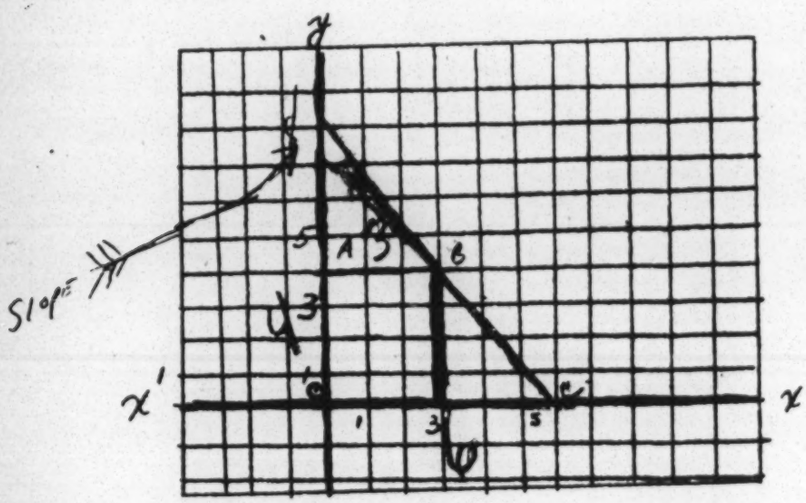
The relationship between x and y may be expressed by the equation (1) $y = x+2$ (2) $y = x+3$ (3) $y = 2x+1$ (4) $y = 4y-1$

5. A guy wire from the top of a pole meets the ground 42 feet from the foot of the pole and makes an angle of 45° with the ground. How long is the guy wire, to the nearest foot, if the cosine of a 45° angle is .7071

6. A blower is installed to force 30 cubic feet of air per minute through a cabinet which measures 18" x 24" x How many complete air changes in the cabinet will result in an hour.

7. A marching band of eighty (80) members established a social fund through dues of .25¢ per meeting attended, or a fine of 50¢ per meeting missed. The treasurer reported that the fines and dues for a meeting had increased the treasury $22.00. How many had been absent from that meeting?

8. A liquid cooling system holds four gallons of fluid. How much water should it contain before it is filled with are anti-freeze in the ratio of seven parts of anti freeze to nine parts of water



$\frac{1}{2}h(b_1+b_2)$

$\frac{1}{2}\cdot 4(3+6)$

$\frac{1}{2}\cdot\frac{4}{1}\cdot\frac{9}{1}\cdot 18$

9. The area enclosed by OABC is ?

10. The line segment CB is extended its own length through B, the end point of the extension will will fall on the point.

11. The equation $3y+4x=0$ describes the line which

(1) intersects BC at B

(2) is ∥ to BC

(3) is ⊥ to BC

(4) intersects AB extended at $x=7$.

$3y+4x=0$

$\frac{y=-4x}{3}$

$x=1 \quad y=-1\frac{1}{3}$

(11)

1. Find the product of 26.4 and .43. — 11.352
2. What is the difference between $\frac{4}{9}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$? — $\frac{11}{45}$
3. Find the average of −8, 20, −10, 15, 16. — [redacted]
4. Find the value of x if $\frac{x}{4} = \frac{36}{x}$ [redacted]
5. The quotient of 20 divided by $\frac{1}{5}$ = [redacted]
6. A plane figure with 6 sides is called. — [redacted]
7. The quotient of .1 divided by .01 is — [redacted]
8. If M is product of A and C. What would happen to M if A is doubled and C is tripled. [redacted]
9. 8473.01. The figure 4 is in what place. [redacted]
10. Find the square root of $16f^2$ — [redacted]
11. What fractional part of 18 is 4. — [redacted]
12. What percent of 18 is 4 [redacted]
13. The express C^3 is equal to = [redacted]
14. The expression 3C is equal to = [redacted]
15. Calculate the value of $\left(\frac{1}{4}\right)^3$. [redacted]
16. The kinetic energy of a moving body is one-third the mass times the square of the velocity. What is the kinetic energy of a body with a mass of [redacted]? and
17. A liquid cooling system holds 9 gals of fluid. How much water should it contain if the ratio of 3 parts water to 8 parts antifreeze should be maintained.
18. Reduce 14° 70′ 75″ to simplest form.
19. Find the value of $x^5 \div x^4$ = [redacted]
20. Find A if A = p + prt when A = $300 r = 4% and t = 8 months. — [redacted]
21. Factor $16x^3 - x$

(22) Solve for x: $\frac{x+3}{4} - 2 = 0$ [redacted]

(23) Express $\frac{1}{7}$ as a percent to the nearest tenth.

$$\begin{array}{r} 14.28 \\ 7\overline{)100.00} \end{array}$$

ans 14.3

(24) A marching band has 40 members. If 10¢ is charged as dues for those who attend and 20¢ for those who attend, how many members were present if the treasury were increased by $15.00: Let X = no. of people, present as stand.

(25) What is the ratio of the perimeter of a square to the area of a circle.

(26) Triangle ABC has sides a = 14" b = 14" c = 10" What type of Δ is ΔABC.

(27) Find the perimeter of a parallelogram ABCD if AD is 10 inches and CD is 12 inches.

(28) Which of the following is ~~close~~ nearest in value to 79. (a) $80\frac{1}{3}$ (b) $81\frac{1}{3}$ (c) 80.660

(29) What is the value of x if $\sqrt{x+3} = 3$

(30) What is the area of a circle with a diameter of 10 inches.

(31) A dress marked down 15% from its original price has been reduced $9.00. What was the original price.

(32) Find the sum of $7.59, $55.60, $53.50 and $45.00 —

came aware of the union's activity. majority," Foster said.

Labor Education – Unions, South

Georgia Council Conducts Class for Macon Workers

MACON, Ga.—The RWDSU Georgia Council has concluded a shop stewards training class for memmers of Locals 315 and 339 in Macon.

Twenty-six members of the locals attended the course, which was given in six two-hour sessions.

The course began in mid-September and continued until the middle of December.

Int'l Rep. Guy Dickinson, president of the Georgia Council, was the instructor.

Workers who attended are employed at the Maxwell, Eagle and Ralston Purina shops in Macon.

Shown at right holding the certificates awarded them at conclusion of the course are, from left, Dewitt Jones, James Moore, Annie Mae Kitchens and Earnest Walker.

January 26, 1969

RWDSU Record

1-26-69

AFL-CIO News

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Council Action Launches New Labor Studies Center

PLANS TO ESTABLISH a new AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center are outlined to the federation's Executive Council by Education Dir. Walter Davis. The center is scheduled to begin operations next Labor Day, with tuition-free intensive courses for union leaders and staff.

Pioneer Program To Train Leaders

By Saul Miller

Bal Harbour, Fla.—A new, pioneering AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center has been created by the federation's Executive Council to develop trade union leadership through varied educational training programs.

The center is planned to go into operation in Washington, D.C., by Labor Day 1969, initially drawing its student body from full-time union officials and expanding later to offer courses for local union officers and ultimately rank-and-file members.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany told a press conference that the council will set up a specific financing plan later at the sessions here and that he foresaw no problems in this regard. A report to the council, he said, estimated that the first-year cost would be about $350,000 rising to $600,000 in the third year. There would be about 400 students in the first year of operations increasing to about 900 in three years.

The training and education would be provided tuition free, but the unions sending students to the center would provide for their living costs.

Meany said that the feasibility study of the center, conducted under the guidance of the federation's Committee on Education and the Dept. of Education, showed a tremendous need and interest in the center. The need is growing daily, he stressed, for better educated trade union officials to handle the complex problems of the modern industrial system.

The center will be incorporated as a non-profit education institution governed by a Board of Trustees composed of 16 members—10 from the AFL-CIO and six from the public.

While a number of federation affiliates have set up their own training programs, the AFL-CIO-created-and-financed center marks the first time in the history of the American trade union movement that a national labor education center has been established.

The council statement said that it has been "long convinced of the need and desirability of such an educational institution and is now agreed that the AFL-CIO can and should establish one without further delay."

The adoption of the statement establishing the center came after the council heard a detailed report by members of the committee that conducted the feasibility study authorized by the council in September 1967.

The presentation was made by Walter Davis, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education, Prof. Fred Hoehler, director of labor studies programs at Michigan State University and former education

(Continued on Page 2)

that groups of militants had invaded classrooms, taken them over and removed the assigned teachers.

Labor Studies Center Set Up By AFL-CIO

(Continued from Page 1)

director of the Steelworkers, and Otto Pragan, assistant director of the federation's Dept. of Education.

Setting a target opening date for Labor Day 1969, the council said the center would be established temporarily in Washington, D.C., with a permanent resident facility to be selected there at a later date.

The center's objectives will be to develop trade union leadership through training programs in the various technical skills required of a union leader and through education programs in the social sciences and humanities "in order that technical skills be buttressed by a firm grounding in theory and philosophy."

In addition, the center will develop and engage in education programs "which will carry the labor movement's basic philosophy to all parts of the community and through its inter-union nature help involve its students in the total labor movement and thus strengthen all affiliated organizations."

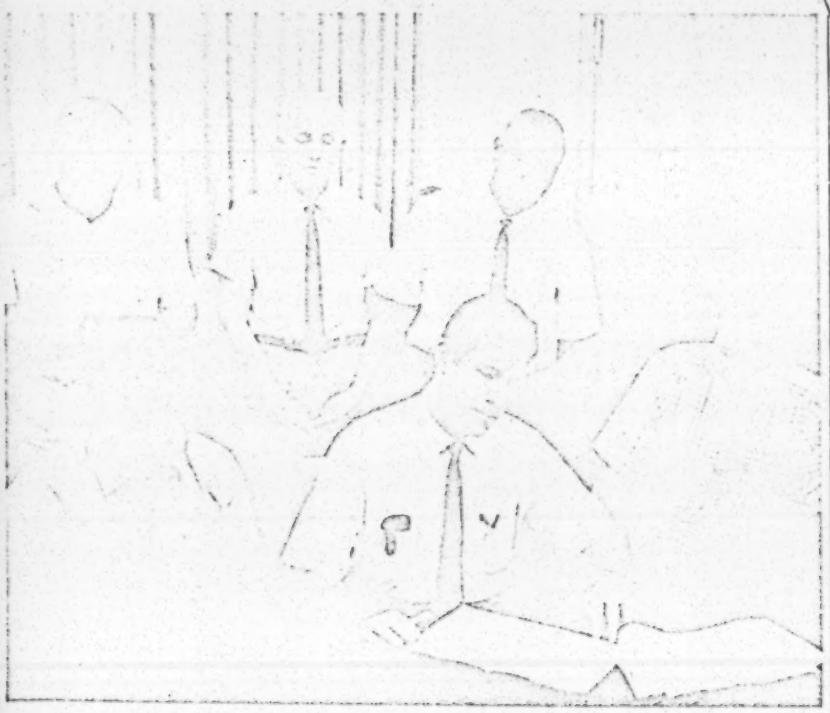
A basic staff of full-time professionals for teaching and administrative duties will be recruited and will be supplemented with the part-time services of experts from other institutions.

The initial curriculum will include courses on the American system of unionism, labor economics, American society and civilization, effective reading and other subjects to meet the needs of the labor movement.

The center will establish special institutes to assist the various headquarters departments of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates; establish a special course of study to prepare union members for government service; "and ultimately, if appropriate, establish long-term courses and seminars in the social sciences and humanities."

AFL-CIO NEWS

Unions - Civil Rights - South



CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE of Aluminum Workers Local 205 convenes for its organizational meeting in Baton Rouge, La. The newly-formed committee was appointed by the union's executive council to resolve civil rights problems for workers. Seated from left are A. J. Burrell, Chairman John F. Robertson and John Henry Shipes. Standing: John Carter, J. W. Comeaux, Robert Square and Avery Joseph.

Meany Cites Need to Build Free Unions

American labor aids in building free unions around the globe because it knows that "slave labor threatens free labor everywhere," AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany told graduates of the 28th training program of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

Also addressing the graduation ceremonies was Robert B. Black, director of social development for the Agency for International Development.

Graduates of the latest AIFLD class—36 union leaders from Brazil and Caribbean nations—bring to nearly 800 the number from Latin America who have completed the course at Front Royal, Va. They, in turn, become instructors in their own countries.

Meany stressed that the course is designed to help those who take it understand U.S. unions, benefit from their experiences, adopt them where possible, but "not necessarily emulate us."

The important thing, Meany said, is that the graduates help build "free labor structures" that will advance the wages and working standards of union members, and thereby strengthen the economies of their countries.

Black said the U.S. government sees the labor movement in Latin America as "perhaps the best system of private organizations who assemble, speak their views and represent their interests in the open societies of their countries."

Labor unions, he added, are "one of the fundamental building blocks in the creation of an effective modern society, along with cooperatives, credit unions, community organizations, and women's and student's groups."

He urged the graduates to equip themselves with the economic facts about their countries and make their voices heard in helping to determine economic policies.

Int'l - AFL-CIO - Int'l Trade

Unions – South

American Teacher 6-70

SAVANNAH LOCAL CHARTERED

AFT re-emerging in South

ATLANTA

After an almost total absence of 14 years, the teacher-union movement is beginning to re-emerge in the South. Since January, two new AFT locals have been chartered in Georgia, two more have been organized in Tennessee, a Florida local has won recognition equal to that of its NEA rival, and there is a growing union drive for bargaining rights in New Orleans.

While one-quarter of the Federation's membership once was in the South, most of that was lost in 1956, when the national convention voted to expel locals unwilling to desegregate. A few scattered, integrated locals remained; for example, New Orleans and Mobile, both of which became major forces in the struggle of the 1960s.

The new locals in Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida, plus the Mobile and New Orleans locals, now include more than 5,000 teachers, and, according to AFT Director of Field Services George Brickhouse, the drive is just beginning. Interest in AFT organization is being shown in several Virginia and North Carolina communities, Brickhouse said, and several more locals will have been chartered in the South by the end of 1970.

300 IN SAVANNAH

The most recent local to affiliate is in Savannah, Ga. AFT President David Selden met with 300 teachers May 25 and presented the integrated group with a new charter.

"You are going to organize the teachers of this town so they can have the dignity they dreamed of when they started college," Selden said. Discussing collective bargaining and the use of the strike "as a last resort," Selden said, "Only beggars, slaves, and fools would work under conditions that they haven't negotiated."

Selden told a press conference prior to the charter ceremony that the "response by Savannah teachers to the AFT program really looks good. Teachers' concerns don't seem to be centered around one thing, such as a salary increase this year, but teachers are more concerned with long-range issues."

Elected president at the charter-presentation meeting was Janette Caroll. Freddy West was named vice-president, Joan Morgan was elected secretary, and Dorothy Crawford was chosen treasurer. A constitution and program committee has been organized under Edward Williams.

Rayburn Stevens, president of the Atlanta local, chartered earlier this year, reports that new members are joining daily, and that teachers in cities throughout the state are seeking information about the union. AFT national representatives who have been working in the state are Howard Hursey and David Mann.

NEW LOCAL IN FAYETTE

Meanwhile, a new local has been organized in Fayette County, Tenn., and, with the organization of teachers in Memphis earlier this year, and the old local in Chattanooga, plans are being made to organize a state federation.

MIAMI RECOGNITION

In Miami, the Dade County School board last month accorded official recognition to the Dade Federation of Teachers as an employee organization for the purpose of collective bargaining, giving it the same rights as NEA affiliates to use school mail, school facilities for meetings, and dues checkoff.

NEW ORLEANS COALITION

Eugene Didier, president of AFT Local 527 in New Orleans, announced the formation of a "Coalition of Teachers Organizations" to press for implementation of a $1,600 raise, voted by the state legislature two years ago but never implemented. Didier said the coalition, in which Local 527 and the Orleans Education Association are involved, was not a "merger," but merely a joint effort to pressure authorities. Local 527 is pressing a drive to win collective-bargaining rights for New Orleans teachers.

Local, state unions act on Indochina war

(Continued from Page 2)

vention of the Michigan Federation of Teachers approved an antiwar resolution which "scored and totally condemned" President Nixon's decision to send U.S. combat troops into Cambodia, MFT President Henry Linne reported. Convention delegates substituted stronger language for the prepared resolution; instead of "opposition to this policy of increasing intervention," the convention "totally condemned President Nixon's aggressive act" and took a position of "unequivocal opposition not only to the invasion of Cambodia, but also the continued presence of U.S. military personnel in Southeast Asia." The MFT resolution also condemned the "blind partisan support given to President Nixon's illegal action by Michigan's Republican Senator Robert Griffin and Republican Senatorial candidate Lenore Romney."

The 315 delegates to the MFT convention represented about 20 percent of the public-school teachers in Michigan, Linne stated.

MINNESOTA CONVENTION STAND

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Fayette County, Tenn., teachers receive an AFT charter from Vice-President Rosa McGhee. From left are officers of the new local John Sweta and Bonnell Turner, Miss McGhee, and Larry Lynch, another officer.

Teachers Unions — South

Gene Didier, president of the Orleans Parish Federation of Teachers, Local 527, led a band of New Orleans teachers who donned caps and gowns and sold apples on downtown streetcorners to demonstrate in favor of implementing a $1,600 pay raise passed in 1968 by the state legislature, but still not activated. (Times-Picayune photo by R. J. Romaguera)

Los Angeles teachers return

(Continued from Page 5)

in the district's decision-making processes.

"In this regard, we find it particularly significant that the board of education was forced to spend nearly 12 hours last Sunday struggling with some 26 top administrators who were complaining that the contract would reduce their heretofore virtually unlimited powers over teachers.

"A second real gain of the contract is that it recognizes the right of an organization, in this case UTLA, to represent and defend its members without the possibility of harassment or intimidation by the management of the school district.

"Educationally, this means that teachers will be free to fight for better programs for children without fear that tradition-bound administrators will penalize them for daring to disagree.

"A third major gain of the contract is that the board has recognized a series of priorities for educational improvement recommended by teachers. These include smaller classes, better maintenance, better reading programs, and all the other needs that we have been discussing.

"We return to our classrooms tomorrow with greater honor and dignity than teachers have ever possessed in this city."

An informal, at-random poll of 10 teachers leaving the Shrine Auditorium the day before the vote had shown four enthusiastic over the contract, four ready to stay out longer; and three who said, in effect, "It's not all we wanted, but it's a start."

One teacher seemed to sum up the prevailing reaction: "For a nonunion town, in a state beset by anti-education politicians who keep money from the schools, it's a good settlement. It's something to build on the next time around."

UTLA is now turning its attention to the June 2 election, in which voters will decide the fate of Proposition Eight, a proposal to restore state financing to the level of 50 percent of the school budget. That support has slumped to 36 percent in Los Angeles, placing most of the burden on local citizens.—**D.E.**

SAVANNAH LOCAL CHARTERED

AFT re-emerging in South

ATLANTA

After an almost total absence of 14 years, the teacher-union movement is beginning to re-emerge in the South. Since January, two new AFT locals have been chartered in Georgia, two more have been organized in Tennessee, a Florida local has won recognition equal to that of its NEA rival, and there is a growing union drive for bargaining rights in New Orleans.

While one-quarter of the Federation's membership once was in the South, most of that was lost in 1956, when the national convention voted to expel locals unwilling to desegregate. A few scattered, integrated locals remained; for example, New Orleans and Mobile, both of which became major forces in the struggle of the 1960s.

The new locals in Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida, plus the Mobile and New Orleans locals, now include more than 5,000 teachers, and, according to AFT Director of Field Services George Brickhouse, the drive is just beginning. Interest in AFT organization is being shown in several Virginia and North Carolina communities, Brickhouse said, and several more locals will have been chartered in the South by the end of 1970.

300 IN SAVANNAH

The most recent local to affiliate is in Savannah, Ga. AFT President David Selden met with 300 teachers May 25 and presented the integrated group with a new charter.

"You are going to organize the teachers of this town so they can have the dignity they dreamed of when they started college," Selden said. Discussing collective bargaining and the use of the strike "as a last resort," Selden said, "Only beggars, slaves, and fools would work under conditions that they haven't negotiated."

Selden told a press conference prior to the charter ceremony that the "response by Savannah teachers to the AFT program really looks good. Teachers' concerns don't seem to be centered around one thing, such as a salary increase this year, but teachers are more concerned with long-range issues."

Elected president at the charter-presentation meeting was Janette Caroll. Freddy West was named vice-president, Joan Morgan was elected secretary, and Dorothy Crawford was chosen treasurer. A constitution and program committee has been organized under Edward Williams.

Rayburn Stevens, president of the Atlanta local, chartered earlier this year, reports that new members are joining daily, and that teachers in cities throughout the state are seeking information about the union. AFT national representatives who have been working in the state are Howard Hursey and David Mann.

NEW LOCAL IN FAYETTE

Meanwhile, a new local has been organized in Fayette County, Tenn., and, with the organization of teachers in Memphis earlier this year, and the old local in Chattanooga, plans are being made to organize a state federation.

MIAMI RECOGNITION

In Miami, the Dade County School board last month accorded official recognition to the Dade Federation of Teachers as an employee organization for the purpose of collective bargaining, giving it the same rights as NEA affiliates to use school mail, school facilities for meetings, and dues checkoff.

NEW ORLEANS COALITION

Eugene Didier, president of AFT Local 527 in New Orleans, announced the formation of a "Coalition of Teachers Organizations" to press for implementation of a $1,600 raise, voted by the state legislature two years ago but never implemented. Didier said the coalition, in which Local 527 and the Orleans Education Association are involved, was not a "merger," but merely a joint effort to pressure authorities. Local 527 is pressing a drive to win collective-bargaining rights for New Orleans teachers.

Fayette County, Tenn., teachers receive an AFT charter from Vice-President Rosa McGhee. From left are officers of the new local John Sweta and Bonnell Turner, Miss McGhee, and Larry Lynch, another officer.

Local, state unions act on Indochina war

(Continued from Page 2)

vention of the Michigan Federation of Teachers approved an antiwar resolution which "scored and totally condemned" President Nixon's decision to send U.S. combat troops into Cambodia, MFT President Henry Linne reported. Convention delegates substituted stronger language for the prepared resolution; instead of "opposition to this policy of increasing intervention," the convention "totally condemned President Nixon's aggressive act" and took a position of "unequivocal opposition not only to the invasion of Cambodia, but also the continued presence of U.S. military personnel in Southeast Asia." The MFT resolution also condemned the "blind partisan support given to President Nixon's illegal action by Michigan's Republican Senator Robert Griffin and Republican Senatorial candidate Lenore Romney."

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INTERIM REPORT
on
SURVEY
OF SOUTHERN TRADE UNIONS
AND THE RACE PROBLEM

Based on Confidential Report of Emanuel Muravchik
To Executive Board, Jewish Labor Committee National Trade Union Council
Atlantic City, N. J., May 10, 1957

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department has given us permission to make this off-the-record report on a survey of the impact of current racial developments on Southern union locals. This survey was made to provide the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, committees and staff with information which might help to implement in the South AFL-CIO policy on civil rights. We hope that it will further understanding of the problems and provide a basis on which program decisions can be made.

The survey was conducted by the Jewish Labor Committee. Cooperation was received from many sources -- primarily, of course, from the regional, state and local leadership of the labor movement. Two voluntary organizations, the Southern Regional Council and the Catholic Committee of the South, also gave valuable assistance. Most of the costs of the survey were covered by a grant to the Jewish Labor Committee from the Fund for the Republic.

Comprehensive questionnaires were prepared to explore all facets of the racial situation in Southern union locals. The South was divided for survey purposes into 12 areas. In each, a Southern trade unionist concerned about the race problem and in most cases familiar with locals in the area was assigned to collect the information and fill in the questionnaires, one for each local. First priority was given to locals where the race issue was known to have arisen, and second priority to leading and so-called "typical" locals in that area.

The present report is drawn from completed surveys for the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee, and partial reports from Texas and Louisiana. Virginia is still to be surveyed. This report is based on the detailed information we obtained on 110 union locals, in 32 different internationals. TWUA, UAW, IAM, Chemical Workers and USA are the only internationals represented by five or more locals. Ten locals are in the building trades.

Here, then, is a summary of what we found.

Segregated Factories, Integrated Union Locals

There are almost no integrated factories in the South, but lots of integrated union locals. What does this mean? How did it come about?

In most Southern factories, all production jobs are held by white workers; Negroes are employed only as sweepers, janitors and other maintenance men. In those few factories where Negroes are employed in production work, they are usually segregated, and rarely hold jobs comparable to those of the white workers. When Negroes are hired at all as production workers, it is usually in the unskilled, semi-skilled or "helper" category, and "seniority" always means seniority within the racial group. This is so despite the fact that almost one-third of the Southern union contracts we examined in the survey contain a non-discrimination clause -- we even found three with clauses outlawing segregation!

The typical union local accepts the racial pattern established by the employer, but includes all employees in one local. Thus, if a factory has 800 white production workers and 25 Negro maintenance men, these 825 workers all

belong to the same union local. That is why more than two-thirds of the Southern locals examined in the survey include both white and Negro members.

Most one-race locals cover trades or factories in which only that race is employed. Only one-seventh of the locals in our survey represent the separate organization of the races in trades or plants where both races are employed.

Negroes in Southern Locals

But the fact that Negroes are found in two-thirds of all Southern union locals does not in itself give a clear picture of the proportion of Negroes in the Southern labor movement. In two-fifths of these bi-racial locals, Negroes make up less than ten per cent of the membership--although they constitute about a third of the population in the areas surveyed.

Within the framework of the South's unequal racial pattern, whites and Negroes in a union local will usually work together. If there has not been a tense racial situation in the community, and if there is not a segregationist spokesman in the local, race relations in the union will not only be tranquil, they will be cooperative.

Four-fifths of the bi-racial locals surveyed reported Negro attendance at union meetings, roughly in proportion to their number in the membership. In only one local where more than a tenth of the members are Negroes was it reported that no Negroes attend meetings. Less than one-tenth of the bi-racial locals hold segregated meetings.

In over a quarter of the bi-racial locals, there is at least one Negro officer; in over half of them, at least one Negro steward. This pattern prevails equally whether less or more than ten per cent of the members are Negroes.

Inequality in the Unions

But while the general pattern is one of acceptance of Negroes, there are many bi-racial locals in which the Negro members do not in fact participate. Even in the best situations, segregation prevails in the social functions. And there are only a few locals which have made any real effort to extend the range of job opportunities open to their Negro members.

There are a number of cases in our survey group of Negro locals which in fact are deprived of participation in contract negotiations through being represented by the white local's business agent, or by negotiating through a joint council on whose executive body they have no representation. It is important to remember that there are some cases in which the union itself was at one time a weapon for the exclusion of Negroes from the trade.

There is no geographical or uniform craft pattern of Negro participation or exclusion. It is possible to find equalitarian locals in what would seem to be the most unfavorable regions or situations, and equally possible to find white-supremacist policies in locals which in other ways seem quite progressive.

Dynamics of the Current Racial Situation

The labor movement in the South today is a minority movement with about the same standing in the community that it had in the North in 1932. Current developments must be viewed against a recognition that labor is not a powerful force in most Southern communities. The racial issue has become intense in the Southern labor movement because of the forthright position taken by AFL-CIO leadership on school integration. But for that, the labor movement in the South would not be stirred at its grass roots by the present situation any more deeply

than are other groups in the Southern community. However, because the Executive Council took a forthright position and George Meany enunciated it so clearly, and it was widely reported in the Southern press, rumblings of dissent, disaffection and disaffiliation were heard.

White Members' Attitudes

Let us see what our survey shows about the attitudes of Southern white union members. In two-thirds of the locals surveyed, it was reported that "most" white members are opposed to school integration. "Most" was the strongest category in the questionnaire. There was not one local at the other end of the scale: "few" white members opposed.

In over a third of the locals, "some" members are in favor of the White Citizens' Councils. And "many" or "most" of the white members in over one-third of the locals are reported to have strong feelings against the labor movement, because of its stand in opposing segregation.

However, strong loyalty to the local on the part of "many" or "most" members was reported in all cases: "most" in 60%. Respondents did not feel that, in a conflict between a White Citizens' Council and the local, any of these locals would be deserted by "most" of its members; though in one out of every nine locals, it was felt that "many" members would find the WCC a stronger pull.

Conflicting Loyalties

Now let's see what has actually happened in Southern union locals as a result of these conflicting loyalties -- to organized labor and to segregation.

Almost all labor leaders interviewed answered "Yes" to the question: "Does the race issue affect the Southern labor movement more now than before the Supreme Court decision?" Many reported strained relations between white and Negro workers, even to the point of breaking off all conversation and contact.

Trouble Spots

Open trouble was reported in about fifty locals. Compared to the 110 surveyed, this figure seems large. But let us remember that "trouble spots" were given first priority in this survey -- these fifty "trouble" locals, therefore, include most of the locals in our survey areas in which strife has arisen in the last few years. This is not a big proportion of the estimated 2,000 locals in these areas.

From the information we have gathered, however, it would seem that the attitudes found in these "trouble spots" are not unusual, but are common to most Southern locals. What, then, are the special characteristics of these "trouble" locals? Why in these locals did racism overcome the counterforces of inertia and union loyalty?

There seems to be no common pattern by region or union: One cannot say that trouble was concentrated in the deep-South states, or that it arose in supposedly conservative unions rather than in those considered more progressive. Nor did it arise more frequently in locals with a large Negro membership -- or a small Negro membership -- or no Negro membership. In many cases, "hot" racial issues have arisen in "lily-white" locals; and, on the other hand, the most serious conflict arose in the local and plant where probably greatest progress has been made towards integration and equality of the Southern Negro in mass production.

But there are some clues as to why trouble has developed in some cases and not in others:

In half the locals which have had a race issue, local union officials raised it. In almost half, some members belong to the White Citizens' Councils. Race was a factional issue in only six cases; in only five cases was there an organized racist faction within the local. Thus we might conclude that when the race issue comes to the surface in a Southern union local, it has usually been stimulated by active racist groups with members in the local, and/or backed by at least some of the local's leadership.

What issues are being raised by the segregationists? First, AFL-CIO policy on school integration: this was reported in three-fourths of all "trouble" locals. Next, union contributions to the NAACP: this was raised in three-fifths of these locals. Economic competition of Negroes was also brought up in two-fifths of these locals, but only where Negroes form the majority of the membership or where significant new economic opportunities are being opened to Negroes.

The race issue was brought to the floor at union meetings in less than half these cases. This almost always took the form of proposed resolutions against the policy of the AFL-CIO. Disaffiliation was proposed in only a few instances, and in every such case reported to us, leadership for this move came from individuals leading or active in White Citizens' Councils. As you know, none of these efforts resulted in disaffiliation.*

---

*The two American Federation of Teachers' locals which have disaffiliated were not covered in this survey, and these cases involved an additional factor: an ultimatum from their international to integrate or be expelled.

Organizing Drives

We also have some information on organizing drives -- but unfortunately not enough to draw statistical conclusions. It does indicate, however, that the race issue looms larger among organizing problems than it did before the Supreme Court decision. The general feeling seems to be that union organizing, in the South, is coming up against a stone wall. To what extent that wall has been built by the national labor movement's stand on school integration, and to what extent it is part of the general anti-labor atmosphere in the South, with its "right-to-work" laws, buttressed by reaction to the current racket investigations, is difficult to judge.

Attitudes of Union Leaders

Local union leaders were asked what they felt the national leadership could do to help them. Most said they wish it would soft-pedal its position. Some would like to see the labor movement withdraw entirely from the civil rights arena; others would be content if top labor leadership would avoid making frequent public declarations on the subject.

Top Southern labor leaders almost unanimously voice acceptance of the national AFL-CIO's stand on integration. In extensive interviews I had with them in the course of setting up this survey, most expressed a sense of real responsibility for encouraging the movement in this direction. Only one defended segregation. Some clearly believe in integration on principle; others may not, but accept it as part of their responsibility as officers of the labor movement. Almost all espouse gradualism, however -- though very few have specific suggestions on what the national organization can do to help the Southern labor movement meet the present situation.

Dealing with the Race Issue in the Labor Movement

Both the survey and the interviews indicate that the main means of dealing with conflicts on the race question, when they arise in the union local, is to sidetrack them, rule them out of order, insist that this is not labor's business. We learned of no other short-term method of handling this situation. The only claims of straight, frank handling of the race question came from two predominantly Negro locals in relatively favorable locations.

It is clear that the issue -- if we are to preserve the unity of the labor movement and to progress at the same time -- must be handled on a long-range basis. We must apply to the situation our best knowledge and methods and all the experience which has been accumulated in other areas. We must utilize as staff only the ablest and most tactful representatives -- and they must be acceptable to white Southerners, for it is clear that it will not be easy to make progress on the racial front while preserving the unity of the labor movement. We can only have both a growing labor movement and progress toward integration through devoting time and resources and the highest quality of work to this effort.

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November, 1957
oeiu-153

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Jewish Labor Committee

Atran Center For Jewish Culture

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NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

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RECEIVED NOV 26 1957

November 22, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I know you will be interested to see the enclosed interim report on the survey of unions in the South which the AFL-CIO has now given us permission to make available. Please note that it is not for publication. We will be very happy to have your comments.

I want to tell you again how much we appreciate your help in making this survey possible.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Muravchik
National Field Director

EM:mo
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enc.

M. MERLIN, Atlanta
S. CAPLAN, Baltimore
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S. STARK, Pittsburgh
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D. DWORKIN, Toronto
A. KIRZNER, Toronto
J. CHERNIAK, Winnipeg

November 27, 1957

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik
National Field Director
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Manny:

Many thanks for the interim report on the survey of unions in the South. It is a very interesting and readable summary of the situation, and I am glad that the AFL-CIO has given you permission to make it available to interested groups and individuals.

We are glad to feel that we were able to help in making the survey possible.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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LOCAL UNION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Local name, number and international. (If necessary, in order to obtain information, just list by name of international, then local A, B, C, etc.)

_____

City _____ State _____

2. Number of members_____. Chartered: before 1932_____ 1933-41_____
1942-50_____ after 1950_____

3. If you are interviewing a leader or leaders of this local to obtain the information for your questionnaire, ask them the following questions and record the replies on a separate sheet: "Do you feel that the race issue affects the labor movement in the South today more than it did before the Supreme Court decision? In meeting criticism from union members, what arguments do you find most useful? What could the national offices of the unions do to help you meet these situations and issues?"

* * *

4. Has the race issue played any role in the local within the last two years? Yes____. No____. <u>If yes, answer questions #5 through #12</u>. <u>If no, go on to question #13</u>.

5. Relate on a separate sheet the story of whatever has happened in this local around the race issue in the last two years. (You will find that some of the information you relate here will also be called for in questions #6 - #12.)

6. If pro-segregation views are being expressed in the local, what points do they emphasize? Opposition to AFL-CIO policy on school integration____. Economic competition from Negroes____. Opposition to purported financial support by unions of the NAACP____. If others, list.

7. Who is raising the race issue in the local? An individual member or a few individuals____. Many members____. An organized group____. Are they from one department____, one geographical background____, one faction in the local___? Are they leadership people____, union officers____?

8. Where have they raised it? At local meetings____. Executive board meetings____. In the plant____. Please indicate on separate sheet exactly what happened when it was raised.

9. Have there been any proposals or moves to "do something" against the position of the labor movement? Yes____. No____. If yes, what was proposed? To send letters or resolutions to higher bodies____. Disaffiliate or seek other affiliation____. Endorse the idea of a Southern Federation of Labor____. Adopt public statements opposite to labor's position____. List others. Describe on a separate sheet what happened when these proposals were made.

10. Has any "outside" source tried to stir up this issue in the local? Yes___. No____. If yes, what source? Employer____. Local press____. White Citizens Council____. List others_____

11. Is there a White Citizens Council-type group which has membership or following among members of the local? Yes____. No____. If yes, name it on a separate sheet, indicating its strength among union members, how the leadership and membership line up on this organization, what it has attempted to do in the local, and related developments.

12. Has the race issue affected attendance at union meetings, payment of dues, revocation of union membership under the right-to-work laws, allegiance of Negro and white members, etc. Yes____. No____. If yes, indicate which.

* * *

13. Has the local <u>ever</u> taken stands in behalf of Negro rights outside the shop or participated in community efforts in this direction? This would include such things as being a participant in a political grouping with the Negro community in elections, backing the Southern Regional Council, adopting resolutions on minority questions, etc. Yes____. No____. If yes, give the details on a separate page.

* * *

14. Are there white members in the local? Yes____. No____. <u>If yes, answer questions #15 and #16. If no, skip over to question #17.</u>

15. Indicate how many of the white members hold these attitudes:

Most___, many____, few____ have antagonistic feelings toward Negroes.
Most___, many____, few____ are strongly opposed to school integration.
Most___, many____, few____ would go along with putting public schools under private control.
Most___, many____, few____ are in favor of the White Citizens Councils.
Most___, many____, few____ are opposed to Negroes voting.
Most___, many____, few____ are opposed to Negroes having the same economic opportunities on the job as white workers have.
Most___, many____, few____ are in favor of segregation in general.

16. How do the white members feel on these union matters:

Most___, many____, few____ have strong loyalty to their local.
Most___, many____, few____ " " " " " international.
Most___, many____, few____ " " " " the AFL-CIO.
Most___, many____, few____ have a strong feeling against the labor movement for its opposition to segregation.
Most___, many____, few____ would leave the union rather than repudiate the White Citizens Councils.
Most___, many____, few____ would leave the union if the union took in Negro members (where there are none now).
Most___, many____, few____ oppose the local's protecting equal rights of the Negroes (where there now are Negro members).

17. Are there Negro workers in the local? Yes____. No____. <u>If yes, answer questions #18 and #19.</u> (It might be well to consult with the Negro leadership before replying.) <u>If no, skip to question #20.</u>

Local Union Questionnaire

18. How do the Negro members feel on these union matters:

Most___, many____, few____ have strong loyalty to their local.
Most___, many____, few____ " " " " " international.
Most___, many____, few____ " " " " the AFL-CIO.
Most___, many____, few____ are dissatisfied with what the local has done on Negro questions.
Most___, many____, few____ are dissatisfied with what the international has done on Negro rights.
Most___, many____, few____ will actively fight the White Citizens Council's racist views and groups in the union local.

19. Which race issues in the shop or union local do the Negroes seem to be most concerned about?

* * *

20. Is this an integrated local of white and Negro members together? Yes___. No___. <u>If yes, answer questions #21 through #27. If no, go on to question #28.</u>

21. Number of white members_____. Male_____. Female_____.
Number of Negro members_____. Male_____. Female_____.

22. What is the average attendance at local meetings?_____.
What is the average white attendance?_____. Negro attendance?_____.
Have the proportions changed in the last two years? Yes___. No___.
Comment on any changes of attendance by either race in the last two years.

23. Are the local meetings segregated? Yes____. No____. Are other activities or local functions segregated? Yes____. No____. If yes, describe.

24. Has there been any pressure to break up the local into a white and a Negro local? Yes___. No___. If yes, give details on separate sheet and indicate if it has been aggravated by current developments. Has there been pressure to introduce segregation within the local in areas in which it did not previously prevail? Yes___. No___. Has there been pressure to desegregate activities within the local which were previously segregated? Yes___. No___. If either is yes, indicate which kind of pressure and describe the developments.

25. Do Negroes participate in local union activities other than attendance at meetings? Yes___. If so, indicate which. Is this new?
No ___. If not, indicate why.

26. Are there Negro officers in the local? Yes___. No___. If yes, indicate what positions they hold and how many are on the local executive board out of a total of how many, and how this has changed during the last two years. Are there Negro shop stewards? Yes___. No___. What is the relation between white and Negro officers, white and Negro shop stewards? Any changes in the last two years?

27. What are the relations between white and Negro rand-and-file membership? Do they discuss freely and informally with each other? How has this changed in the last two years?

* * *

28. Does this questionnaire cover white and Negro parallel locals in the same trade or shop? Yes___. No___. <u>If yes, answer questions #29 through #36. If no, go on to question #37.</u>

29. Membership of white local_____. Male_____. Female_____.
Membership of Negro local_____. Male_____. Female_____.

30. What is the relation between the two locals on dealings with the employers? What is the role of each in contract negotiations, in the handling of grievances? Do they work together or independently on these matters? Are their roles in dealing with the company equal, and are they both fully represented on committees which deal with matters of concern to both?

31. Does the Negro local have a charter identical with that which the white local has? Yes___. No___. Does it elect all its own officers? Yes___. No___. Does the local and its officers have the same status and rights in the international, the joint board, etc., as the white local and its officers? Yes___. No___. If any of these is no, describe.

32. Give the background of the organization of two separate locals and the history of relations between them, for example, conflicts, attempts at merger, etc.

33. Are there any changes in relations between the locals in the last two years? Yes___. No___. In attitudes toward each other? Yes___. No___. Any proposals for merger? Yes___. No___. If the answers to any of these is yes, give the details.

34. Which activities other than the economic activities described under question #30 do the two locals carry on jointly?

35. How do the two locals compare as organizations? Consider such matters as attendance at meetings, regularity and businesslike character of meetings, handling of grievances, community activity, size of treasury, etc.

36. Do the members of the two locals work at the same places of employment? Yes___. No___. If yes, what are their relations with each other? Do they associate informally, discuss matters freely, etc.? Yes___. No___.

* * *

37. Is this a local in a trade in which both races work, but only one race is organized? Yes___. No___. <u>If yes, answer questions #38 through #42. If no, go on to question #43.</u>

38. Which race is organized?_____. How many workers in the local? _____. How many unorganized of same race in jurisdiction?_____. How many of other race?_____.

39. The race that is not organized is excluded by:
___ The constitution of the international.
___ The terms of the local charter.
___ The by-laws of the local.
___ Tradition in the international.
___ Tradition in the local.
If other, explain.

40. Is the unadmitted group excluded from employment in certain crafts or geographical or other subdivisions? Yes___. No___. If yes, which ones?

41. Are the members of the unadmitted group allowed to work on certain unionized jobs? Yes___. No___. Are they expected to have working permits from the local? Yes___. No___. If the answer to either is yes, give the details.

42. Have there been any times when the exclusion of one race has been challenged or has created special problems for the union? Yes___. No___. Have there been any new developments on the admission of the excluded group, or any indications of a change in attitude? Yes___. No___. Has a member of the excluded group holding a card in another local tried to transfer into this local? Yes___. No___. If the answer to either is yes, describe what happened.

* * *

43. Does the craft or plant(s) covered by this local employ both white and Negro workers? Yes___. No___. <u>If yes, answer questions #44 through #52</u>. <u>If no, proceed to question #53</u>.

44. The union contract is:
___ National. If so, is it: Industry-wide___. Company-wide___. Other___. If other, explain.
___ Local. If so, is it: Single-employer___. Employers' association___. Other___. If other, explain.

45. The contract provides for separate lines of progression by races___, seniority lists by race___, departmental seniority with Negroes and whites working only in separate departments___, pay differentials___. List other race differences. Does the contract provide for segregation? Yes___. No___. Non-segregation? Yes___. No___. Is there a non-discrimination clause in the contract? Yes___. No___. Have there been any changes affecting these provisions in the last two years? Yes___. No___. If the answer to any of these is yes, please describe.

46. At what jobs are Negroes employed? Maintenance___. Unskilled___. Semi-skilled___. Skilled___. White collar___. Professional___. Supervisory___. Have there been any changes in the last two years? Yes___. No___. If yes, describe.

47. Indicate the areas in which Negroes do not have the same rights on the job: Employment in all categories___. Equal seniority rights___. Equal pay___. Segregation___. List others_____.

48. Management has taken a stand in favor of more economic opportunity for Negroes in the plant. Yes___. No___. If yes, in which areas has management acted? Have there been any changes in company policy or attitude in the last two years? Yes___. No___. If yes, explain.

49. Has the local fought for rights for the Negro which he did not have previously? Yes___. No___. If yes, describe what happened.

50. In which of the areas mentioned in #47 above has the local not taken action so far? What are the main reasons, for example, because the leadership or membership would be opposed, because no one raised the question, because the bargaining position of the local is not strong enough to fight these issues, etc.? Has it been easier___ or harder___ to fight for these things in the last two years?

51. How do the foremen and supervisors act toward Negroes and on the matter of their advancement within the plant? Are there changes in foremen's attitudes in the last two years? If foremen vary greatly, indicate this and give what you believe is the "typical" foreman's role.

52. How do the handling of Negro grievances compare with the handling of white grievances? At the shop steward's level? At the top shop level? At the local union level? Has this changed within the last two years?

* * *

53. Whom did you consult in preparing the answers for this local? Indicate the title.

ORGANIZING DRIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Trade, company or plant being organized.

_____

2. City _____ State _____

3. Union doing the organizing _____

4. Has the race issue been raised in opposition to the drive? Yes___. No___. If yes, tell what issues have come up. Who raised them? The boss___, non-union workers___, the press___. List others. In what way was it raised? What did the union do about it, if anything? What effect did it have on the situation? Please attach all relevant leaflets, newsclips, etc.

5. In canvassing new contacts and "undecideds", is the race question raised rarely____, frequently____? As compared with other issues, is this considered as most important___, of average importance___, of minor importance___?

6. Among the union loyalists, has the race question come up as a serious problem? Yes___. No___. If yes, what happened?

7. Are there both white and Negro workers in the work force being organized? Yes___. No___. If only white workers, skip questions #8 through #11. If only Negro workers, skip questions #8 through #10. If yes, how many white males____. White females____. Negro males____. Negro females____.

8. In the plant, which jobs are held only by workers of one race? Do the white and Negro workers have informal day-to-day contact on the job? How are the relations between them currently?

9. Are both white and Negro being organized into the same local? Yes___.No___.

10. Would you say you have recruited a higher___or lower___percentage of Negroes than of whites? Are Negro organizers being used? Yes___. No___.

11. Have civil rights issues been raised by the Negro workers in dealing with union organizers? Yes___. No___. By union organizers in talking to Negro workers? Yes____. No___. If yes on either, which issues were raised?

Obtain the opinions of the leaders of this drive on the following questions:

12. Is the race issue being used more now than it was before the desegregation decision? Yes___. No___. Is it more effective? Yes___. No___.

13. What answers to the criticism of labor's position on this issue have worked best?

14. What could the national organizations do that might help the unions meet these situations?

STATE AND CITY COUNCIL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of state or city council_____ _____
This questionnaire is for: ____AFL state federation or central labor council
____CIO state or city industrial union council
____Merged organization

2. Number of union locals in its jurisdiction _____.
" " " members " " " _____.
If this is a state body, in what cities or regions is the main concentration of union membership?

3. Has the race issue come up within the organization, that is, at the delegated body meetings or at the last convention or the executive board meetings? Yes ____. No____. If yes, give all the relevant facts.

4. Where among the unions in this jurisdiction has the race issue arisen? Name the locals, organizing dirves, geographical regions, etc.

5. Estimated number of all-Negro locals____. Of these, about how many are the counterparts to white locals covering the same crafts or companies?_____. Estimated Negro union membership_____. Estimated number of all-white locals _____. Estimated number of mixed locals_____.

6. If this is a state body, about how many Negro delegates attended the last convention? _____. Total delegates_____. Are there any Negro officers or members of the executive council of the state organization? Yes_____. No_____. If yes, specify.

If this is a city body, how many Negroes are delegates to the central body? _____. Total delegates _____. On the average, how many Negroes attend delegate body meetings? _____. Are there any Negro officers or members of the executive council of the city body? Yes___. No___. If yes, specify which.

7. Has this organization done anything on the questions of segregation, discrimination, White Citizens Councils, etc? Yes___. No___. Are there any ties with other groups concerned about these issues, for example, Southern Regional Council? Yes___. No___. If the answer to either is yes, give further details.

8. In political action has there been any relationship or alliances established by the labor movement with Negro organizations? Yes___. No___. Any effort to encourage Negro voting? Yes___. No___. If the answer to either is yes, give further facts.

9. Has there been any effort to educate the union membership on the current race situation, for example, through the union press, through workers' education institutes? Yes___. No___. If yes, give further facts.

COMMUNITY BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of community _____ State _____

2. Total population _____ Negro population _____

3. Is there a right-to-work law in the state? Yes ___. No _____.

4. Check if Negroes are:

	Integrated	Segregated	Excluded
In parks & golf courses	____	____	____
Colleges or universities	____	____	____
Movie houses	____	____	____
Hospitals	____	____	____

Describe on a separate sheet the pattern of segregation in local bus transportation.

5. Give figures (actual or estimated--indicate which):

_____ Registered white voters
_____ " Negro "
_____ Potential white voters
_____ " Negro "
_____ Whites who voted in last contested primary
_____ Negroes " " " " " "
_____ Whites who voted in 1952 presidential elections
_____ Negroes " " " " " "

6. Do Negroes receive normal protection from police and judicial forces? Yes___No___.

7. The expressed attitude of city and state officials is that the Supreme Court decision will be:

____(a) Complied with.
____(b) Resisted by every lawful means.
____(c) Undecided.

If (a) or (b), give further information on a separate sheet as to what has been done and what plans have been made to integrate or resist.

8. Check what you regard as the prevailing attitude in your community:

____(a) We will comply with the Supreme Court decision
_____1. as a matter of routine.
_____2. willingly.
_____3. reluctantly.
____(b) There will be no integrated schools in our community;
_____1. we will not defy the decision, but we will quietly circumvent integration.
_____2. if we cannot avoid integration, then we will abandon the public school system.

9. Indicate by corresponding letter and number (as in previous question, (a)1; b)2; etc.) which attitudes characterize the following groups. (In each case where there is a substantial difference of opinion among the top leadership of the group, give the differences.)

_____political leaders
_____Protestant church
_____Catholic church
_____Jewish synagogue
_____union leaders
_____newspapers (please list)

10. Have there been any incidents over desegregation within the last year? Yes ___. No___. If yes, describe on a separate sheet.

Have there been any other race indicents? Yes___. No ____. Have union members and/or leadership been involved? Yes___. No___. If either is yes, describe on a separate sheet.

11. Is there a White Citizens Council, or similar group, organized in this community? Yes___. No___. If similar group, give name _____. Estimated membership _____. Influence within the community _____.

Who are the leaders? What other positions in the community do they hold?

_____

_____

Composition of its membership: Wealthy citizens _____; community leaders _____; politicians _____; white collar people_____; workers_____; union members_____; union leaders_____.

Publicly expressed attitude of White Citizens Council in your community toward unions in general_____
What other sentiments are voiced at White Citizens Council meetings? Anti-Semitic _____. Anti-Catholic_____.

Is there any tie-up between the Council and anti-labor forces in the community? Yes____. No_____. If yes, specify.

12. Are there any community organizations working to bridge the gap between Negro and white in the community? Yes____. No____. If yes, list all, giving name, membership and other descriptive material.

Mixed groups

_____

_____

White groups

_____

_____

Are there any groups working openly for integration?

Negro groups

_____

_____

Others

_____

_____

Labor

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Trade Unions and Minority Problems

Issue Editors: Daniel Bell and Seymour Martin Lipset

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Internal politics in USW erupted into the open as Negro unionists demanding a bigger role handed out leaflets in front of the Amphitheatre.

Outward unity showed up in welcome Abel (left) and union gave Humphrey.

LABOR

Unions — Internal Affairs — Race

Dissent stirs Steelworkers' ranks

Demands by Negroes for seats on the union's executive board underscore a growing mood of militancy. This and other issues could flare into a revolt against Abel's leadership

In the city where politics is rampant, political questions dominated formal sessions—and the informal hotel room meetings—of the United Steelworkers' convention in Chicago this week.

From the time host Mayor Richard J. Daley, despite pressing labor problems of his own, welcomed the 3,300 delegates with a brief speech, a constant stream of political and labor luminaries took the podium to make rousing demands for a Democratic victory this fall.

If many of the speakers were greeted by only perfunctory applause, there was no denying the enthusiasm for Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey in his opening-day appearance at the International Amphitheatre. The Steelworkers' response left little doubt that Humphrey will have substantial labor support next week when, in another hall at the Amphitheatre, he will seek the Democratic Party nomination for President.

Greeted by a sea of signs proclaiming, among other things, "We love Hubert," the Vice-President drew standing ovations with his call for "a politics of hope and progress" rather than "despair and fear." In turn, Humphrey, described by USW President I. W. Abel as "the champion of the workingman," promised that if he becomes President, labor will have a "front row seat all the time" at the White House.

Call for victory. Other speakers also called for a Democratic victory so that, in the words of AFL-CIO President George Meany, the labor-Democratic coalition will "move America forward" with programs for the "welfare of the great masses of the American people." Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, urged a coalition of labor and Negro movements to eradicate poverty for whites and blacks.

Al Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO's committee on political education, warned that labor faces "great danger" if it is sidetracked by "phony issues" dramatized by George Wallace or Richard Nixon. "The legislative pipeline . . . is already filled with bills that will cripple collective bargaining."

More important for the future of the Steelworkers, however, were the internal political issues that erupted on the floor and resounded in late-night caucuses in a half-dozen Chicago hotels. With union-wide elections coming up next February, everybody from Abel down to the youngest delegate was angling for votes and influence in what could turn into a political crisis for the nation's third-largest union—and for Abel and his fellow officers, Vice-President Joseph P. Molony and

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August 13, 1968.

Secretary-Treasurer Walter J. Burke.

As of this week, despite rumors that flew about the convention floor, no strongman with recognized political backing had emerged into the open to run against Abel. So far, Abel appears to have a firm grip on the presidency—but dissatisfaction apparently building up in the union over many things could still result in an election challenge.

This possibility was borne out by the hottest issue to hit the floor. Since 1964, a Negro rank-and-file group calling itself the National Ad Hoc Committee has been demanding that Negroes be seated on USW's all-white executive board, which with a recent elimination of five geographical districts numbers 28 members—the three top officers and 25 district directors.

The National Ad Hoc Committee posted pickets outside the convention hall, held daily news conferences, and hinted that unless their demands for two Negroes on the board were met, black unionists might organize against Abel in next year's election.

Turned down. The Abel administration opposed the demands, contending that to create board positions specifically for Negroes (as, for example, the United Auto Workers has done) would be to indulge in "discrimination in reverse."

"I didn't hold office all these years as a Welshman, but as a steelworker," Abel told a pre-convention news conference. Molony, chairman of USW's civil rights committee, said that in some districts Negroes "stand an excellent chance" of being elected. The administration may support a Negro for director in the Baltimore district, which has a large Negro membership and a director due to retire.

None of this satisfied the pro-Negro committee. On Tuesday, when administration-opposed resolutions calling for new board seats hit the floor, six Negro delegates accused the administration of what one called "making beautiful speeches on civil rights without taking action."

"Negroes represent 20% of the Steelworkers' membership," shouted Negro delegate Carl Dickerson. "Even if we got every one of these votes, it would be almost impossible to elect a Negro director."

After speeches by Molony, Abel, and a Negro staff representative, James Jones, the convention rejected the Negroes' resolutions by an overwhelming voice vote. The Ad Hoc Committee, asserting that the action had created an "explosive" situation in the union, called a caucus at midweek to determine what action it would take.

Other political issues also cropped up. On Wednesday, in a rare action, delegates overruled the administration and forced committee resolutions on election reforms. Rank-and-filers especially demand constitutional changes to make it easier for members to run against incumbent district directors.

Mood of militancy. This sort of rift between rank-and-filers and the administration is what could bring about an election revolt next year. Many unionists are angry about the terms of the recently negotiated basic steel contract.

"It's a sham," one local unionist said. "All we get the first year is wages. Everything else is delayed till 1970, but you can bet the companies will get back the cost of the contract with increased prices in the first year."

Other unionists insist, too, that USW is doing "nothing" to counteract worker displacement by new processes in the steel industry. Top administration officials contend that "there is nothing we can do in bargaining to halt plant closedowns and department phaseouts." Only in piecemeal bits, they say, can USW approach the problem in bargaining—with improved benefits, higher pension rates, and a rate retention formula for workers shifted to lower-paid jobs.

"If we'd try to make a great moral issue out of this," said one top union aide, "we'd only delude the people that there is something dramatic we can do."

Many delegates tend to agree with this attitude. But they say the men in the mills are in a militant mood, especially because of initial dissatisfaction with the new steel contract. Time will erode the militancy. But in the meantime, local politicos such as Donald Rarick, perennial rank-and-file candidate for president, are feeding on the "desire for change."

Rarick intends to run against Abel at the head of a ticket called Rank-and-File Team (RAFT). He says he will have district director candidates in most districts, and that he is gaining "powerful support" at the local level. However, he must be nominated by 125 local unions in November in order to run against Abel, and between now and then administration forces will be beating the bushes to knock down what support he does have, mainly among young unionists and not among the old "dues rebels" of a decade ago, when Rarick polled a surprisingly large vote as an unknown running against former USW chief David J. McDonald. **End**

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December 6, 1968

EV Unions — Discrimination

Mr. William B. Arthur, Editor
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Arthur:

LOOK's November 12th article, "A National Disgrace: What Unions Do to Blacks", is itself a disgrace, full of distortions, misinformation, and just plain sloppy reporting.

Your headline falsely charges that most unions have excluded Negroes, forced them into Jim Crow locals when admitted and given them "dirty jobs."

The facts are: Most unions never had any Jim Crow locals; most have always admitted Negroes; almost none hire any workers--black or white--for any jobs, dirty or otherwise.

LOOK in its zeal to back up its rediculous headline published six untrue, sweeping allegations. The truth about each allegation is:

1. There are more than 1.5 million Negroes in unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

2. Of the more than 60,000 local unions in the AFL-CIO, less than 150 are now all-Negro and the campaign to merge all-Negro and all-white unions continues, even where some black locals are reluctant to change.

3. Negroes now constitute 3.6% of the apprenticeship force today, which is an increase of more than 100% in ten years. Labor Department figures, before your article was published, showed that Negro participation in apprenticeship has nearly doubled in the past 18 months. In addition to using an outdated figure (an increase from 1.7 to 2.7%), you also used deceptive arithmetic. Such an increase, as any high school math student would tell you, is not a 1% but a 60% increase. And speaking of "tokenism," do you dare tell your readers the percentage of senior editors--or just plain reporters--on LOOK who are black?

4. Unions, including building trades, not only have an open-door policy for apprentices but are engaged in programs to recruit Negro journeymen, among them the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Plumbers.

5. Non-union craftsmen, black and white, make considerably less money than organized workers do. That is why unions exist. That is why, according to BUSINESS WEEK, unorganized workers--black and white--are flocking to trade unions.

6. Long before the 1964 Civil Rights Act--for which organized labor fought as far back as World War II--unions had sought to eliminate segregated seniority and they continue to do so. Remember, seniority is a contract item and it takes two parties to write a contract. Also, management often balks at union attempts to improve seniority systems.

These six items cover only about one-third of the distortions in the LOOK article. It would take the same amount of space allotted to Mr. Star to answer them all.

I refer to such statements as "Not a single Negro has been admitted into any of the five (construction) locals in Newark, N.J." and the charge that there are no Negro locomotive firemen. Both are absolutely untrue, were untrue when Mr. Star wrote them, and could have been easily checked by an editor interested in honest reporting.

Further, the article also deceives by what it omits. No mention is made of the successful program to seek out and recruit minority group youngsters for building trades apprenticeship now being conducted in 44 major cities. In Cleveland, for instance, 150 Negro apprentices are now in training, of these 15 are Iron Workers and more than 25 are in the Plumbers program. In Washington, 160 Negro youths are training for highly paid construction jobs.

Mr. Star apparently used his research time to find six cases of alleged discrimination. By using six photographs with cleverly written captions, LOOK implies that these experiences are typical. In some cases the caption is untrue. (For instance, the two Richmond locals of the United Paper Makers Union had voted to merge before your issue was published--a fact any cub reporter could have discovered.) He also could have learned that the union here wiped out wage differentials between blacks and whites (common to non-union plants) at the bargaining table more than 15 years ago.

Or take the case of Mr. Dobbins, who incidentally is now a union electrician. The implication is that the IBEW has a policy of discrimination. The fact is that the vast majority of IBEW locals are now implementing the policy of involvement in a cooperative recruiting program to interest black workers in becoming union electricians.

We make no claim to perfection and would welcome a constructive critique of our progress in civil rights. For there has been progress and we intend that it continue despite attempts such as Mr. Star's to discourage young Negroes from looking for work. Labor is not and has not been the foe of the quest for a better life. Indeed, it has often been the only group fighting for this goal. And invariably, it has succeeeded despite the hostility of that segment of the press, which cares neither for the truth nor the cause--and would sacrifice both for sensational headlines.

Yours truly,

William F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer
Chairman
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee

DENNIS ASKS RETRACTION

'Look' Accused of Falsehoods In Article on Unions and Blacks

"Libelous misstatements" were charged to Look Magazine last week by President C. L. Dennis of the Railway and Airline Clerks—and he strongly demanded a retraction.

Dennis blasted a highly sensationalized article carried in the Nov. 12 issue of Look entitled "A National Disgrace: What Unions Do to Blacks." The magazine appeared on the newsstands Oct. 29.

The Clerks' leader declared that the article "completely misstates the facts as they relate" to alleged discrimination in his Brotherhood; also, its publication just before the election constituted "a dishonest attempt to influence voters."

Dennis called upon Look to publish a "complete retraction" of the article, correcting the record as it relates to the Railway Clerks. He provided facts for such a correction.

For example, the article said that in the Brotherhood "Negro freight handlers were replaced by less senior white workers who had been in the all-white baggage clerks seniority line."

Answered Dennis: "There is not one known instance under any of our more than 200 rules and working conditions agreements where one Negro freight handler was displaced by a white employe with less seniority."

"In no instance," he continued, "can an individual covered by our agreements displace a senior employee—and race, creed, color or sex has absolutely nothing to do with seniority under our agreements."

Another claim in the article that "Negroes have no seniority" in a white local and "therefore their jobs are out" was blasted by Dennis as "patently untrue and pure fantasy."

Further, the article says there are no Negro ticket clerks, and this was branded by Dennis as "completely untrue."

"I personally know of quite a few Negro ticket sellers working in several major passenger terminals in the United States," Dennis declared. He went to list names of some of them and the place where they work.

"It is always disturbing," the Clerks' leader went on, "that a magazine of the stature and circulation of Look constantly and consistently reports on the negative aspects of a story.

"Once in a while, it would be nice to read about the good work that is being done to solve some of the social ills of this nation instead of reading outright lies designed to weaken the labor movement.

"Our Brotherhood has participated in many joint ventures establishing on-the-job training programs designed to upgrade the arts, talents and skills of its membership. These agreements are open to all members regardless of race, creed, color or sex."

Dennis closed by saying he hoped that "an appropriate retraction" to the article would be published in an "early issue" of Look.

'Labor,'

'Labor' is the weekly paper of 18 unions representing railroad, airline and other workers in the U.S.

Brotherhood of Locomotive
Firemen and Enginemen
PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT
W. C. MIDDLETON
EDITOR AND MANAGER
1540 E. DETROIT AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44107

Rough draft

October 25, 1968

Mr. Jack Star
Senior Editor
LOOK MAGAZINE
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I have just read the first four paragraphs of your feature--A National Disgrace--WHAT UNIONS DO TO BLACKS and I am compelled already to charge you not only with outright bias, but with outright lies.

Mr. Star, at such a crucial period in our history, when lack of understanding, lack of objectivity, is causing unprecedented chaos in our land, such distorted reporting as you presented in the November 12 issue of LOOK is outright criminal. One can only conclude that it has for its motive the aim of driving away black voters from the political party which has worked so long and arduously to bring about needed changes in our society.

You wrote, "Four years ago, the Locomotive Firemen finally took the clause out, but there still aren't any Negro Firemen. Negroes, by the way, had traditionally been firemen in the coal-burning days, but the unions forced them out when diesel locomotives were introduced."

Mr. Star, although the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen has yet to hire the first railroad fireman, I want you to know that railroads all over this country have hired and are hiring railroad firemen, in the North, East, West and, yes, in the South.

Furthermore, when these men are hired they have the privilege of joining this organization, which most of them do immediately. Only recently I met negro firemen, members of the BLF&E, at a function in Little Rock, Arkansas. Before that several joined in meetings in Buffalo, New York, where I was

Mr. Jack Star October 25, 1968

privileged to speak to them and other members of the BLF&E. In these two specific instances the railroads on which these negro firemen are employed are the Missouri Pacific and Penn Central Railroads.

You state categorically that "unions forced them (black firemen) out when diesel locomotives were introduced."

There is not a shred of truth in this statement.

Mr. Star, I am sure you do not care to know the truth, otherwise you would have researched your subject before sitting down to your typewriter, but here is the truth of the matter, anyway.

If any negro firemen were forced out, as you say, as a result of the diesel revolution in our industry, I am unaware of it. But, if you mean that they lost out as a result of the infamous arbitration award which took firemen--black and white--from their posts in locomotives, I suggest to you that this is still another story. More than 20,000 lost out--black and white.

And while we are on this subject, let me tell you that we have fought as no other organization has ever fought big business to bring back those needed firemen--black or white--with publications such as yours often joining to block our efforts.

Mr. Star, the need for understanding, the need for racial peace, the need for objectivity has never been greater than it is right now. Such warped reasoning and unfounded statements as appear in this article should be suspect at any time. But, coming at a time like this proves beyond any question that your interests lie not in informing for the sake of informing, but rather writing for the sake of sensationalism.

You have done your readers and our country a great disservice by publishing such unfounded statements that appear at the beginning of your article. But, what is worse, you may have sown the seeds of yet another disorder, yet another riot.

This to me seems to be a terrible price for sensationalism.

Sincerely,

UNITED PAPERMAKERS AND PAPERWORKERS

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AFL-CIO & CLC

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October 28, 1968

Mr. Leonard Rubin
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Rubin:

I find it regrettable that you did not bother to check with us about references made to United Papermakers and Paperworkers in the November 12 issue of Look, which will be on the stands, as you state, tomorrow.

The picture of Brother Willie W. Simpson on Page 37 is a member of Local 528, which was merged with Local 548 by voluntary vote of the membership sometime ago.

Further, I can advise you that the issues which concern the Crown Zellerbach case at Bogalusa have been almost totally resolved by stipulation and agreement among the parties, but endless reference to these difficult circumstances in a national magazine do not make our task easier, unless the intent is to discredit unions generally.

Finally, I can advise you that through collective bargaining over fifteen years ago this Union wiped out the racial wage differential in the paper industry, which today remains common in unorganized plants. The fact is the negro members of UPP working in the southern paper industry are probably the highest paid industrial manufacturing workers, with the possible exception of Birmingham steel workers and Atlanta auto workers. We are rather proud of these achievements, and are more than somewhat weary of being included in the general stoning by people like Herbert Hill.

Harry D. Sayre
President

HDS:IBK

cc Executive Board

LOOK

A PUBLICATION OF COWLES COMMUNICATIONS, INC. 488 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK NY 10022 MU 8-0300

Public Relations
and Information Services

RECD OCT 28 1968

Your union is mentioned in an article (enclosed) in the forthcoming issue of Look, "What Unions Do to Blacks." I thought you might be interested in commenting on this piece, or mentioning it in your publication.

This will appear in Look's November 12 issue -- out nationally on Tuesday, October 29.

Leonard Rubin
Look Magazine

Eq Empl Op — Negros

BALTIMORE SUN
FEB 4

STEEL PLANT BIAS HEARING IS RESUMED

Negroes Are Locked In By Bethlehem System, D.C. Panel Is Told

By NAOMI S. ROVNER
[*Washington Bureau of The Sun*]

Washington, Feb. 3 — Government witnesses testified today that Negro employees at the Bethlehem Steel Plant in Sparrows Point are still "locked" into a discriminatory seniority system which effectively blocks their advancement.

The testimony came as hearings resumed on charges by the United States Department of Labor that the steel company has violated nondiscrimination rules which must be adhered to if it is to receive government contracts.

Unable To Transfer

Three Negro employees of Bethlehem and a former white employment interviewer at the plant led off the government case, which holds that Negro employees there are frozen into "any of the most dirty, dangerous, low-paying jobs."

Johnny Fair, a 37-year-old mechanic's helper at Sparrows Point, testified he had started working at the plant in 1955 in the acid cleaning section of the coke ovens department.

He told the three-man hearing panel that he was unable to transfer to a job which had a higher paying top category until 1966, and found when he did transfer that he had lost all the seniority he had built up in the jobs which are traditionally filled at the plant by Negroes.

"I Was The Victim"

He said the effect of this rule was that, although he had worked for the company for 12 years, he was the first man to be given a lower paying job during a company curtailment last year.

He said: "You transfer at your own risk, because at the first cutback you're the one to get it. That's why a lot of men are not willing to take the risk."

"I was the victim of this myself last year," Mr. Fair said, and added that he had taken a pay cut of $40 a week.

The hearings, expected to continue for at least a week, are being held before a panel of three labor lawyers and arbitrators. They are the Rev. Dexter L. Hanley, S. J., of the Georgetown University Law School, the panel chairman; Peter Seitz, of New York, and Lloyd H. Bailer, of Los Angeles.

A new battery of government lawyers, headed by William Fauver, a special counsel for Labor Department's contract compliance office, is presenting the case before the panel, which has only advisory authority.

"Years And Decades"

Many observers anticipate that the case, involving the possible cancellation of more than $50 million in government contracts, and perhaps three times that amount in sub-contracts, could still wind up in a long Federal Court litigation.

In his opening statement today, Mr. Fauver said that in order to prove that the company is not now complying with the rules against racial bias, the government would have to show "the rigorous, traditional and historical racial discrimination," which he alleged has been going on at the plant "for years and decades."

He called the group of employees who came to the plant and were placed in the traditionally "Negro job categories" the "locked-in generation."

The first witness for the government today was Stanton Collins, a 35-year-old Reisterstown resident who is employed by the Social Security Administration.

He said he had spent four summers, while he was in college, working as an interviewer in the Sparrows Point steel plant employment office.

"Initial Screening"

He said he conducted "initial screening and processing of job applicants," and he testified that although the application forms contained no questions as to race, he and the other interviewers coded them with a circled number "1," designating a white, and a "2," showing a Negro applicant.

He said he was told each morning how many jobs were open and which jobs were reserved for white applicants and which for black.

He said the "Negro-only jobs" were in the general labor force, in the glass furnaces, the coke ovens and the open hearth department. Policemen, firemen, apprentices, skilled and clerical jobs were reserved for whites, he said.

He testified that he was instructed by one particular supervisor to look for "big black niggers" to fill the heavy laborer positions open.

Mr. Collins also testified that the supervisor had demonstrated a deep prejudice against Negroes in a personal conversation with him.

Harsh Obscenity

"We're both Catholics," Mr. Collins said, "and maybe that's why he showed me a religious picture one of his children had brought home from Sunday school . . . showing Christ . . . with his arms open to a Negro child with a caption something like 'Whatever You Do For The Least Of My Brethren, You Do For Me.' "

The government worker then testified that his supervisor had used a harsh obscenity to discount the picture's message.

On cross examination, Ralph L. McAfee questioned Mr. Collins's "phenomenal memory," established that the young man had serious vision problems and that he had got his summer jobs only because his father and grandfather were Bethlehem employees.

The company lawyer also brought out records which showed that Mr. Collins's father had at one time been demoted and "retired early."

Mr. Collins told the Bethlehem representative that he had been approached by Lawrence Ageloff, identified as a former active member of the Congress of Racial Equality to recount his Sparrows Point experiences to Labor Department investigators.

Union Procedures Unhelpful

In later testimony Mr. Fair, and Joseph Butler, 42, a graduate of Howard University in Washington who worked only in menial jobs at the Sparrows Point plant from 1955 to 1968, indicated that the grievance procedures of the locals of the United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO) had not been helpful to Negroes seeking to move into better jobs.

Mr. Fair was asked by the Bethlehem laywer if he had availed himself of the union grievance procedures and the former acid cleaner answered: "Yes I did—that grievance ran up and ran down and I never did get the truth.

"I heard it was withdrawn by the union," he testified, "but I was not notified."

Mr. Butler, who came to Bethlehem with a bachelor of arts degree and a college major in German, from a $35-a-week job in a Washington parking lot, said he was given an unskilled job in the coke ovens on a "take-it-or-leave-it basis."

Now a mechanic's helper, Mr. Butler said he served as a shop steward in 1964 and as recording secretary of the union's civil rights committee in 1967.

He told the panel of "tests" that had been established for Negroes wishing to transfer to the previously unavailable skilled jobs and characterized them as "merely barriers to keep Negroes from promoting."

He told the group that Mr. Fair's transfer problems had been resolved only after the civil rights committee had "after hard negotiations" convinced the company to drop some of the tests in areas where none had existed before the 1960 executive order barring discrimination.

In addition to the government and company legal teams, the steelworkers and the legal defense fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were represented today.

Both major parties in the case have filed new briefs with the panel, the government alleging continued racial bias against the mammoth steel plant's more than 8,000 Negro employees, and the company denying them.

As the government case continues tomorrow, witnesses are expected to produce charts and graphs which have been run through sophisticated computers to back up the bias charges.

POVERTY BOARD
(continued)

which are expected to be followed.

It recommended, first, that the agency's "national emphasis" programs—including Head Start, legal services; Upward Bound, comprehensive health services and family planning—"be spun off to other agencies as soon as they are firmly established.

It also recommended that the Job Corps program be discontinued as a "separate entity" within the poverty agency and be transferred to the Department of Labor or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

At the same time, however, it urged the incoming Administration not to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity but, instead, to change its name and convert it into an agency largely concerned with the invention and protection—the "care and feeding"—of experimental antipoverty efforts that might otherwise suffocate in the vast executive departments.

The "reconstituted" poverty agency would also continue to manage the network of local community action agencies established under its auspices over the last several years and designed to encourage citizens' participation and self-help activities.

Finally, the agency would also, under the team's recommendations, assume jurisdiction over neighborhood "community development corporations" called for in legislation now pending before Congress.

The legislation is designed to create incentives for neighborhood residents to form community business ventures.

The team's report recommended that the "spinning-off" of the poverty agency's major program functions should properly begin with Head Start, which it described as "ready for delegation" to another department.

This evening a ranking White House official all but confirmed that Head Start would be the first poverty program to leave its present home.

He pointed out that the principal architect of Head Start, Jule Sugarman, had moved over to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare six months ago. Asked what Mr. Sugarman was doing in his new post, the official replied: "He's waiting for his program to arrive."

NEW YORK TIMES FEB 1

Poverty Aide Takes a Long View

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 — Alviso, Calif., is a little mud town about an hour out of San Francisco, inhabited by a few thousand Mexican-American migrant workers.

Their poverty level made them eligible to apply for a community health center, financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. They had no doctors and little hope of getting any.

Then somebody read in a newspaper that two San Francisco doctors were in tax trouble and were about to be jailed. A few of the migrants went to San Francisco and suggested to the authorities that there was a place worse than jail—Alviso.

The authorities agreed, and Alviso got its doctors, and an attractive health center that cost the taxpayers less than $20,000. The men of Alviso built it themselves. It is still operating and has its own medical staff.

Cooperation by Doctors

The experience in Alviso is significant because it tells something important about the poverty program that does not readily meet the eye — the program has gradually led to changes in some of the more conservative institutions in the nation.

The decision to assign the two doctors to Alviso, rather than to jail, required the cooperation of two of those institutions — the tax and judicial fraternities. It also bequired the support of organized medicine, which, contrary to early expectations, has helped to establish 40 other comprehensive family medical centers set up by O.E.O. in poor neighborhoods.

At the moment, the antipoverty agency is in the spotlight because of the disappearance of $2.7-million in antipoverty funds in New York City, criticism that too much policy discretion has been given to the poor, and the apparent determination of the Nixon Administration to reduce the agency's operational area.

Bertrand M. Harding, a career civil servant who is now director of the agency, says that he sees the agency in a longer, broader perspective but concedes that the staff's daily diet of incoming news has not been good for morale.

Function of Agency

When the story of the agency is told in that longer, broader perspective, Mr. Harding believes, its impact may be measured less in the number of dollars spent (or stolen), or in the number of individuals raised above the poverty line, and more in the institutional changes effected.

"America has probably seen more institutional change in the last few years than in any similar period of our history," the director says.

For that he gives the antipoverty agency a large part of the credit, or blame. Its function never was to distribute dollars to the poor but to change the circumstances that made and helped keep some people poor.

To the comfortable, "change" can be a threatening word, Mr. Harding says. It has brought

Finds Conservative Institutions Being Slowly Changed

criticism and resistance. But, even so, he says, many significant changes have been accepted in the institutions of law, medicine, education, and even religion. The changes, in his view, literally run into the hundreds, but they have low visibility — often low, local visibility.

Change Among Lawyers

For example, the American legal fraternity used to be virtually a closed institution. About 1 per cent of the lawyers came from minority groups, Mr. Harding estimated.

The antipoverty agency has now been joined by the American and National Bar Associations and the American Association of Law Schools in actively recruiting members of minority groups into law schools and the legal profession. Last year the agency provided the Council on Legal Education Opportunity $500,000 to facilitate the entry into law schools of at least 300 minority group students.

Law school curriculums have changed, too. More than 90 law schools are offering courses in poverty law and some have set up neighborhood law offices and clinics, financed in some cases by the agency's research and demonstration grants.

The impact has been so great that 15 states have passed laws to permit second- and third-year law students to engage in limited practice.

Rights for Tenants

Poverty law deals with such problems as tenant rights and fraudulent consumer contracts and other special problems of the poor.

A project of the antipoverty agency at the University of Detroit Law School led the Michigan Legislature to enact laws that gave tenants a new bill of rights. The new laws made building code enforcement a civil matter and gave tenants the right to go directly to court instead of contending with the municipal bureaucracy and political wire-pulling.

These laws also require that all leases include a pledge by the landlord to keep the premises in "livable" condition. They hold that tenants may not be evicted for exercising lawful rights, such as reporting code violations.

Another institution undergoing change because of the antipoverty agency is education. Project Head Start was established for disadvantaged preschool children four years ago over the opposition of many experts and school boards. Now that two million children have been served in more than 13,000 Head Start centers, few experts seriously deny the value of the program.

New View in Clergy

Higher education has also been affected. About 300 colleges are operating an Upward Bound program to stimulate the under-achieving, C-average high school student to continue his education. Typically, the 7,500 young people who have been served by college students in the program came from poverty backgrounds and were candidates for perpetuating that poverty.

Churches typically used to preach a religion of success. The churches more and more have been preaching a religion of compassion.

A lot of ministers, priests and rabbis came to believe that the slum was where they should be because that was where men were suffering most. The National Council of Churches operate migrant labor programs. Ministers and priests are on Community Action boards, and hundreds of nuns teach in Head Start programs.

On the local level, Community Action agencies have stimulated institutional change in many different ways.

In Camden, N.J., for example, the local poverty agency persuaded physicians and 45 pharmacists to help poor, elderly citizens by providing many drugs under their generic names instead of the higher-priced trade-name versions of the same drugs.

Sanitary District Formed

In southern Alameda County, Calif., the Community Action agency developed a policy of organizing programs and spinning them off to established agencies. For example, it organized volunteer teachers for an adult language and literacy class that was taken over and expanded by the school system.

It organized a child care center with nonprofessional aides that is to be taken over by the school system and linked with a job training program.

It researched the need for dewage facilities, leading to the formation of a sanitary district by three cities — Fremont, Newark and Union City.

The antipoverty program, with O.E.O. at its center, has given high visibility nationally to the one-seventh of Americans who were poor. Community Action agencies achieved that on the local level, each in its own way with its own programs under local initiative.

A Voice for the Poor

Through many of these agencies the poor have found a voice and a platform, and in some cases they literally marched on city hall. Many politicians felt threatened, and they in turn threatened the antipoverty program.

A 1967 amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act gave local elected officials authority to take over Community Action agencies. Few did. Community Action's militant advocacy in the early days has simmered down without stilling the voices of the poor.

Robert A. Levine, who recently resigned as the antipoverty agency's assistant director for research, plans, programs and evaluation, summed it up this way:

"In the early days, Community Action did have a tendency to mount its horse and charge in all directions, piercing many windmills with many lances. To some extent this is still true, and there are still some people in O.E.O. who wish it were even more true. But they are not directing Community Action. And community action is not going to go away."

WIRTZ REPORT
(continued)

"The department (like the government as a whole) has not yet found the significantly new ways that are necessary to attract top-flight college graduates in substantial numbers. This could be the single, most ominous long-range problem in government administration today," he decided.

Joint Application

The snail's pace of progress was illustrated in Wirtz's report of an accomplishment—a joint application for use by local governments seeking funds under 28 federal programs run by four federal agencies.

Wirtz prided himself on staying out of labor-management disputes, especially toward the end of his five-year tenure. He feels strongly that Cabinet officers should not intervene because the parties can solve their own problems more effectively.

When he took office in the wake of master troubleshooter Arthur J. Goldberg, however, the Labor Department scene was far different: "Haggard men spending the night glaring at each other across the bargaining table, while the press and radio and television crews kept death watches in the corridors."

Wirtz listed a long series of accomplishments, ranging from a sharp increase in the number of Negroes in high-level posts to the establishment of the $2 billion Manpower Administration to train unemployed workers.

But, he said, the new secretary and his aides cannot relax their vigilance.

"An administrative situation that had become almost frozen is now fluid," Wirtz said. "But if the custodians of inertia are in retreat, they have not disbanded."

U.S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration

THE MANPOWER DAILY REPORTER

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Thursday, February 6, 1969

Eq. Empl. Op. — Unions

NEW YORK TIMES
FEB 6

Nixon Aides to Seek Tighter Fiscal Rein On H.R.A. Projects

By MARTIN TOLCHIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5—The Nixon Administration will follow the lead of its predecessor and seek tighter fiscal control and improved programing for New York's antipoverty agency, city officials were told today.

"The city and the Labor Department are working cooperatively to achieve more effective controls," said a member of the Administration.

The Labor Department provides funds for most of the city's antipoverty programs dealing with manpower and career training.

George P. Shultz, the Secretary of Labor, and his aides also told Mayor Lindsay and the Human Resources Administrator, Mitchell I. Ginsberg, and their aides that the Federal Government would seek to provide increased technical assistance to improve programs and fiscal management.

The Federal officials also said they would strive for prompt financing of the city's antipoverty programs, to end their hand-to-mouth existence.

"We are aware that late funding is a problem, particularly for New York City," said a high official of the Labor Department. "Earlier funding is desirable."

He declined to say whether the Nixon Administration would recommend legislation to ease this problem.

Mr. Ginsberg said that "we have long urged the Federal Government to provide us with more technical assistance, and we certainly welcome their offer."

"We have also been trying to make it clear for many years that early funding is absolutely essential to both effective programs and efficient management," Mr. Ginsberg said. "We are delighted to receive the Federal Government's commitment to making this possible."

The two-hour meeting in Secretary Shultz's office was termed "very constructive" by Mayor Lindsay and "cordial" by the Labor Department official, who asked not to be identified.

The official added: "We don't have the legacy of recrimination that developed over the months between our predecessors and the city."

Youth Corps Plans

The Mayor said after the meeting that he would submit plans for the city's summer program of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program "very soon, within the next month." That program provides jobs for slum teen-agers

Mr. Lindsay, asked whether there was a deadline for submitting the plans, replied: "We didn't discuss deadlines. We don't have any deadlines."

The Labor Department official commented: "A deadline implies that you're hitting somebody over the head. Here there is willingness to comply. We talked about scheduling certain steps."

The Federal officials told the Mayor and his aides that the city was expected to implement major parts of an audit previously condemned by Mr. Ginsberg as "totally false."

The audit, by W. M. O'Reilly, was not mentioned by name, but many of the recommendations were referred to. The audit was highly critical of nearly all fiscal operations of the Human Resources Administration, the superagency that administers the city's $1.6-billion welfare program and its $122-million antipoverty program.

On Jan. 15, commenting on the O'Reilly report, Mr. Ginsberg declared:

"I think the report is utterly false, but I am not saying that there are not points that are not correct. Any idiot can make a report, and if you find it, it will be on the front page of The New York Times."

This was obviously a reference to disclosures made in The Times last week about irregularities and corruption in the Human Resources Administration.

The H.R.A.'s most glaring deficiencies, the O'Reilly audit said, were the absence of a general ledger to record and control transactions affecting assets, liabilities, fund equity, received and expenditures; and the absence of any financial reports reflecting financial conditions.

Mr.Ginsberg said today that "some of the specifics that were mentioned "at today's meeting" had been proposed by Mr. O'Reilly and others, but the report was not mentioned specifically."

"Certainly we are all interested in improving fiscal controls," Mr. Ginsberg said. "We had discussions of the safeguards that have been developed and already implemented by H.R.A."

"In addition," he said, "we discussed a few additional measures proposed by the Labor Department, and all expressed confidence that complete agreement on a whole range of necessary safeguards will be reached shortly."

In a related development, the Congressional task force investigating the City's antipoverty program has resolved to begin an extensive investigation of H. R. A.'s inventory "to see if equipment is tagged state and city property," Representative Hugh L. Carey, the group's chairman, said today.

Mr. Carey, a Brooklyn Democrat, said he hoped Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Ginsberg "would not be asking for more relaxed treatment, but would be coming forward with new ideas."

BALTIMORE SUN
FEB 6

UNION BACKS BETHLEHEM

Says Anti-Bias Action May Alter Negotiated Policies

By NAOMI S. ROVNER
[*Washington Bureau of The Sun*]

Washington, Feb. 5—A top official of the United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO) put his union in the Bethlehem Steel Corporation's camp today at federal hearings into government charges of racial bias at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point facility.

Ben Fisher, the USW's chief contract administrator, told a three-man fact-finding panel that if proposals from the Federal Office of Contract Compliance to end discrimination were implemented, decades of union-company negotiated policies and procedures would be negated, or made impossible to administer.

He also charged that the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprentice and Training was itself perpetuating discrimination through its required entrance rules which effectively bar persons with limited formal education.

The compliance office, when it found that discrimination did, in fact, exist at the plant, ordered Bethlehem to permit workers to change jobs and be promoted on the basis of their length of service in the plant, rather than in a particular unit.

The bureau also told the company it must permit employees to transfer without a loss in pay, even when the new job carries a lower rate.

"Invitation To Chaos"

In their trial brief, Bethlehem attorneys called the proposal "an express invitation to chaos in a steel plant."

In his testimony today Mr. Fisher appeared to uphold this contention.

Remedies "Unworkable"

He called the bias remedies proposed by the government "entirely unworkable," and claimed that "any wholesale change would subvert the whole [rate] system and probably destroy its very existence."

Under careful questioning from George H. Cohen, a Washington-based lawyer for the union, Mr. Fisher explained that the union had for years tried to negotiate a rational assignment of rates to jobs rather than individuals out of the pre-1944 "jungle wage system," and had been able to do so only with favorable war labor board rulings."

"The minute you have people paid at different rates on the same job you have problems," the veteran negotiator declared.

Negroes "Locked In"

The government's case against the Sparrows Point plant, one of the largest steel-making facilities in the world, holds in large part that the loss of "unit seniority"—used for layoff, recall and promotion purposes—which occurs in all voluntary transfers to other units has created a "frozen-in generation" of Negro workers who were assigned to the "hotter and dirtier" departments years ago and are now effectively "locked in."

But Mr. Fisher upheld today the company's contention that using years of service in the plant rather than in a unit would be inefficient and harmful to morale, and would compromise plant safety and destroy job security.

The day's most hostile exchange occurred as William Fauver, the chief of the government's legal team, opened his crossexamination of the steel union official.

Isolation And Discrimination

Referring again to the Justice Department's case against Bethlehem's Lackawanna plant in Buffalo, Mr. Fauver cited Mr. Fisher's contention there that

Continued on Page 5

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OEO increases funds for hard-core jobs

An increase in Fiscal Year 1969 of employment programs for the hard-core unemployed, funded with monies appropriated to OEO, has been announced by Bertrand M. Harding, acting director of OEO.

Out of the $1.948 billion appropriation approved by Congress in October, $937 million has been allocated to employment programs for the current fiscal year, as compared to $807 million obligated for such programs in Fiscal Year 1968. (Fiscal years begin July 1 and end June 30).

Other OEO programs in Fiscal 1969 will generally continue at existing levels with the cost of on-going programs rising somewhat above the previous fiscal year. This is largely because of one-time economies for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Fiscal Year 1968 that are not available again, re-funding of Fiscal 1967 projects which needed no funds in 1968, and increases for projects either started or still building in the previous year.

* * *

THE LARGEST increase in OEO allocations is for the JOBS Program (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector). The allocation goes up to $162 million as contrasted with $70 million in Fiscal Year 1968. The program is operated by the National Alliance of Businessmen in a cooperative venture with government.

As approved by the Bureau of the Budget, the allocation to JOBS will provide for 70,000 employment slots, which President Johnson specified when he inaugurated the program last year.

Other employment programs which will be increased slightly are the Concentrated Employment Program, up to $83 million from $74 million, and the Special Impact Program, up to $22 million from $20 million.

The out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps Program will go from $96 million in Fiscal 1968 to $130 million in Fiscal 1969; Operation Mainstream from $22 million to $41 million; summer Neighborhood Youth Corps from $114 million to $125 million; and New Careers from $8 million to $19 million.

The increased allocations will provide a greater investment in programs that serve the elderly poor. At the same time, assistance to the poor in rural areas will receive increased emphasis through the strengthening of current programs in these areas.

* * *

IN OTHER PROGRAM areas the Head Start appropriation will remain at $318 million; Head Start Follow-Through will go from $15 million to $30 million; Comprehensive Health Centers from $33 million to $60 million; Family Planning $9 million to $13 million; Emergency Food and Medical, $13 million to $17 million; Legal Services $36 million to $42 million; Local Initiative, $321 million to $332 million; and Upward Bound, $32 million to $30 million.

The Job Corps will drop from $282 million to $280 million. Migrant programs will be up from $25 million to $27 million; VISTA up from $29 million to $32 million.

The small decrease in Job Corps and Upward Bound allocations do not reflect a reduction in the level of activity in those programs. Because of carry-over funds, these programs carry the same or an increased number of slots for Fiscal Year 1969.

* * *

IN TERMS of persons served:

Full-year Head Start will remain constant at 218,000.

Summer Head Start will remain at 477,000.

The Job Corps remains at 36,000 slots.

VISTA is up from 4,300 slots to 4,900.

Upward Bound from 25,000 to 26,000.

Comprehensive Health Centers from 960,000 served to 998,000.

Legal Services from 475,000 to 600,000.

Los Angeles Times
—Fri., Jan. 31, 1969

Aides Plan to Keep Training Unit Open

Directors of the Opportunities Industrialization Center said Thursday they plan to keep the South-Central Los Angeles vocational training facility open despite the pullout of federal funds.

OIC's board elected a new acting director, Clarence Shaw, 31, an assistant program coordinator of the County Probation Department's Volunteers in Service to Offenders project.

The Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, local community action agency, last week ordered a phaseout of funds for OIC from federal sources—the Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Labor Department.

The local OIC, which offers basic and motivational education at a feeder center in Watts and vocational training at 6135 S. Central Ave., originally was formed here by ministers and other black community figures as part of a nationwide self-help program headquartered in Philadelphia.

How OEO divided funds

OEO's division of the $1.948 billion fiscal year 1969 appropriation shows a sharp new emphasis on programs to recruit, train and hire the hard core unemployed.

For the first time in OEO's history, community action programs have been displaced as the largest single money recipient among the anti-poverty agency's parts.

Congress decided upon the $1.948 billion figure. OEO officials then divided the money among their various programs.

They did have some guidlines for the allocations from Congress in the authorization bill and legislative history on some other measures.

Here is a partial breakdown of the OEO decisions on allocations for fy 1969, as compared with fy 1967 and 1968.

Program	Fy 1967	Fy 1968 (in millions)	Fy 1969
Work and training includes:	$779	$807	$937
Out-of-School	148	96	130
Operation Mainstream	26	22	41
In-School	69	59	46
Summer	133	114	125
Job Corps	209	282	280
New Careers	17	8	19
Concentrated Emplayment	49	74	83
JOBS	—	60	152
DOL Support	11	18	20
Special Impact	7	20	22
Work Experience	100	44	10
Foster Grandparents	10	10	9
Community Action includes:	$806	$864	$931
Head Start	349	318	318
Follow Through	—	15	30
Comp. Health Centers	51	33	60
Family planning	4	9	13
Emer. Food/medical	10	13	17
Legal services	25	36	42
Senior oppty	—	3	4
Local initiative	278	321	332
Support	61	84	85
Upward Bound	28	32	30
Migrants	33	25	37
VISTA	26	29	32
General administration	14	14	15
Unobligated	4	7	—

Unions — Black Separatism

RWDSU 2/9/69 Record

'Black Militants' Allied With Bosses In New Drive Against Union Shop

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The National Right to Work Committee apparently intends to exploit the nation's poorer-paid workers—Negroes, farm workers and public employees—in its efforts to destroy the union shop.

The committee, which is supported by money from anti-union employers, paraded spokesmen for its latest strategy at a press conference here. Among those who spoke were:

- Ben Howard of Los Angeles, a former UAW member, who spoke out for black separatism and dual unionism as a leader of a California group called Black Workers Alliance.
- Jose Mendoza, self-styled farm worker, who has been touring the country with financial help from the committee in an effort to undermine the grape workers' strike in California.
- James Nixon, a Negro, who has brought suit in an attempt to knock out an agency shop contract negotiated between the City of Detroit and State, County & Municipal Employes Council 77.

Howard said that his alliance hopes to raid established unions in California to form "separate" black unions. Under questioning he conceded this was "dual unionism" and he might run into trouble securing elections under the Taft-Hartley law.

Howard, who said he is vice chairman of the western region of the Congress on Racial Equality, distributed copies of a resolution passed by Los Angeles CORE supporting the open shop.

Asked whether his CORE chapter was typical of others, he admitted he knew of no other CORE group that had come out against the union shop.

He claimed that "there have been moves" within the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference "to combat" the union shop. He couldn't specifically identify any. When a reporter reminded him that the late Dr. Martin Luther King, who formerly headed SCLC, was a strong supporter of the union shop, Howard nodded assent.

Asked why he was no longer a member of UAW Local 887 at North American-Rockwell, an aircraft manufacturer, he said he was promoted out of the bargaining unit into a supervisory post at the plant.

It was brought out that North American-Rockwell has a union shop contract, which was overwhelmingly approved in a 1968 referendum conducted among the firm's 21,000 workers.

Mendoza told how the committee "has sponsored me on tours" through the United States in opposition to the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee's boycott of grape growers who refuse to recognize or bargain with the union or to permit an election among the grape pickers.

He identified himself as general secretary of Farm Workers—Freedom to Work, which he said was formed "after a series of workers' rallies last fall" to oppose UFWOC.

A spokesman for UFWOC in Delano, Calif., said the organization was formed with financial backing from Giumarra Vineyards of Bakersfield and several other grape growers who have opposed union rights for their workers.

Res Copy to EU

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1970

'Benign Neglect' for Issue of Race?

By DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

Mr. Moynihan, counselor to President Nixon, wrote this text as a "memorandum to the President."

As the new year begins, it occurs to me that you might find useful a general assessment of the position of Negroes at the end of the first year of your Administration, and of the decade in which their position has been the central domestic political issue.

In quantitative terms, which are reliable, the American Negro is making extraordinary progress. In political terms, somewhat less reliable, this would also appear to be true. In each case, however, there would seem to be countercurrents that pose a serious threat to the welfare of the blacks and the stability of the society, white and black.

1. Employment and Income

The nineteen-sixties saw the great breakthrough for blacks. A third (32%) of all families of Negro and other races earned $8,000 or more in 1968 compared, in constant dollars, with 15% in 1960.

The South is still a problem. Slightly more than half (52%) of the Negro population lived in the South in 1969. There, only 19% of families of Negro and other races earned over $8,000.

Young Negro families are achieving income parity with young white families. Outside the South, young husband-wife Negro families have 99% of the income of whites! For families headed by a male age 25 to 34, the proportion was 87%. Thus, it may be this ancient gap is finally closing.

Income reflects employment, and this changed dramatically in the nineteen-sixties. Blacks continued to have twice the unemployment rates of whites, but these were down for both groups. In 1969, the rate for married men of Negro and other races was only 2.5%. Teen-agers, on the other hand, continued their appalling rates: 24.4% in 1969.

Black occupations improved dramatically. The number of professional and technical employes doubled in the period 1960-68. This was two and a half times the increase for whites. In 1969, Negro and other races provided 10% of the other-than-college teachers. This is roughly their proportion of the population (11%). Is it an improvement

2. Education

In 1968, 19% of Negro children 3 and 4 years old were enrolled in school, compared to 15% of white children. Forty-five per cent of Negroes 18 and 19 years old were in school, almost the equal of the white proportion of 51%. Negro college enrollment rose 85% between 1964 and 1968, by which time there were 434,000 Negro college students. (The total full-time university population of Great Britain is 200,000).

Educational achievement should not be exaggerated. Only 16% of Negro high school seniors have verbal test scores at or above grade level. But blacks are staying in school.

3. Female-Headed Families

This problem does not get better, it gets worse. In 1969, the proportion of husband-wife families of Negro and other races declined once again, this time to 68.7%. The illegitimacy ratio rose once again, this time to 29.4% of all live births. (The white ratio rose more sharply, but was still only 4.9%.)

Increasingly, the problem of Negro poverty is the problem of the female-headed family. In 1968, 56% of Negro families with income under $3,000 were female-headed. In 1968, for the first time, the number of poor children in female-headed families (2,241,000) was greater than the number in male-headed families (1,947,000).

4. Social Pathology

The incidence of anti-social behavior among young black males continues to be extraordinarily high. Apart from white racial attitudes, this is the biggest problem black Americans face, and in part it helps shape white racial attitudes. Black Americans injure one another. Because blacks live in de facto segregated neighborhoods and go to de facto segregated schools, the socially stable elements of the black population cannot escape the socially pathological ones. Routinely, their children get caught up in the antisocial patterns of the others.

You are familiar with the problem of crime. Let me draw your attention to another phenomenon, exactly parallel, and originating in exactly the same social circumstances: Fire. Unless I mistake the trends, we are heading for a genuinely serious fire problem in American cities. In New York, for example, between 1956 and 1969 the over-all fire alarm rate more than tripled, from 69,000 alarms to 240,000. These alarms are concentrated in slum neighborhoods, primarily black. In 1968, one slum area had an alarm rate per square mile 13 times that of the city as a whole. In another, the number of alarms has, on an average, increased 44% per year for seven years.

Many of these fires are the result of population density. But a great many are more or less deliberately set. (Thus, on Monday, welfare protestors set two fires in the New York state capitol.) Fires are in fact a "leading indicator" of social pathology for a neighborhood. They come first. Crime, and the rest, follows. The psychiatric interpretation of fire-setting is complex, but it relates to the types of personalities which slums produce. (A point of possible interest: Fires in the black slums peak in July and August. The urban riots of 1964-1968 could be thought of as epidemic conditions of an endemic situation.)

5. Social Alienation

With no real evidence, I would nonetheless suggest that a great deal of the crime, the fire-setting, the rampant school violence and other such phenomena in the black community have become quasi-politicized. Hatred—revenge—against whites is now an acceptable excuse for doing what might have been done anyway. This is bad news for any society, especially when it takes forms which the Black Panthers seem to have adopted.

This social alienation among the black lower classes is matched and probably enhanced, by a virulent form of anti-white feeling among portions of the large and prosperous black middle class. It would be difficult to overestimate the degree to which young, well-educated blacks detest white America.

6. The Nixon Administration

As you have candidly acknowledged, the relation of the Administration to the black population is a problem. I think it ought also to be acknowledged that we are a long way from solving it. During the past year, intense efforts have been made by the Administration to develop programs that will be of help to the blacks. I dare say, as much or more time and attention goes into this effort in this Administration than any in history. But little has come of it. There has been a great deal of political ineptness in some departments, and you have been the loser.

I don't know what you can do about this. Perhaps nothing. But I do have four suggestions.

First. Sometime early in the year, I would gather together the Administration officials who are most involved with these matters and talk out the subject a bit. There really is a need for a more coherent Administration approach to a number of issues. (Which I can list for you, if you like.)

Second. The time may have come when the issue of race could benefit from a period of "benign neglect." The subject has been too much talked about. The forum has been too much taken over to hysterics, paranoids and boodlers on all sides. We may need a period in which Negro progress continues and racial rhetoric fades. The Administration can help bring this about by paying close attention to such progress—as we are doing—while seeking to avoid situations in which extremists of either race are given opportunities for martyrdom, heroics, histrionics or whatever. Greater attention to Indians, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans would be useful. A tendency to ignore provocations from groups such as the Black Panthers might also be useful. (The Panthers were apparently almost defunct until the Chicago police raided one of their headquarters and transformed them into culture heroes for the white—and black—middle class. You perhaps did not note on the society page of yesterday's Times that Mrs. Leonard Bernstein gave a cocktail party on Wednesday to raise money for the Panthers. Mrs. Peter Duchin, "the rich blonde wife of the orchestra leader," was thrilled. "I've never met a Panther," she said. "This is a first for me.")

Third. We really ought to be getting on with research on crime. We just don't know enough. It is a year now since the Administration came to office committed to doing something about crime in the streets. But frankly, in that year I don't see that we have advanced either our understanding of the problem, or that of the public at large. (This of course may only reveal my ignorance of what is going on.)

At the risk of indiscretion, may I put it that lawyers are not professionally well-equipped to do much to prevent crime. Lawyers are not managers, and they are not researchers. The logistics, the ecology, the strategy and tactics of reducing the incidence of certain types of behavior in large urban populations simply are not things lawyers think about often.

We are never going to "learn" about crime in a laboratory sense. But we almost certainly could profit from limited, carefully done studies. I don't think these will be done unless you express a personal interest.

Fourth. There is a silent black majority as well as a white one. It is mostly working class, as against lower middle class. It is politically moderate (on issues other than racial equality) and shares most of the concerns of its white counterpart. This group has been generally ignored by the Government and the media. The more recognition we can give to it, the better off we shall all be. (I would take it, for example, that Ambassador [Jerome H.] Holland is a natural leader of this segment of the black community. There are others like him.)

Viewing 'Patton': Pick Your Angle

"Patton: A Salute to a Rebel," touted as a

The movie only hints at this side of Old Blo

Unions — Negros

Black Workers and the Labor Movement

By FREDERICK O'NEAL

U.S. Negroes are a working people. The labor movement has been the home of the working man—traditionally the only haven of the dispossessed. And it is in the trade union movement where blacks have both a job to do and a great future.

The black trade unionist can play a creative and essential role in three identifiable areas:

• First, he must be a militant integrationist and an advocate of militant non-violence. As part of an integrated trade union movement, the black worker knows well the folly of separatism. As part of a movement that has won real and concrete gains for black Americans, he knows that frustration politics is merely a form of psycho-therapy which can lead only to a deadend. And he knows that violence will sooner destroy the black community than contribute to its salvation.

• Second, the black worker must articulate a sensible economic strategy as an alternative to the fanatical ideas that are currently gaining popularity in some quarters. Several facts are elementary to this strategy: Black capitalism will not help black workers; tax incentives will only mean more profits for the rich; there is absolutely no land on which to build industry in the ghetto; community control over an impoverished ghetto will be that and only that—it will not provide jobs for the unemployed, homes for the ill-housed, doctors for the sick and better teachers for the uneducated. The black worker must understand that there can be no cure for black poverty in the absence of an attack on white poverty and that the racial problem in America requires an economic solution.

The black worker must now speak out against psychological solutions to economic problems. And he must also speak out against deceptive programs which divert people's attention from the real objectives. Those objectives are full employment, the redistribution of wealth and the reconstruction of our cities.

• Third, the black worker has an enormously significant political role to play. He must continually point out that the source of funds for a genuine war on poverty lies in Washington and that if liberal-thinking men are to be elected to national office, black people must vote. The kind of voter education and registration campaigns that Negro trade unionists carried on in all the major American cities in 1968 must remain a model for similar political activity in the future.

Negroes Need Allies

Negroes represent only 11 percent of the American population. Therefore, Negroes cannot go it alone. Any positive action coming from Washington will come only through a coalition of Negroes, liberals and the entire trade union movement. The black worker must be a forceful spokesman for unity within this coalition and he must speak out firmly against any activities which promote racial polarization. He must become an agent of reconciliation who will break the bitter connection between black rage and white fear. Unity must be re-established between the economically deprived and the economically insecure in their common struggle against the economic elite.

Today there are over 2 million black trade unionists and this number is increasing daily. More Negroes are also moving up through the ranks of their local unions to positions of power and influence. This latter development is particularly essential if there are to be more voices in the trade union movement speaking for the black worker and if the trade union movement itself is to be more effective in its efforts to solve our country's social and racial problems.

Black Workers Suffer Most

Today, despite all the progress we've made, the unemployed are filling our ghettos, the inner cores of our cities are literally rotting, health care is primitive and our schools are ill-equipped to serve the enormous needs of children bred in poverty. And the situation is growing worse daily, for automation is transforming the character of labor. Unskilled jobs are being eliminated, muscle power is no longer in demand and as always, black workers suffer most from these changes.

Over the past 100 years, since Negroes first entered the trade union movement in America, many mistakes have been made. One of the most serious errors was the enforced pattern of segregated unions and the tolerance of segregated jobs in the plant.

Now, from the vantage point of history, we can examine the mistakes of the past and try to correct them. We can learn from the great debates that have taken place within the black community between the separatists and the integrationists, between the economic conservatives and the economic radicals.

A. Philip Randolph has continuously told us that there is no hope for the black workers outside the American trade union movement, that a Negro-labor alliance must be made a firm and enduring reality.

Discrimination and segregation still exist within certain areas of the union movement. There is no attempt here to close our eyes to that situation. Discrimination is there, perhaps less than in many other major American institutions, but it's still there and must be opposed.

But because it exists, we should not take the foolish path of the separatists. We should not employ the distorted logic which says that the existence of discrimination justifies separatism and further segregation.

Alliances between black workers and trade unionists do not always come easily. With just cause the black community is impatient with America—11 years after anti-discriminaiton laws were enacted in New York City, few private apartment buildings are integrated; 15 years after the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, many Negro children still attend all-black schools.

Similarly, the existence of lily-white local unions and separate seniority lines are a source of dissatisfaction on the part of blacks. In fact, if you read only the public accounts, you would be convinced that the relationship between the Negro community and the labor movement is not good at all.

Seeds of Mistrust, Division

And in such an emotion-charged atmsophere one can easily become blinded to the positive efforts and accomplishments of the labor movement in the racial and social areas that are a benefit to us all. There are certain elements, whether consciously or unconsciously, sowing seeds of mistrust and divisiveness in the black community—some of it through misinformation and some through deliberate distortion. As a result, both civil rights forces and the trade unionists often find themselves confused, frustrated and their work seriously hampered.

It is important that we separate fact from fiction, not because the historical record is necessarily so significant, but so that we can stop wasting time and address ourselves to the real problem.

The history of the southern labor movement, for instance, is rich in episodes of black and white workers fighting together—in the coal mines, on the docks, at the plants—all in defiance of community traditions, practice and law.

In the South today the vast majority of union members belong to integrated locals. All the southern state and local central bodies are integrated and most work closely with NAACP branches and other similar organizations in the Negro community. Joint campaigns to register voters and get out the vote are widespread. In labor disputes involving the predominantly black hospital workers in South Carolina, there was a huge outpouring of local support from other unions in the area.

And on the national scene we have seen the unions and the civil rights movement working together to achieve the civil rights legislation of the 1960s—legislation which opened public accommodations, established a federal fair employment practices law and helped enfranchise hundreds of thousands of black voters previously denied that right.

(To Be Continued in Next Issue)

Frederick O'Neal has been president of Actors Equity since 1964 and recently became president of the Associated Actors and Artists of America, which is made up of six theatrical unions. He is an AFL-CIO Vice President and chairman of the Federation's Civil Rights Committee.

LABOR — Unions

Black Longshoremen Are Opposing Merger

WASH. POST

BALTIMORE, Sept. 30 (AP) —A Negro union official said a merger of black and white locals of the International Longshoremen's Association here and a change in the hiring system would jeopardize the safety and efficiency of dock operations.

William Haile, an international vice president, testified in a federal action seeking a court ruling that the ILA's local setup violates the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Haile suggested the economy of the port would suffer through the recommended merger of Local 829, which is a predominantly white unit, and Local 858, almost all of whose 1,200 members are black.

Union lawyers sought to establish that Local 829 logs more work hours than its Negro counterpart because its gearmen, mechanics and foremen are hired on what amounts to a weekly basis by stevedore firms.

The number of hours worked by the actual longshore gangs in the two locals was approximately the same, said John Kopp, a district vic president of the ILA.

Through a series of wi nesses, the government sough to demonstrate specific exan ples of discrimination tha have occurred because of th existence of two cargo local that perform the same wor but are essentially segregated

Julius Miller, a union law yer, said he was attempting t demonstrate that the local should not be merged merel because the governmen "wants to bring them to gether." He said there may b economic and social reason for keeping them apart "i they so desire."

"I can't follow that," replie Judge Alexander Harvey I who is hearing the case in U.S District Court.

Week of December 18, 1972

MORE BLACKS THAN WHITES,
PROPORTIONATELY, IN LABOR UNIONS

WASHINGTON -- More black workers than whites belong to unions in proportion to their representation in the work force.

While this is true for both sexes, black females show greater proportional representation in labor unions than do their white counterparts.

About 14 percent of black females in the labor force are union members, compared with 10 percent of white females.

For union members in general, pay is higher than for non-union workers.

However, in all industries, median earnings of white workers are higher than for blacks. Only full-time, year-round workers are included.

These are some of the findings of the study, Selected Earnings and Demographic Characteristics of Union Members, 1970 (Report 417), a free publication issued recently by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Among blue collar occupations, which have traditionally been the most highly unionized, a greater proportion of white than black males were in unions. But a greater proportion of black than white females in blue collar occupations were union members.

In white collar jobs, blacks, both male and female, were more likely to be union members than whites.

In describing union membership among blacks and whites by industry, the report said the extent of union organization among black workers exceeded that among whites in most industries.

In the durable goods manufacturing industry, for example, nearly 47 percent of all black wage and salary workers were in unions, compared with 36 percent of white workers.

One factor underlying the $1,553 differential between the median earnings of white and black male union members -- $9,285 and $7,732, respectively -- was the type of blue collar jobs typically held by blacks.

(MORE)

Proportionately, whites were better represented than blacks in the higher-paying craft jobs and were less often in the lower-paying operative positions.

Furthermore, a larger proportion of white than black workers were employed in high-paying professional and technical occupations, and a smaller percentage were in low-paying service occupations.

Other findings of the report included these:

-- In construction, nearly 70 percent of all white male union members were employed as craftsmen; only 45 percent of black union members in construction were craftsmen -- the rest held non-craft jobs.

-- In communications, 75 percent of all white male union members were in high-paying craft occupations, compared with 55 percent of black male union members in that industry.

-- Black workers accounted for over 12 percent of all union members in the work force as a whole.

-- Only 9 percent of all clerical workers were black, but nearly 14 percent of the union members on clerical jobs were black.

-- Nearly 17 percent of union members in public administration were lback, even though only 13 percent of all wage and salary workers in the public sector were black.

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(Note to editor: Attached are tables and charts covering black representation in labor unions and the earnings of black and white union members.)

Table 1. Wage and salary workers in labor unions and membership rates, by occupation, sex, and race, 1970

(Numbers in thousands)

Occupation of longest job held in 1970	Total			Male			Female		
	All races	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other
	Number in labor unions								
All occupations[1]	17,192	15,062	2,130	13,506	12,009	1,496	3,687	3,053	634
White-collar workers	3,865	3,440	425	2,305	2,100	204	1,560	1,339	221
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1,032	936	96	629	586	43	403	351	53
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	514	483	31	463	440	23	51	43	8
Clerical and kindred workers	2,058	1,775	283	1,061	930	131	998	845	152
Salesworkers	261	246	15	152	145	8	109	101	8
Blue-collar workers	11,893	10,498	1,395	10,244	9,125	1,119	1,648	1,372	276
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	4,328	4,075	253	4,239	3,996	243	90	79	11
Carpenters	391	378	14	390	376	14	1	1	-
Construction craftsmen, except carpenters	1,115	1,051	63	1,110	1,047	63	4	4	-
Mechanics and repairmen	768	723	45	764	719	45	4	4	-
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	429	411	19	415	400	15	14	11	4
Other	1,625	1,512	113	1,559	1,453	106	65	59	8
Operatives and kindred workers	6,093	5,253	840	4,599	4,007	592	1,494	1,246	248
Assemblers, and checkers, examiners, and inspectors, manufacturing	923	795	128	582	511	71	341	284	56
Drivers and deliverymen	1,024	915	109	1,008	903	105	16	12	4
Other	4,146	3,543	603	3,009	2,594	415	1,137	949	188
Nonfarm laborers	1,471	1,169	302	1,407	1,122	285	64	47	17
Construction	341	262	79	340	261	79	1	1	-
Manufacturing	551	432	119	504	397	107	47	35	12
Other	579	475	104	563	464	99	16	11	5
Service workers, including private household	1,409	1,105	304	935	769	167	474	337	137
	Percent in labor unions[2]								
All occupations[1]	20.4	20.2	21.8	27.8	27.6	29.0	10.3	9.8	13.8
White-collar workers	9.8	9.3	16.6	12.5	12.0	20.7	7.4	6.9	14.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	9.0	8.8	12.1	9.7	9.6	12.0	8.1	7.7	12.2
Managers, officials and proprietors, except farm	7.5	7.3	14.2	8.3	8.1	15.8	4.1	3.6	(3)
Clerical and kindred workers	13.1	12.3	21.1	29.2	28.7	32.8	8.2	7.6	16.1
Salesworkers	4.9	4.8	7.3	5.5	5.4	9.6	4.2	4.1	6.6
Blue-collar workers	39.3	39.8	35.5	42.1	42.8	36.7	27.8	27.1	31.5
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	42.7	42.9	39.8	43.8	44.0	40.2	20.1	19.0	(3)
Carpenters	45.4	46.4	(3)	45.4	46.3	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Construction craftsmen, except carpenters	54.7	56.2	36.8	54.9	56.6	36.8	(3)	(3)	(3)
Mechanics, and repairmen	32.9	33.0	31.5	33.1	33.1	32.1	(3)	(3)	(3)
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	63.3	63.2	(3)	63.5	63.6	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Other	38.5	38.1	45.7	40.6	40.2	47.7	17.2	16.7	(3)
Operatives and kindred workers	40.4	40.8	38.2	46.4	47.2	41.8	29.0	28.5	31.6
Assemblers, and checkers, examiners, and inspectors, manufacturing	48.8	47.7	56.6	63.8	62.4	76.3	34.8	33.5	42.1
Drivers and deliverymen	37.9	39.3	29.5	39.6	41.4	29.0	10.3	8.1	(3)
Other	39.6	39.9	37.5	46.6	47.2	43.2	28.3	28.1	29.1
Nonfarm laborers	28.9	29.2	27.7	29.6	30.1	27.6	19.2	17.1	(3)
Construction	29.9	30.2	29.0	30.0	30.3	29.0	(3)	(3)	(3)
Manufacturing	41.4	42.9	36.7	42.5	45.0	35.2	32.6	28.5	(3)
Other	22.1	22.3	21.0	23.1	23.4	21.7	8.6	7.5	(3)
Service workers, including private household	10.9	10.9	10.8	20.1	20.2	19.9	5.7	5.3	6.9

[1] Includes farm workers not shown separately.
[2] Columns and rows are nonadditive.
[3] Base less than 75,000.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals. Dashes (-) denote zeros.

Table 2. Wage and salary workers in labor unions and membership rates, by industry, sex, and race, 1970

(Numbers in thousands)

Industry of longest job held in 1970	Total			Male			Female		
	All races	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other
	Number in labor unions								
All industries	17,192	15,062	2,130	13,506	12,009	1,496	3,687	3,053	634
Agriculture	46	38	7	39	32	7	7	7	-
Mining	205	195	10	205	195	10	-	-	-
Construction	1,948	1,778	170	1,939	1,768	170	10	10	-
Manufacturing, total	7,600	6,655	945	5,989	5,283	706	1,611	1,373	238
Durable goods, total	4,900	4,293	607	4,181	3,679	502	719	614	105
Lumber	163	112	51	146	103	43	17	9	8
Furniture	133	118	14	104	96	8	29	22	7
Stone, clay, and glass	292	264	29	256	229	27	36	35	1
Primary metals	813	670	143	765	627	139	48	44	4
Fabricated metals	578	527	51	509	470	40	69	58	11
Machinery	785	724	61	726	670	56	60	54	6
Electrical equipment	704	633	71	438	402	35	266	231	36
Automobiles	732	619	113	658	561	97	74	58	16
Other transportation equipment	416	378	38	375	338	37	41	40	1
Instruments	62	59	3	40	40	-	22	20	3
Miscellaneous	221	188	33	164	144	20	57	45	12
Nondurable goods, total	2,700	2,362	338	1,808	1,603	204	892	759	134
Food	690	586	104	541	462	80	148	124	24
Tobacco	24	20	4	12	10	2	12	11	1
Textiles	109	94	15	72	60	12	38	34	3
Apparel	513	439	75	83	77	7	430	362	68
Paper	368	330	38	309	275	34	60	55	4
Printing	306	283	23	251	237	14	55	46	9
Chemicals	295	265	31	263	239	24	32	26	7
Petroleum	85	80	5	82	77	5	3	3	-
Rubber and plastics	193	162	30	137	117	20	56	45	11
Leather	117	103	14	58	50	8	59	53	6
Transportation and public utilities	2,527	2,267	260	2,150	1,944	206	377	323	54
Railroad and railway express	599	571	28	570	544	26	29	28	1
Other transportation	990	879	111	918	811	107	72	68	4
Telephone communications	545	476	69	275	255	20	270	221	49
Other public utilities	393	341	52	387	334	52	7	7	-
Wholesale and retail trade	1,709	1,535	173	1,139	1,035	104	570	500	69
Wholesale	345	304	41	303	267	36	42	37	5
Eating and drinking places	229	190	39	95	82	13	134	108	26
Other retail	1,134	1,041	93	740	686	54	394	355	39
Services and finance	2,103	1,711	392	1,174	1,000	174	929	711	218
Private household	16	9	7	4	3	1	12	6	5
Banking and other	31	28	3	20	20	-	11	8	3
Insurance and real estate	112	93	19	92	76	17	19	17	3
Business	110	89	21	85	70	15	25	19	6
Repair	94	83	10	91	81	10	3	3	-
Personal	272	188	84	145	110	35	127	78	49
Entertainment	129	117	12	113	103	10	15	14	2
Medical	86	63	23	28	22	5	58	41	17
Hospitals	267	166	101	104	72	32	162	94	69
Welfare and religious organizations	61	56	5	17	15	1	44	40	4
Educational	803	709	94	387	351	36	416	358	58
Other professions	113	100	12	78	67	11	35	34	1
Forestry and fisheries	11	11	-	11	11	-	-	-	-
Public administration	1,055	881	174	872	752	119	183	129	54
Postal	428	339	88	363	299	64	65	40	25
Other Federal	213	165	48	162	130	32	50	34	16
State	94	87	6	59	59	-	35	28	6
Local	321	290	31	287	263	24	34	27	7

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 2. Wage and salary workers in labor unions and membership rates, by industry, sex, and race, 1970—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

Industry of longest job held in 1970	Total			Male			Female		
	All races	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other
	Percent in labor unions[1]								
All industries	20.4	20.2	21.8	27.8	27.6	29.0	10.3	9.8	13.8
Agriculture	2.4	2.7	1.4	2.7	2.9	2.2	1.4	2.2	.0
Mining	35.7	35.6	(2)	38.9	38.7	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Construction	39.2	39.8	33.4	41.3	42.2	33.7	3.5	3.6	(2)
Manufacturing, total	23.8	33.1	39.4	38.4	37.8	43.4	23.3	22.4	30.8
Durable goods, total	37.4	36.4	46.5	41.2	40.3	48.7	24.4	23.0	38.3
Lumber	24.3	23.0	28.0	24.5	23.7	26.4	(2)	(2)	(2)
Furniture	25.0	25.4	(2)	25.9	27.4	(2)	22.1	19.1	(2)
Stone, clay, and glass	39.6	39.2	(2)	42.3	41.6	(2)	27.1	28.2	(2)
Primary metals	59.8	58.4	67.5	62.0	60.9	68.5	38.1	37.6	(2)
Fabricated metals	38.2	37.6	44.7	42.7	42.7	44.4	21.2	19.3	(2)
Machinery	33.0	32.2	47.3	36.7	35.8	51.9	15.1	14.4	(2)
Electrical equipment	31.0	30.3	39.0	33.9	33.3	41.2	27.1	26.1	37.5
Automobiles	66.2	64.7	76.4	68.6	67.3	77.0	50.3	46.8	(2)
Other transportation equipment	32.0	31.7	36.2	33.7	33.1	40.2	22.3	23.3	(2)
Instruments	15.7	15.6	(2)	15.4	16.1	(2)	16.4	15.6	(2)
Miscellaneous	26.5	25.1	38.8	31.4	30.3	(2)	18.3	16.4	(2)
Nondurable goods, total	28.7	28.4	30.8	33.3	33.1	34.1	22.5	21.8	26.9
Food	36.2	36.0	37.1	39.5	39.7	38.8	27.5	26.7	(2)
Tobacco	24.2	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Textiles	10.5	10.5	10.4	14.7	14.2	(2)	6.9	7.2	3.9
Apparel	30.7	30.9	30.1	25.9	26.7	(2)	31.8	31.9	31.5
Paper	48.7	48.8	48.1	51.8	52.0	(2)	37.7	37.2	(2)
Printing	22.4	21.9	29.9	30.8	30.7	(2)	9.9	8.9	(2)
Chemicals	23.6	23.2	29.0	26.9	26.7	29.6	11.7	10.5	(2)
Petroleum	30.0	31.5	(2)	35.5	36.7	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Rubber and plastics	30.3	28.6	(2)	34.0	32.8	(2)	23.9	21.4	(2)
Leather	29.4	28.5	(2)	33.0	31.6	(2)	26.6	26.0	(2)
Transportation and public utilities	44.8	45.0	42.9	49.4	50.1	43.6	29.2	28.0	40.3
Railroad and railway express	78.6	80.9	(2)	79.9	82.4	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Other transportation	42.9	43.0	42.0	48.1	48.6	44.4	18.0	18.1	(2)
Telephone communications	40.1	38.8	52.7	40.9	40.0	(2)	39.3	37.5	50.5
Other public utilities	32.4	32.2	33.5	36.5	36.5	36.1	4.5	4.9	(2)
Wholesale and retail trade	10.2	9.9	12.8	12.9	12.8	13.9	7.2	6.8	11.5
Wholesale	11.3	10.9	16.6	13.6	13.1	17.8	5.2	4.8	(2)
Eating and drinking places	6.8	6.4	10.2	8.3	8.2	9.4	6.1	5.5	10.7
Other retail	10.9	10.8	12.9	13.5	13.5	13.3	8.0	7.7	12.5
Services and finance	7.8	7.3	10.4	11.7	11.2	15.6	5.4	4.9	8.2
Private household	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.3	(2)	0.6	0.4	0.6
Banking and other	1.7	1.6	2.7	2.7	2.9	(2)	1.0	0.8	3.7
Insurance and real estate	4.8	4.3	11.7	7.6	6.8	19.8	1.7	1.6	3.9
Business	7.3	6.5	14.3	10.3	9.4	18.3	3.6	3.1	(2)
Repair	13.2	12.9	(2)	14.0	13.9	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Personal	12.3	10.3	22.2	18.4	16.9	25.5	9.0	6.6	20.4
Entertainment	13.8	13.9	12.1	19.7	20.1	(2)	4.1	4.3	(2)
Medical	4.7	3.9	11.0	10.8	9.6	(2)	3.7	2.9	9.6
Hospitals	8.4	6.6	16.0	14.9	13.0	22.4	6.6	4.8	14.1
Welfare and religious organizations	5.4	5.6	3.7	3.5	3.6	(2)	6.7	6.9	5.2
Educational	10.8	10.7	11.6	14.6	14.8	13.2	8.7	8.4	10.7
Other professions	7.8	7.4	12.1	9.9	9.3	(2)	5.3	5.4	(2)
Forestry and fisheries	9.2	10.4	(2)	10.7	12.1	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Public administration	22.2	21.2	28.5	2.7	27.0	33.4	11.3	9.5	21.2
Postal	52.2	52.8	49.4	58.0	58.5	55.7	33.5	30.5	(2)
Other Federal	13.3	12.1	20.5	16.0	14.5	27.4	8.6	7.3	13.7
State	13.3	13.1	(2)	13.7	14.3	(2)	12.6	11.1	(2)
Local	19.6	19.6	20.0	26.8	27.3	22.6	6.0	5.2	(2)

[1] Columns and rows are nonadditive.
[2] Base less than 75,000.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals. Dashes (-) denote zeros.

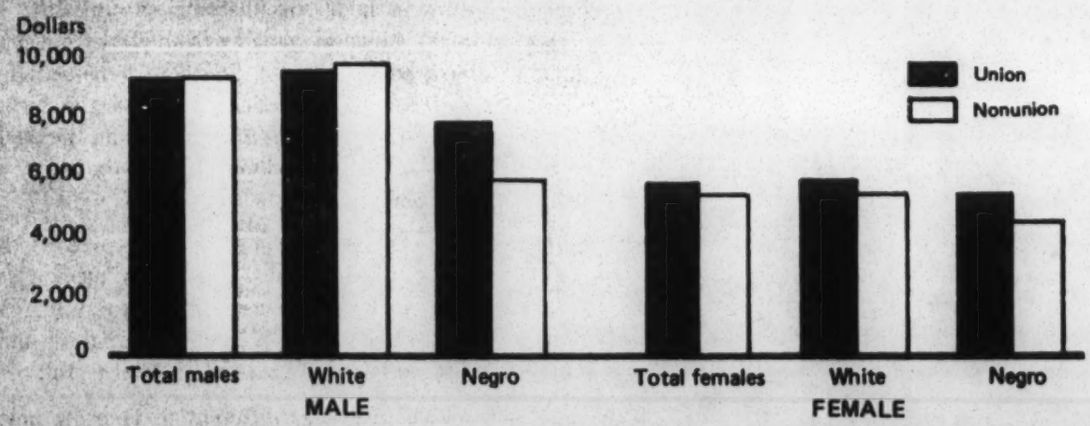
Chart 1

Percent of wage and salary workers in labor unions, 1970

Chart 2

Median earnings of wage and salary workers, by labor union membership, sex, and race, 1970

(Year-round, full-time workers)



A Blue-Collar Town Fears Urban Renewal Perils Its Way of Life

* * *

Forced Integration and Crime Follow U.S. Aid, Some Say; Key Vote Is Set Tomorrow

11/2/70

By WALTER S. MOSSBERG
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WARREN, Mich.—This is a flat, grid-like city to which white factory workers have fled over the past 20 years in their quest to escape the crime and grime—and, for some, the Negroes—of Detroit.

In 1950 it had 40,000 residents. Now it has 180,000, most living in well-maintained but closely packed subdivision houses. It has no downtown, just occasional shopping centers and lots of pizza parlors, hamburger stands and neon signs. Many big factories are here, too, so many residents never have to venture into the rest of the world.

And that's apparently fine with most citizens. "People here have a few bucks, and they couldn't care less what goes on (beyond their neighborhoods) as long as they get a beer, some television and a steak once in a while," says Jack Gardner, who runs an auto parts factory.

But now many residents of this Detroit suburb believe the outside world is trying to force itself on their town, on their neighborhoods. They're furious, and they may well vote tomorrow to ban a part of the outside world they particularly fear—the Federal Government and its millions of dollars in proferred aid.

Tomorrow's vote will be on a referendum that would repeal Warren's urban renewal program, which is designed to refurbish the older areas of Warren that are getting seedy. Repeal would cut off $3 million in Federal funds earmarked for the city for this year, and up to $5.5 million more expected to be received by 1976.

The statement on the ballot is clear, but the issue here is somewhat muddled. Opponents of the Federal aid talk of Federal "strings" that threaten—or seem to threaten—the kind of living Warren residents thought they had found when they moved to the suburbs. In some instances this resentment stems from fears that Federal dollars bring a shift of "control" from locally elected officials to bureaucrats appointed by Washington. Other voters see Federal aid bringing forced integration. Still others say they wouldn't mind the integration—but they fear school deterioration, crime and other social ills that they think would accompany integration.

Boos for Mr. Romney

Never before has this city been so wrought up. The money would come from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and

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Boos for Mr. Romney

Never before has this city been so wrought up. The money would come from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and last summer when HUD Secretary and former Michigan Gov. George Romney came here to talk to Warren officials he was hooted and booed by 300 to 400 angry demonstrators. When he left, they screamed and yelled at him and thumped on his car. Orville Hubbard, an avowed segregationist who is mayor of the Detroit suburb of Dearborn, was also at the meeting, and when he left he was cheered.

There are no scientific samplings of opinion on how the people here will vote tomorrow or on how many of the 75,000 registered voters will show up at the polls. But a local councilman, who favors retaining the urban renewal program, thinks Warren was ten-to-one against renewal in September when emotions were running high and was still two-to-one against it as recently as two weeks ago.

The outcome will tell a lot about the workingman's mind in 1970. Few towns are as single-class as this one, and few issues in the country are as emotional as the one here has become. The vote will provide another clue to the extent of conservatism among blue-collar workers, political observers say. More important, observers say, the vote will indicate the degree of difficulty the Federal Government will have in coming years as the focus of urban renewal shifts from center cities to middle-class and lower-class suburbs.

The outcome in Warren "certainly could have an impact on other communities," Secretary Romney says. He says the opposition here "raises the question of whether other cities are willing to qualify for funds by meeting HUD requirements."

The main requirement is a demonstration of "affirmative" action toward integration, and thus one vote here is often interpreted as a clear-cut referendum on the white workingman's feelings about integration. Indeed, 17% of the voters here cast their ballots for George Wallace in the 1968 Presidential election, which suggests there is some racism here. No one admits to being anti-Negro, but some of their comments suggest otherwise.

Threatening a "Way of Life"

But most residents here vehemently insist the issue isn't race. "It's the whole resentment of people to the arrogance of Government," says Robert Lord, a lawyer working against urban renewal. "People here don't like to be told that . . . they have to change their way of living."

"Way of living" seem to be the key words in his assessment. The people here don't want the way of life that Detroit has, and they fear that's what urban renewal would bring. "I had a niece who lived in the city, 13 years old, and she was almost raped, shot in the back there. Who is going to guarantee me the same things won't happen to my daughter here if we vote for this urban renewal program?" asks Henry Wengrzynowicz, a salesman who thinks urban renewal will bring blacks to Warren.

Many residents here have invested their life

Please Turn to Page 23, Column 6

A Blue-Collar Town Fears Urban Renewal Perils Its Way of Life

Continued From First Page

savings in their $20,000 to $30,000 homes, and they fear the effect of urban renewal on their investments. "It wouldn't make any difference to me to have a colored neighbor, but my property value would go way down because there are a lot of narrow-minded people who think this is a white country," says a young merchant.

Ann Sheldon, a sociologist at Wayne State University, in Detroit, agrees that the fears of the people here aren't based entirely on racism. "People in Warren are acting on the most real evidence they have—the evidence of conditions in Detroit where property loses value and schools decline because, they believe, the blacks have moved in. You can't read racist motives into all of these reactions."

Nor can you read racist motives directly into the most often heard argument cited here: That the Federal money should be rejected because of the chance that local residents would lose control of their town. Cynics suggest this is the main public argument because it is the least offensive to the pro-renewal forces, but, whatever the reason, many residents keep repeating it.

"If someone is going to tell you how to run your city, you haven't got a city," says Jim Brown, a young barber. "I don't want it, not if there's going to be strings. Anytime you get anything with strings attached, it's bad. I don't have anything against the colored. If they can afford to move next door to me, that's fine. But I'm against money with strings."

Similarly, Jim Alexander, a printer, says: "I'm not too crazy about Federal money. I'd rather be more independent. Too many people look to the Federal Government, and they put strings on the money—how you can use it, who you can employ and other rules."

But people are vague about just what the "strings" are. The only demands so far seem to be that Warren keep its weak fair-housing law and its "community board," a human relations group. This is enough to show an "affirmative" attitude toward integration, HUD officials insist.

Almost lost in the controversy is the debate over whether the seedier areas of Warren are in need of rehabilitation and whether the people who live in these areas want urban renewal. There's no question that parts of the city are drab and rundown, but whether these old house should be refurbished or torn down under Federal supervision is a matter of dispute. The anti-renewal forces say a little locally inspired fixing up is all that's needed. The pro-renewal forces disagree. Likewise, each side claims support of the people in the area.

Richard Sabaugh, a city councilman who opposes renewal, insists Warren has no "blighted" areas. He says he would move into the city's older section himself if he could find "the right house." In Washington a HUD official says such attitudes are common when renewal programs are proposed. "A place that is feeling the effects of blight for the first time is naturally reluctant to admit it," he says. "Nobody likes to be living in what is considered a blighted area."

HUD has already spent $1.4 million here since urban renewal began a couple of years ago. The money has gone to renovate some older homes and to tear down a few others, but many anti-renewal people here think it was misused. They think too much of the money went into staffing and administering the program. But HUD officials claim that high administrative costs are normal for the start of a program and that a far smaller percentage of future funds would go toward administrative expenses.

But when all arguments are dissected, the issue still comes down to this: Will urban renewal turn Warren into a city like Detroit? Anti-renewal forces think it will. As Mr. Lord, the anti-renewal lawyer says, the most important thing to many people in Warren is just the simple fact that it isn't Detroit.

Newark signs up a business team

The friendship between Newark's historically aloof business community and Mayor Kenneth Gibson, on the job only 45 days, is flourishing. This week, as the 48-year-old black mayor told about a new industrial facility that could ultimately bring 8,000 jobs into town, six prominent local businessmen on loan to city hall were trying to unravel the tangle of city finances and introduce better management of city services.

Both developments hold considerable promise for Newark, a city plagued by

Executives on loan will help Mayor Gibson put the battered city in order

official corruption, the scars of racial confrontation, and an emasculated tax base. The new plant, to be built by Ideal Toy Corp. on the Meadowlands, a 1,500-acre chunk of underdeveloped land, will be the biggest to locate in New Jersey's largest city since World War II. Its 600,000 sq.-ft. first phase, to be completed in early 1972, will employ about 1,700 people, mostly in the unskilled category, where Newark's need is greatest. Gibson figures the city has lost at least 10,000 manufacturing jobs in the past decade. But just as important, Ideal will pay the city $33,000 for each of its first 38 acres and roughly $160,000 a year in real estate taxes. Gibson pledged early in his campaign against incumbent Hugh Addonizio to stabilize the city's escalating tax rate, one of the highest in the nation at $8.44 per $100 of assessed valuation.

Unique effort. While Gibson needs every cent he can raise locally or cajole out of Washington and Trenton, "his biggest problem so far has been to gain control of the city machinery," says Charles G. Hall, president of the Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce. To meet that challenge, the mayor has imported into city hall a half-dozen businessmen—each on loan for 90 days—in an exercise of private-public cooperation foreign to most big cities and unheard of in Newark. The team comes from the cream of the city's business establishment: Prudential Insurance Co., National Newark & Essex Bank, Fidelity Union Trust Co., New Jersey Bell Telephone, Public Service Gas & Electric Co.

These advisers could scarcely believe what they found. "I was almost in a state of shock for the two weeks," exclaims Robert Smith, a Pru vice-president who oversees the other businessmen as Gibson's interim business administrator. Contracts to provide services to the city—towing of cars off city streets, for instance—had expired with no arrangements made for renewal. The city was in noncompliance on several state and federal aid programs and grants were being canceled. Cost overruns on public works jobs were rampant. By some estimates, Newark missed out on $10-million in federal aid last year, simply because the city administration didn't know the money was available.

Smith, who had only 48 hours' notice before taking the city job, and his associates have tried to attend to such pressing matters immediately. But, as one businessman puts it, "it'll take at least a year for Gibson and anyone he has helping him to straighten out the mess at city hall." ■

Gerald L. Phillippe, Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company

"Business and the Urban Crisis"

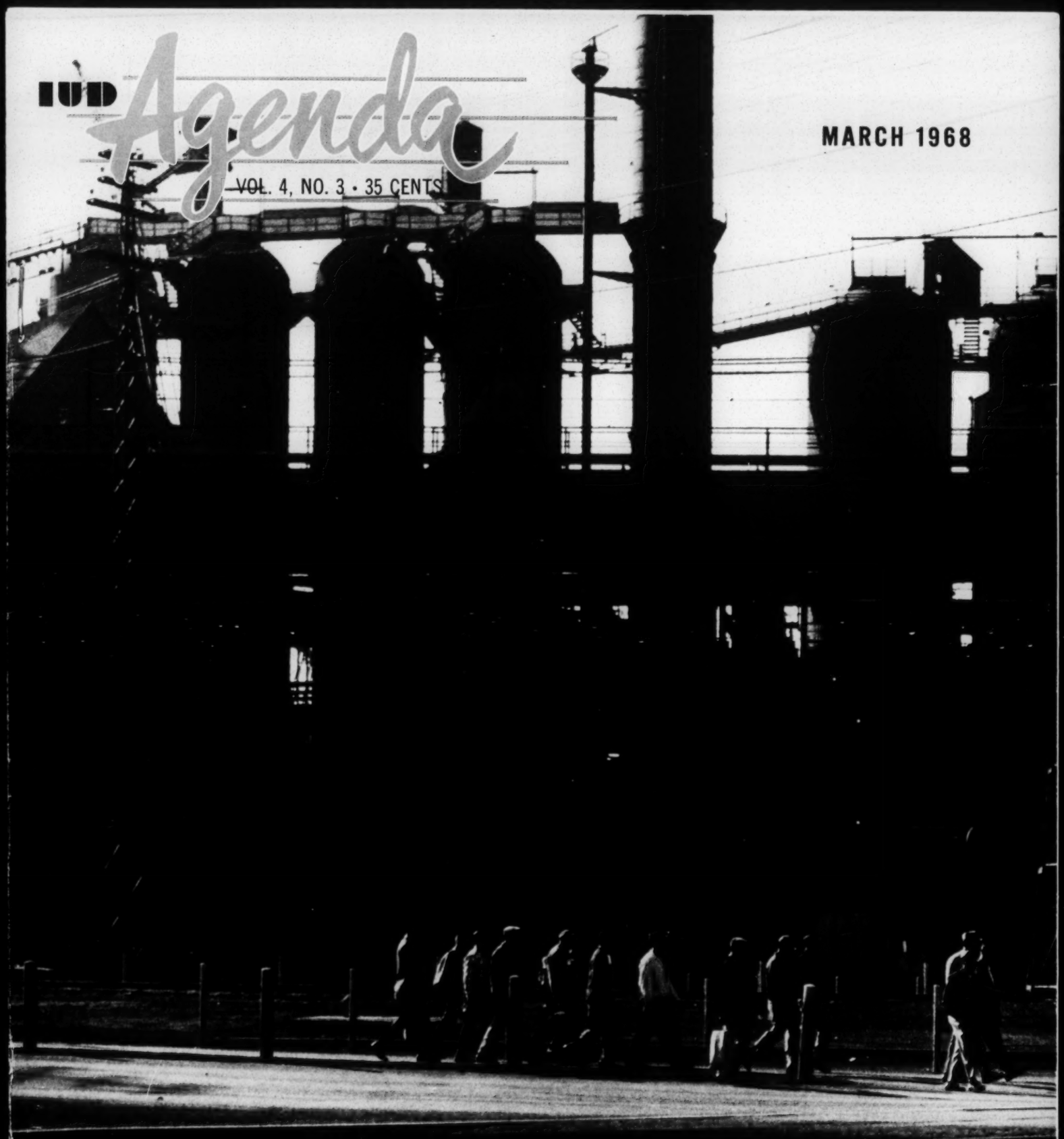
Address at the
National Association of Manufacturers
72nd Annual Congress of American Industry
New York City, December 8, 1967

GENERAL ELECTRIC

HUD Agenda

VOL. 4, NO. 3 • 35 CENTS

MARCH 1968



Agenda for Today—

New Priorities in a Time of Crisis

Order books — Barnes
Copies of articles — Xerox

Submit list of books — by faculty

BOOKS ORDERED FOR THE URBAN LIBRARY

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DEC 7 REC'D

December 2, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you very much for helping Bayla White and myself.

We'll soon be in contact with Mr. Tuve and with the other people you suggested.

Best wishes,

Joseph S. Wholey
Director
Program Evaluation Studies

P.S. Charlie Holt says, "Hello!"

Search

A REPORT FROM THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Volume 1, Number 3 May-June, 1971

Public School Financing

Seeking ways to get more revenue and more equitable distribution

Twin problems facing more and more of America's public school systems are the provision of adequate levels of financing and the assuring of equal educational opportunity for all children. The first of these makes more difficult the resolution of the second.

Schools rely heavily on revenues from property taxation, yet property owners increasingly resist further taxation. Because children from disadvantaged families often are concentrated in areas where property values are declining, resources tend to be least adequate where educational problems are greatest. Moreover, most state systems of financial aid to education are not geared to overcoming these local fiscal imbalances.

The scope of the financing crisis and an analysis of possible solutions are the focus of a group of researchers, headed by Betsy Levin. They are documenting the way state and local governments raise money to pay for education and how the funds are spent. Those data will form the basics of a computer model which analysts can use to determine the effects of alternate methods of raising revenue and of distributing funds to school districts and specific schools.

A study is being made of seven states, four of which have historically provided a high percentage of state aid to elementary and secondary education. Relationships between school districts' expenditures and such factors as personal income, racial composition and teacher characteristics will be examined.

What is learned from these studies will be the basis for seeking ways in which the tax burdens and distribution of aid may be arranged more equitably.

Analysts believe use of the computer model will enable them to answer questions such as these: What would happen if a state-wide sales tax were used to finance education instead of a local property levy? If a state did shift to a sales tax scheme, which income groups would pay most? How would an existing state aid pattern be altered if funds were distributed on the basis of school district per capita income differentials?

The Institute is working closely with the President's Commission on School Finance and is briefing the Commission on the analysis and preliminary findings. The group plans eventually to assess the feasibility of making specific improvements in school financing at the state level. □

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

On behalf of the Institute's Board of Trustees, John W. Gardner wrote the following tribute to the late Whitney M. Young, Jr., who served as a Trustee from the Institute's inception until his death in Nigeria in March:

> *Whitney Young had qualities necessary to every great leader—enormous physical vitality, an unshakable sense of direction and the capacity to withstand criticism from his friends as well as his opponents. During years of great tension and conflict for his people and his nation, he was a rock of strength and steadiness.*

Godzilla and Slippery Water

Technology to the aid of cities that use outmoded hardware

While the great urban social and political issues such as poverty, race and taxes are debated and headlined, cities go plodding along with their prosaic, unglamorous, every-day jobs. Cleaning streets. Fighting fires. Maintaining parks and buildings. Inspecting and licensing. Trying to untangle traffic jams.

Could not existing technology—inventions and hardware already developed for manufacturing, defense or space—be harnessed to help cities provide better services at significant cost savings?

In a symposium cosponsored by the Institute with the International City Management Association and the National Science Foundation, the participants determined that in many cases the answer is "yes." They also agreed that a major benefit of using technology to modernize city operations would be the freeing of substantial funds—even billions of dollars—for use in social programs.

A report inspired by the symposium, *The Struggle To Bring Technology To Cities,* details the obstacles that have kept local officials, industry and the scientist-technicians from working together to take advantage of the applied technology opportunities. But it also gives an account of two success stories to illustrate the potential benefits that may be attained.

Scottsdale, Arizona, taking a careful look at trash and garbage collection, discovered that a major cost was in the individual handling and hand-emptying of containers at private homes. Officials sold the residents on using larger containers that might be shared by several families, and designed them so they could be raised, emptied and set back in place by a mechanized loader. Unable to obtain help from industry, the city found local people to

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A REPORT FROM THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Volume 1, Number 4 July-August, 1971

Utilities Technology Assessment

Total energy plants studied as possible housing breakthrough

"Operation Breakthrough" was conceived by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to promote modern production techniques in housing. HUD looked beyond housing itself to question whether breakthroughs could occur in utility systems and invited developers to produce innovative prototype projects.

The Urban Institute was asked to investigate these as a first step toward a systematic technology assessment of any which merited it. A preliminary study headed by Kenneth Webb found that a "total energy system" appears to offer considerable potential. In this system, on-site generators supply electricity to residential or commercial complexes. Normally wasted heat is captured, supplemented by auxiliary burners and used to produce space heat, air conditioning and hot water. In conventional installations, additional fuel must be used for heating and cooling purposes.

On the plus side, the heat transfer principle of total energy systems results in fuel savings. If widely used, the systems could lower air pollution since they use cleaner fuels than the coal-burning power plants. They would take some strain off overloaded electric networks and eliminate the need for lines to the site.

Investment costs in times of high interest rates, however, may boost tenant utility payments 15 percent or more. Since the total energy plants would be on site and not part of a regulated public utility, the question of establishing fair rates poses other difficulties.

To assess whether total energy plants may be a "breakthrough" in housing utilities technology, the Institute proposes that about ten of them be compared with conventional utility systems on the basis of performance, reliability, costs, pollution, noise, vibration and esthetics. Further, effects on tenants, owners, developers and communities should be surveyed from a socio-ecological and an economic viewpoint. □

Security and Housing

Apartment dwellers increasingly concerned about safety features

The crime problem has special implications for housing management that are seldom considered, according to Margaret J. Drury who has been investigating the problem of providing security in multi-family dwellings.

Increased anxiety over the safety of life and property has caused people to place a high priority on management services involving security. A general proposition of the Institute's housing management research effort is that housing is more than a physical structure. It is the provision of a whole bundle of housing services. To determine how well the housing inventory is serving requires an analysis of tangible services like heat, hot water and maintenance and intangible services like quiet, privacy and assurance of security.

It appears obvious that more effective security at lower cost may be obtained by considering resident safety in the original site and building design. Yet this is frequently ignored. Poor locks and doors, dimly lit halls and stairwell "blind spots" may invite crime. Exterior lighting, layout and landscaping similarly may promote crime because of poor planning. Often, after security provisions are made in the original plans, these are deleted to cut costs.

This study of housing security raises many questions. For instance: Why should a single-family home dweller receive the benefit of patrol surveillance along the access route to his home—the street—when the apartment dweller finds the access to his dwelling unit—the hall—rarely if ever protected by the police? This question poses difficult practical and legal issues for local officials as well as for private and public housing management.

The Institute study is directed at formulating what can be done by owners, managers, residents, tenant groups, public agencies, builders, architects and policy makers to minimize the dangers and fears associated with crime where people live. □

Surveys for Local Government

Institute staff evaluating experiment in Dayton, Ohio area

Presidents are said to carry opinion research results around in their pockets; giant corporations base major marketing and manufacturing decisions on consumer preference polls; attitude surveys influence styles, political campaigns and diplomacy. Can sample surveys also help government decision-makers?

The Public Opinion Center in the Dayton metropolitan area, sponsored by the Kettering Foundation, recently launched a local citizen survey operation that is uniquely focused on one metropolitan area to test its usefulness.

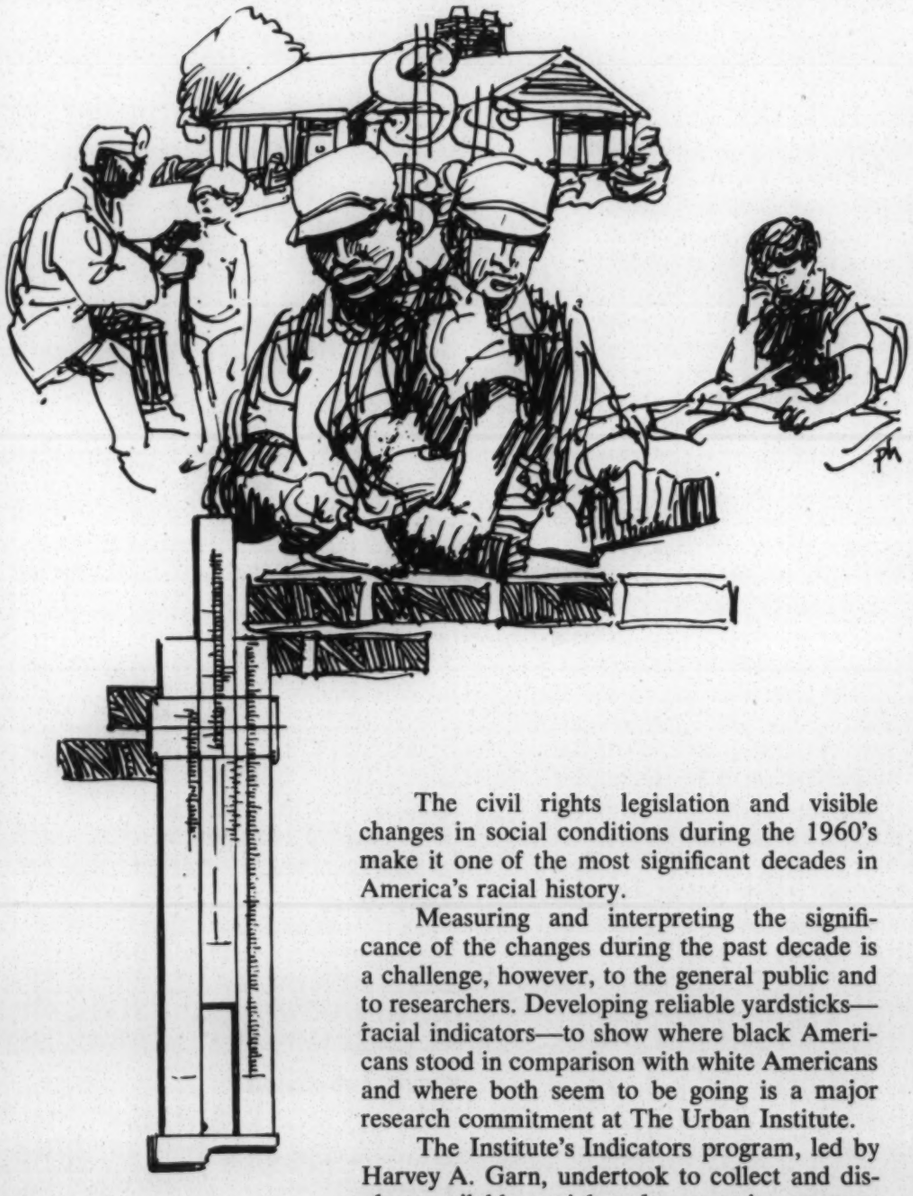
The Urban Institute has been asked to advise and assess this experiment. Kenneth Webb, assisted by Harry P. Hatry, Joseph S. Wholey and Donald M. Fisk, will evaluate the survey effort during a year-long period.

They will assess the center according to two main criteria: 1) Does the survey operation help local officials devise better policies and programs? 2) Does citizen surveying improve the citizens' sense of participation in local government?

One concern is that the surveys not be

SEARCH Sept-Oct, 1971

Blacks and Whites: Measuring the Changes



Status of blacks during past decade analyzed

The civil rights legislation and visible changes in social conditions during the 1960's make it one of the most significant decades in America's racial history.

Measuring and interpreting the significance of the changes during the past decade is a challenge, however, to the general public and to researchers. Developing reliable yardsticks—racial indicators—to show where black Americans stood in comparison with white Americans and where both seem to be going is a major research commitment at The Urban Institute.

The Institute's Indicators program, led by Harvey A. Garn, undertook to collect and display available social and economic measurements that would give a balanced picture of the status of blacks and whites in the 1960-68 period. The result this summer was, *Blacks and Whites. An Experiment in Racial Indicators,* prepared by Michael J. Flax. In his foreword to this 79-page publication, Institute President William Gorham says, "These indicators and the explanations of them provide some reference points for improving the quality of the public and private interpretation, understanding and discussion of racial issues."

Racial data have been compiled in the past, including *The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States,* published by the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. While relying heavily on these data, the Institute study is unique because of its use and presentation of the material.

Flax provides several alternative views of the available figures in 16 areas of social and economic activity, and also attempts to interpret recent research for the general audience. First, he examines the data to determine whether blacks and whites, viewed separately, made progress in the 1960's. Second, he compares progress toward racial equality in both relative and absolute terms. Third, he shows some of the possible implications of a continuation of the 1960-68 trends into the near future. In a later chapter, Garn discusses how recent research findings explain present and future relationships between income and other social and economic factors.

As the summary table on pages 4-5 shows, the 16 indicators used in the study are grouped in six categories. Twenty-six further tables in the publication present the specific data backing up the summary findings.

The second major question asked in the summary—Are nonwhites catching up to whites?—illustrates the complexity of the current racial picture. Specifically, are nonwhites improving at a faster rate than whites (a relative measurement), and is the gap between whites and nonwhites getting smaller (an absolute measurement)? In many instances, Flax found that the relative and absolute answers point in different directions. He therefore warns readers of racial indicators that "the progress of nonwhites can sometimes be made to look good or poor depending upon how the data are used."

The median family income indicator serves as an example of this phenomenon of catching up relatively while falling behind. Nonwhite income increased at a faster rate than white—4.9 percent compared to 3.4 percent. But at

Search

A REPORT FROM THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Volume 2, Number 2 March-April, 1972

Five-Year Budget for SRS

Massive social program being subjected to intensive review

With the advantage of hindsight, it now seems evident that realistic projections of the costs and effects of the medical aid program enacted by Congress in 1965 for recipients of public assistance could have averted the bottlenecks and cutbacks experienced by Medicaid in recent years.

To help avoid similar problems in future social service programs, The Urban Institute has been asked to assist the Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS) in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in planning and analysis. The first step will be to help develop a five-year budget and analysis system for the years 1974 through 1978. Once pressures for immediate planning needs are relieved, efforts will focus on isolating and analyzing future priority issues for SRS.

Robert Harris heads the new Institute project with a staff of seven professionals and six consultants. Harris was formerly Deputy Administrator of New York City's Health Services Administration and Executive Director of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. The Institute staff is working closely with the SRS internal planning unit and with staffs of SRS's operating bureaus.

SRS is responsible for the direction of programs of Public Assistance, Medicaid, Community Services, and Rehabilitation Services. In addition it contains the Administration on Aging and the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Agency. It has the third largest federal governmental budget, exceeded only by the Department of Defense and the Social Security Administration. Its programs expend over $20 billion annually, of which $14 billion are federal funds and the remainder state-local matching funds.

To help achieve maximum public benefits with these expenditures, the Institute is assisting SRS in the definition of the agency's goals, measuring agency activities against those goals, and determining whether alternative activities might be more effective or more economical.

Harris explains that a characteristic of many social programs is that the cost patterns change considerably over time. Understanding these cost growth patterns can be a key to developing sensible current decisions and programs that do not bring in their wake new sets of social problems. □

Urban Indicators Updated

Conditions, rates of change in 18 metro areas compared

"A study in Comparative Urban Indicators: Conditions in 18 Metropolitan Areas," is an expanded and updated version of The Urban Institute's earlier 1970 comparison of "quality of life" indicators in the same areas. The newly released report, by Michael J. Flax, invites another look at the question: How can we properly measure the quality of urban life?

The 18 areas examined are New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, Washington, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Houston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Dallas, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Buffalo.

Despite the large quantities of urban data currently collected and released, these are seldom gathered, arranged, and presented so that a citizen or official can obtain quantitative estimates of the conditions in his area and how such conditions compare with other metropolitan areas. To help ameliorate this situation,

(Continued on page 6)

Price Tags on City Services

Equity, pollution, efficiency, revenue aspects examined

What kinds of public services or public products can be "priced"?

Should local governments consider "selling" more of their services?

How are municipal operations and city-suburb transactions affected by the way a city raises its revenues?

These are among the difficult questions that are examined critically in an Urban Institute study, *Public Prices for Public Products,* edited by Selma J. Mushkin. Dr. Mushkin, formerly Director of State-Local Finance Studies at the Institute, and 21 other authors examine both the economic theories and practical applications of user charges and fees in an urban setting.

Concerns about property taxation today spur interest in alternative approaches. Some of the major reasons why a local government should, in certain cases, turn from financing through general taxation to the pricing of its services are:

—*Conservation.* Services offered by governments without charge, as if they were free goods, tend to be wasted or abused. Pricing scarce resources such as water supplies becomes an inducement to use them sparingly. Further, putting charges on measurable units of waste discharges that now are polluting air, water, and land create financial incentives for citizens and firms to minimize the harm they do.

—*Equity.* Citizens who use specific facilities or services—such as a municipal airport, warehouse, or golf course—then pay most or all of the cost. Those who do not use the services are not forced to subsidize who reap the direct benefits.

—*Economic efficiency.* Economists

(Continued on page 2)

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A REPORT FROM THE URBAN INSTITUTE

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Volume 2, Numbers 3 and 4 Summer Issue 1972

AUG 17 1972

Forecasting City Spending

Model developed as tool for budgeting, planning

Many cities find themselves unable to provide acceptable public services because their estimates of future spending prove to be wide of the mark.

To improve methods of projecting expenditures, Claudia Scott of The Urban Institute has developed a forecasting model for use by local government managers, planners, and budget officers.

Concerned not only with theories but also with real situations, Dr. Scott developed a model for actual use by the city of New Haven. It contains formulas for predicting personnel and non-personnel expenditures annually for a five-year period for the city's many public services. The usefulness of this new forecasting framework has been demonstrated in that recent data on actual budgeted expenditures for the city fell well within the bounds of the forecasts provided by the model. Forecasts made with methods commonly used by cities (essentially, by projecting observed spending trends) substantially underestimated New Haven's budgets.

The model allows for specific assumptions regarding the size and composition of local population, salaries, and service levels to influence the projections. The projections can take account of changes in unionization which affect the wage demands of local government employees and thus influence future expenditures. This projection method can help administrators by giving them different sets of forecasts, depending on whether service levels are to be maintained, decreased, or increased.

New Haven provides a wide range of municipal services. These include education, which in other parts of the country is more typically the responsibility of an independent school district, and welfare service, which is usually a county government function. Because the model is built around a large variety of independent expenditure functions, this example may readily be applied by other local governments—cities, counties, or special districts. To adapt the model to their own situation, officials would simply select those parts which are appropriate to their jurisdictions.

The Urban Institute is publishing Dr. Scott's work, *Forecasting Local Government Spending,* in cooperation with the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. The book provides officials who have little time or technical background an overview of the approach and uses of the forecasting model. At the same time, detailed formulas and explanations are included for technicians who may be interested in adapting the model for use in their areas. □

Poorer Streets for Blacks

Catch-up paving action promised after study confirms inequities

Streets serving black residents in Fairfax County, Virginia, are poorer on the average than those serving white residents of the county, it was determined by an analysis of The Urban Institute's Public Interest Research Project (PIRP).

The study was undertaken to provide objective information in connection with a court case filed against the county and the Virginia State Highway Commission by black residents and four civic associations in August 1971.

The PIRP findings were presented to the judge in the case, and to the attorneys for the plaintiffs and defendants on May 23. On June 1 (the day the trial was to begin), Fairfax County and the state highway agency settled out of court with an agreement to spend about $1 million over a three-year period to improve rutted and unpaved roads in black neighborhoods. The town of Herndon, Virginia, named in the original suit, previously had agreed out of court to pave the one street at issue in its jurisdiction.

William Silverman, PIRP director, said that the method for comparing road quality will be written up as a model for similar cases which follow from the major precedent case, *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw.* A system was devised for selecting a random sample of streets in white residential areas to compare with those in black areas. Then a roughometer, a device used to provide an electronic record of road surface quality, was towed along the test streets.

In a second and more extensive study, these mechanical records are being calibrated against the "comfort perceptions" of a panel of blindfolded riders who, without being given clues about the character of the neighborhoods through which they were driven, rated the pavement for comfort and smoothness.

Detailed statistical analysis is being employed in this second study to determine whether road quality is related to neighborhood factors other than race, such as population density, housing values, and extent of home ownership. Primary researchers on the study are Andrew J. Boots, III, Grace Dawson, Harry P. Hatry, and Richard Winnie. □

Cable TV Center Operational

Local officials seeking help on communications decisions

One week the Cable Television Information Center sends a staff member to confer with city council members in Findlay, Ohio.

Another week it launches a full-scale feasibility study of cable television in Jacksonville, Florida.

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A REPORT FROM THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Volume 2, Number 5 September-October 1972

Health Care Costs, Benefits

System for estimating impacts of national schemes developed

The check on health legislation after passage of Medicare and Medicaid was short-lived. Medicare offered no real protection against personal health catastrophes. Medicaid led to serious inequities between recipients as states adopted widely different standards for coverage and eligibility. And both, unexpectedly, had highly inflationary impacts on medical costs.

As a result, 14 major health bills were introduced in the Ninety-Second Congress alone. Their differences reveal a fundamental conflict: should government extend health care to all citizens as a basic right, or should it provide care only to limited groups such as the indigent and aged, with possibly some incentives for others to buy their own insurance?

The degree of government involvement is a matter of political philosophy. The rationality of legislative choice among health care alternatives, however, may be improved by economic analysis. Studies by Gail Wilensky and John Holahan of The Urban Institute aim to meet this prelegislative need for analysis and projection.

Using recent data on frequency, costs, and types of medical service, matched against census data on income levels, family size, race, urban or rural residence, and other demographic characteristics, Wilensky and Holahan estimate health care costs and benefits for five hypothetical national health insurance plans. These plans vary according to a broad range of deductibles (the amounts individuals must pay before coverage begins, as in car insurance) and coinsurance rates (percentages of the bill paid by individuals, as in company group plans). The plans also are analyzed using several financing schemes—flat-rate variable premiums, employment taxes, personal income taxes, and general fund financing.

Benefits of various schemes depend in part on how different categories of the population make use of hospitalization and physician office visits. Hospital use is found to increase with the age of the head of the family, urban residence, income level, and the level of insurance coverage;

(continued on page 7)

Study of CDCs Launched

Minority enterprise, community development effects appraised

Since their origin in the 1960's community development corporations (CDCs) have been created for the purposes of improving conditions in minority neighborhoods, increasing the economic strength of the poor, and fostering minority enterprise. There are now about 80 CDCs in the nation—mostly in the larger cities—which are involved in a wide variety of activities ranging from the rehabilitation and development of housing to the operation of day care centers and cable television programming. Public agencies and private foundations have been instrumental in launching and supporting CDCs.

The Urban Institute has begun a two-year study of CDCs. The first six-month phase of this effort, now in progress, is aimed at learning whether sophisticated, quantitative measures of achievement can be developed for CDCs, given their broad functions. Persons associated with CDCs, as well as researchers, will help determine whether such measures will provide significant and useful insights. Assuming that this type of measurement of success proves feasible, analysts would proceed to evaluate a number of specific CDCs.

This research, due to be completed in mid-1973, is funded by the Ford Foundation and is being conducted by a group of researchers under the direction of Harvey A. Garn. □

Manpower Studies Analyzed

No basis for comparing national programs; project focus urged

Although there have been many benefit-cost analyses of national manpower programs, their findings do not constitute a sound basis for Congressional and executive decisions about these programs at this time.

This disappointing inconclusiveness of almost two dozen past studies stems largely from three major problems. First, methodological limitations are reflected in poor sampling design, inadequate data collection, and conflicting assumptions about benefits and costs. Second, the performance of local projects *within* national programs often vary so much as to make comparisons *among* national programs meaningless. Third, allowances are not made for the programs' very different target groups and purposes.

The national programs subjected to this research included Job Corps, the Concentrated Employment Program, the Institutional and On-the-Job Training Programs of the Manpower Development and Training Administration, Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, and (to a limited extent) the Welfare Incentive Program and Neighborhood Youth Corps.

At the request of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Joe N. Nay, John W. Scanlon, and Joseph S. Wholey of the Institute undertook a synthesis of benefit-cost studies conducted over the past several years on national manpower programs. Their study is being published later this year in a JEC compendium entitled *Benefit-Cost Analyses of Federal Programs,* and the single study is available as an Urban Institute paper.

To help Congress conduct its legislative review of manpower programs, the researchers make the following recommendations:

(continued on page 7)

AFL-CIO News

Vol. XI — Issued weekly at 815 Sixteenth St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006 $2 a year

Saturday, February 26, 1966 — No. 9

Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C.

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT to enhance job and promotion opportunities for Negroes will be undertaken by the AFL-CIO and the National Urban League, the Executive Council voted at its Bal Harbour, Fla., meeting after hearing from Whitney M. Young, Jr. (left), the league's executive director. Listening to his explanation are Pres. George Meany and Vice Pres. Walter P. Reuther, with Civil Rights Dir. Don Slaiman in the background. (See story, this page.)

Job Training Program Set with Urban League

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO and the National Urban League will join in a cooperative movement to enhance job and promotion opportunities for Negroes, Federation Pres. George Meany announced here.

The program was approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which voted $10,000 a year for three years to help launch it after an appearance before the council by Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the league.

Meany at a press conference termed the Urban League approach "very positive" and a "good program" in terms of pre-apprenticeship training for Negro youths and job promotions for Negro workers.

He said the AFL-CIO is "not satisfied" that discrimination is being eradicated at all levels of the trade union movement as quickly as desired, but stressed that "constant improvement" and progress are being made. Complete elimination will take time, he noted, and the AFL-CIO will continue to press for results.

Voicing support for the AFL-CIO's civil rights program, Young told the council that "we both recognize" that unfortunately there still remain "many gaps between the stated policies of the AFL-CIO and the practices of some local unions."

The great increase in the number of Negro union members, Young said, "is due to their growing awareness of the advantages to be gained from such membership." Working with the unions, the league "will encourage more active participation of non-white workers in unions and community activities." It is "imperative," he added, "that minority youth be assisted in making early vocational choices" based upon first-hand knowledge of the requirements necessary to enter into

(Continued on Page 3)

Training Plan Set by Labor, Urban League

(Continued from Page 1)

apprenticeships and into technical and other occupations."

The League program, in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, will:

- Set up programs to improve the position of Negro workers "in those occupations, industries and business enterprises" which have union contracts.
- Disseminate within the Negro community information on job prospects in the blue-collar labor market, the nature of unions and the rights and responsibilities of union membership.
- Establish a national trade union advisory committee within the urban league to further the cooperative relationship for job opportunities in organized skilled trades and assist in the placement of qualified individuals in job categories where their skills can be fully utilized.

Young told reporters at a press conference he hopes the program will open a "new era of cooperation" between the labor movement and the Negro community, because the condition of the Negro worker today is little different than it was five or 10 years ago.

With unions opening doors to Negroes in greater numbers, he said, the challenge to Negro groups is to provide men who can take advantage of the opportunity.

URBAN-LEAGUE

Carolina Labor News 3/4/66

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LEAG

R wds u Record 3/6/66

Labor, Urban League Join To Train Negro Youths

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File - Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM

420 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 · AREA CODE 212 – 751-0300

After June 30th the new address will be 55 EAST 52ND STREET

October 25, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

I am sure that you, as a member of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, would like to know about the Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP) of the National Urban League and its affiliates.

I have therefore enclosed some informational material on our program and its objectives. As you will note, we are operating with the support of a National Trade Union Advisory Committee consisting of Representatives drawn from the AFL-CIO.

You will also note that there is an Urban League LEAP Representative in your region, who works specifically on this project.

I hope that you will see ways in which we can work together to attain common objectives of organized labor and minority group citizens.

Sincerely,

N. B. Johnson, II

N. B. Johnson, II
Director

Urban League
(L.E.A.P.)
1966

NBJ,II:ra

Enclosure

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.
55 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM

NAPOLEON B. JOHNSON, II - DIRECTOR
Address: Same as Above

HERBERT L. WHITE - ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
Address: Same as Above

Mr. CHARLES DAVIS
Field Representative
National Urban League, Inc.
Eastern Regional Office
420 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. JOHN W. HOUSTON
Field Representative
National Urban League, Inc.
Mideastern Regional Office
1316 First National Tower
106 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Mr. ARTHUR E. GREEN
Field Representative
National Urban League, Inc.
Western Regional Office
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Mr. BENJAMIN F. LEWIS
Field Representative
National Urban League, Inc.
Southern Regional Office
A. G. Rhodes Building
Suite 417-78 Marietta St.,N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. ROBERT O. OSBORN
Field Representative
National Urban League, Inc.
Midwestern Regional Office
Chemical Building, Room 1012
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St. Louis, Missouri 63101

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
Economic Development & Employment

TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

1. MR. JACK T. CONWAY
Executive Director
Industrial Union Department
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

2. MR. GUS CRAMER
Assistant to the President
Communications Workers of America
1925 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

3. MR. ANTHONY J. DeANDRADE, PRESIDENT
International Printing Pressmen's
& Assistants' Union of North America
Pressmen's Home, Tennessee

4. MR. ALEX FULLER
Director of Civil Rights
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

5. MR. REESE HAMMOND
Director of Research
International Union of Operating Engineers
1125 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

6. MR. FRED B. IRWIN
Assistant to the International
President (IBEW)
1200 Fifteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

7. MR. PAUL JENNINGS
President
International Union of Electrical,
Radio & Machine Workers
1126 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

8. MR. EMIL MAZEY
Secretary-Treasurer
United Auto Workers
Solidarity House
800 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

9. MR. FREDERICK O'NEAL
President
Actors' Equity Association
165 West 46th Street
New York, New York 10019

10. MR. ROBERT E. POWELL
Vice President
Laborers' Int'l Union of
North America
905 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

11. MR. LOUIS SIMON
Vice President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America
160 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

12. MR. DONALD S. SLAIMAN
Director
Department of Civil Rights
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

13. MR. PETER E. TERZICK
Treasurer
United Brotherhood of
Carpenters & Joiners of
America
101 Constitution Avenue,NW
Washington, D. C. 20001

14. MR. JAMES TURNER
Director, URW
87 South High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

15. MR. THOMAS YOUNG
Vice President
Building Service Employees
International Union
One East 35th Street
New York, New York 10016

16. MR. CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
General Manager
International Ladies
Garment Workers Union
218 - 232 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

PROGRAM EMPHASIS

The main target areas of Project LEAP are threefold:

1. To develop pre-apprenticeship programs for selected occupations in several Urban League cities. Such a program of this nature will be concerned with the dynamics of disadvantaged Negro youth involving the utilization of union members to carry out the instruction, emphasizing the actual demands and pre-requisites necessary to enter into the apprenticeship program.

   The key in this area of concern is to persuade Negro youths to actively identify and associate themselves with the preparation for adulthood with serious intent and involvement. Such motivating influences will be symbols of communications depicting them and their role in the future by developing materials in visual and print media and employing techniques in group dynamics. This will be in connection with international unions and coordinating the efforts of local league affiliates. Moreover, the National Urban League will promote interest in this project at the local level via print and broadcast media, arranging personal appearances and oral presentations at community affairs and organizing union visitations and plant tours. This last aspect is seen as a dual purpose in providing Negro youths with first hand knowledge of prerequisites necessary to enter into the various trade occupations and also to bring labor and management closer to the Negro community.

2. To develop programs for the minority trade unionists, emphasizing their leadership role and liaison within the trade union movement. Included would be specific programs designed to depict their role and the labor movements' responsibility to community affairs.

3. To have the National Urban League establish and maintain the same kind of dialogue with the labor movement as it has with commerce and industry. This will mean establishing a Trade Union Advisory Council to coordinate this project, providing staff services to affiliates and actively participating in international union conventions, conferences, work-shops and other existing programs.

PURPOSE

Little has been done to bring to the attention of Negro youth and their parents, any realistic information regarding entrance qualifications in the apprenticeable trades. Employers and trade unions who are accelerating the pace of recruitment and acceptance of minority groups do not understand why the response by Negro youth is either minimal or non-existent. This is attributable to the lack of information about and understanding of what the requirements are in terms of educational background and skill level that are necessary to take advantage of such opportunities.

This means that attitudinal changes must be made within the Negro family, as well as within local unions to motivate non-white youths to make early career choices based upon first hand requisites necessary to enter into such occupations. Simultaneously, Project LEAP will provide orientation for non-white trade union members to assume leadership roles within local and international unions.

Project LEAP's purpose will be to provide Negroes with jobs so that they can reach an acceptable level of living in this country. Despite the Negro's will to succeed, barriers to opportunity are the problem and its solution appears to depend on economic growth and employment opportunities, to which the nation is committed.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this program will be within the context of already established goals and policies of the National Urban League's Job Development and Employment programs - specifically On-The-Job-Training and National Skills Bank operations - are as follows:

1. To provide a background for non-white union members on their re-responsibility to the furtherance of the trade union movement.

2. To provide union members with community information and identification of their responsibility to the total community.

3. To provide for minority group youth, information and program activity which could lead to selected apprenticeable trades.

4. To facilitate the entrance of Negro youth into the trade union movement with the assistance and participation of local and international unions.

5. To establish dialogue and improve communications between the Negro community and representatives of organized labor.

6. Develop and disseminate information within the Negor community concerning blue-collar employment prospects, interpretation of the role of labor unions, membership requirements, etc.

7. To provide a realistic basis for expanding occupational and guidance counselling services in the predominantly Negro vocational and technical high schools.

8. To work directly with unions to eliminate discriminatory employment practices.

9. To provide employers with new and increased sources of manpower.

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

Labor Education Advancement Program

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Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

May 26, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

By now, I hope you have had an opportunity to review the summary of our Labor Education Advancement Program which I forwarded to you several days ago.

This comes as a follow-up of the expressed plans to convene a meeting of community leaders to discuss and formulate appropriate steps of operation for LEAP.

The meeting will be held Thursday, June 2, 1966 at 2:00 p.m. in the conference room of the Southern Regional Office, National Urban League.

We look forward to seeing you at that time and thank you for your cooperation and participation.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin F. Lewis, ACSW
Field Representative

BFL:sat

WH & Conflict

May 27, 1966

Mr. Benjamin F. Lewis, ACSW
Field Representative
Labor Education Advancement Program
National Urban League, Inc.
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ben:

I'll be happy to talk with you prior to your proposed community leaders meeting. Say when.

In regards to the labor education interests of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, there is no meeting scheduled at this time. We can talk about this further when I see you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778
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Legal Counsel

May 26, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

By now you have my letter of May 23, 1966 advising you of my plans to convene a meeting of community leaders to introduce and explore methods of operation for our Labor Education Advancement Program. Prior to this meeting, I would like an opportunity to discuss with you in person some of the factors that I feel need clarification and probing.

In my conference with Mr. W. A. Montague, Georgia State President, AFL-CIO, he mentioned inviting me to the forthcoming meeting with you and union education representatives. Please remember me in scheduling as I certainly view this as an excellent opportunity to introduce my program.

As always, I welcome any suggestions, comments or ideas from you.

Sincerely,

Benjamin F. Lewis, ACSW
Field Representative

BFL:sat

AFL-CIO News

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Young told reporters at a press conference he hopes the program will open a "new era of cooperation" between the labor movement and the Negro community, because the condition of the Negro worker today is little different than it was five or 10 years ago.

With unions opening doors to Negroes in greater numbers, he said, the challenge to Negro groups is to provide men who can take advantage of the opportunity.

SOON-TO-BE SKILLED CRAFTSMEN meet with Assistant Dir. William E. Pollard (left) of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights after attending a Conference on Apprenticeship Opportunities held for New York City high school students. Already taking part in union training programs are, left to right, Robert Auld, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3; Scott Green, Sheet Metal Workers Local 28; Herbert Hall, Machinists Local 15; Richard Treolia, Sheet Metal Workers Local 28, all apprentices, and David Peterson, classed as a helper in Operating Engineers Local 94.

Apprenticeship Appeal Given New York Youths

New York—New York City youths were told "you are wanted, you are welcome" as apprentices in the city's building trades unions.

Pres. Peter J. Brennan of the New York Building & Construction Trades Council, principal speaker at a conference on Apprenticeship Opportunities for high school students told the youths, "If you have a skill you are needed, and while some crafts may be disappearing from our industry, others will be around for many hundreds of years and will need skilled workers."

Construction unions, Brennan declared, have an obligation to admit apprentices, including those from minority groups, and give them the same opportunities enjoyed many years ago by today's labor leaders. The industry can absorb them in a dozen and a half different crafts, he said, but he added a warning about job opportunities.

"Public works is the key to the whole problem of construction today," he declared. "Private industry can build only so much, and this is why the government must come in and pick up its proper responsibility.

We want the government in Washington, D.C., in Albany and here in New York City to know that we need more job opportunity. We want government officials to know that more public works building can not only fill the need for residential and commercial structures but also help keep employment in this industry at a high level."

He asserted that the present New York City administration has more than $3 billion worth of construction plans pending that should be put into operation.

Hope that the city's Board of Education would cooperate in making high school students aware of existing job opportunities was expressed by Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and conference chairman.

"We trust that the Board of Education will let us go into the schools and see that information about the apprenticeship program is brought to the attention of the thousands of young people who stand to gain," Rustin said.

He held that the Johnson Administration's war against poverty is linked directly with training young people in specific skills and with eliminating illiteracy.

Other speakers included Vice Pres. David Crockett of Local 6, Typographical Union; Thomas Van Arsdale, business agent of Local 3, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Myron Horwitz, a representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, New York State Labor Dept., who urged the students to "stay in school and get as much training as you can."

Urban League

L.E.A.P.

LEAP

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GA. 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – MURRAY 8-8778
B. F. LEWIS • *Field Representative*

TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE
PAUL JENNINGS, Chairman
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
FREDERICK O'NEAL, Vice Chairman
Actors Equity Association
DONALD S. SLAIMAN, Secretary
AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

JACK T. CONWAY
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
GUS CHAMER
Communications Workers of America
ANTHONY J. DeANDRADE
International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America
ALEX FULLER
United Steelworkers of America
REESE HAMMOND
International Union of Operating Engineers
FRED B. IRWIN
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
EMIL MAZEY
United Auto Workers
ROBERT E. POWELL
Laborers' International Union of North America
LOUIS SIMON
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
PETER E. TERZICK
United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America
JAMES TURNER
Department of Civil Rights
United Rubber Workers of America
THOMAS G. YOUNG
Building Service Employees International Union
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN
International Ladies Garment Workers Union

PROGRAM STAFF
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Western Region
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Southern Region

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
LINDSLEY F. KIMBALL
President
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
Executive Director
M. T. PURYEAR
Deputy Executive Director
ADOLPH HOLMES
Associate Director for Economic Development and Employment

December 13, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

I have been giving a lot of thought to the ideas we tossed around during the two meetings we shared - even if they were not quite sufficient to provide the impetus necessary for our continuing regularly.

Enclosed is a statement of purposes and objectives which we might consider for our next meeting. I am also taking the liberty of giving us a "name". Please review the sheet, adding or supplementing any ideas you deem important to our mutual goals.

Would you be so kind as to advise me if a meeting can be scheduled for December 20 or 27 at noon? A phone call will suffice.

Let's move on this for expressing and creating the desired changes we are all committed to.

Sincerely,

Benjamin F. Lewis

BFL:jc

Att. (3)

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March 29, 1967

Mr. Ben Lewis, Director
L.E.A.P.
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ben:

I Have your note regarding the P.A.C.T. meeting date change. It is at present undertain as to whether I can make the April 6th meeting. I hope so. It will depend on whether I have returned from a Washington trip.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 13, 1967

Mr. Clarence Coleman, Director
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
78 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Clarence:

Sorry I was unable to reach you. Maybe there will still be a chance for us (including Kehrer and Ben Lewis) to meet together before you leave town. Can you designate someone to meet with us at the Tuesday luncheon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

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May 5, 1967

Mrs. Gloris Massey
Secretary
L.E.A.P.
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Massey:

You will note that I have decided to make the minutes much less full than your draft report. I trust these will suit you and Mr. Lewis. Thank you so very much for your cooperation in the meeting and in getting your notes to me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

ecl.

L.E.A.P.

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE / A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND

June 23, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for inviting us down. We both enjoyed sharing our experiences, and hope that our two days were helpful. As problems come up we would be happy either to personally lend a hand or have another staff member come down to assist you.

We will arrange for one of our sheet metal apprentices to come down to speak to your sheet metal group. Please try to give us a couple days notice. As agreed upon, we will pick up the full expenses for his visit.

Enclosed you will find an itemized account of both Ernie's and my expenses. You will notice that we have omitted the air fares, and it is not by mistake. Knowing your financial situation we were able to use some of the funds from our Ford grant for the fares.

I am mailing out today some additional tutoring packages containing Apprenticeship Handbooks, Interview Sheets, and Suggested Pointers for Applicants Going to be Interviewed. Also enclosed are some applications that we use in our office. If there is anything else that you need just give us a ring.

Sincerely,

Dennis Derryck

Dennis Derryck

DD/mf

Encl

Ernest Green
Director
Dennis Derryck
Assistant Director
Maizie Fulston
Executive Secretary

Field Representatives
NEW YORK CITY
William Ross
1646 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11213

WESTCHESTER COUNTY
Earl Forte, Jr.
27 Lincoln Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801

Executive Committee
CO-CHAIRMEN:
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Rowland Watts
Thomas R. Brooks
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Johnny Parham
Donald Slaiman
Irwin Suall
Pearl Willen

1646 FULTON STREET, BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11213 / PResident 3-1313

File

APPRENTICESHIP PRE-TRAINING WORKSHOP

(RECRUITMENT - MOTIVATION - TRAINING)

June 21 - 22, 1967

Butler Street Y. M. C. A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Schedule of Activity

Wednesday, June 21

Opening Session

11:30 A. M.----------Remarks
Emory Via, PACT
Ben Brown, LEAP

Presentations----Workshop Consultants------Ernie Green, Director
Apprenticeship Project
Workers Defense League
New York City

Dennis Derryck
Training Director
Apprenticeship Project
Workers Defense League
New York City

12:30 P. M.----------Lunch

3:30 P. M.----------Orientation Session
Participants: Economic Opportunity Atlanta
Community Service Organizations
School Counselors

Thursday, June 22

9:30 A. M. - 12:00 P. M.----------Pre-Training Session
Prospective Apprentices

12:15 P. M. - 1:30 P. M.----------Lunch

Afternoon----------Reserved for private consultations with workshop consultants

Sponsored by: The Atlanta Urban League, Inc., Labor Education Advancement Program
Planning, Action, Coordination Team

78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W.
SUITE 417
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Labor News 12-20-68

TEAM

Lab

PUBLISHED WEEKLY Vol. 28, No. 36 DURH

J. P. STEVENS SLAPPED WITH 6th UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICE RULING

WASHINGTON—J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., major supplier of textile goods to the U.S. government, deliberately reduced the flow of cotton into a company warehouse to give itself an excuse for getting rid of union supporters, a National Labor Relations Board aide has found.

The ruling, by Trial Examiner Owsley Vose, marked the sixth straight time since 1966 that unfair labor practice charges against the nation's second largest textile maker have been upheld. Two of the NLRB rulings have been sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court. Three company appeals still want to be ruled on by other U.S. appeals courts.

Vose concluded after hearing the latest charges that Stevens "deliberately changed its past methods of doing business so as to be able to reduce the volume of cotton moving" into and out of the company's Black Hawk warehouse at Greenville, S.C.

The purpose, he found, was "to have an excuse for laying off a substantial number of the group of employes which . . . the company had heard contained the largest number of union supporters, namely the warehouse employes."

Stevens maangement started its union-busting tactics when it learned in the fall of 1967 that its warehouse employes were interested in joining the Textile Workers Union of America, the examiner reported.

Though its Black Hawk warehouse was only about half full in September of 1967, Stevens "commenced consigning the great bulk of its shipments" from cotton states to an independently-owned public warehouse in Greenville, thence to its clothmaking plants.

That month Stevens consigned 73 of the 88 carloads of cotton shipped from the South to Greenville for warehousing at the independent warehouse, the examiner related.

"Earlier in 1966 and 1967, almost all the cars placed at the (private) warehouse had originally been consigned to Black Hawk. However, apparently realizing that it did not make sense to consign cotton to Commodity (the independent warehouse) when it had plenty of space available at Black Hawk, and when its own warehouse staff was comparatively idle, Stevens had 37 of the 73 cars originally consigned to Commodity" switched to its own warehouse, the examiner related.

The remaining 38 cars comprised a "significantly larger number of cars than Stevens had previously had Commodity handle," Vose said, citing the record of shipments.

Next Stevens increased its use of warehouses at Gulfport and Clarksdale, Miss., instead of Black Hawk, and at the same time laid off 20 Black Haw kemployes to bring the warehouse workers to 28—a reduction in force of unprecedented size.

And just before the eligibility period for voting in the NLRB election expired, Stevens hired three new shop employes, Vose noted. The shop employes, who repair equipment, are mainly white and the warehouse workers predominantly black, according to the report.

An NLRB agent who conducted the representation election at Greenville challenged the ballots cast by 14 of the laid-off employes, and thus prevented the union from claiming a majority.

The examiner ruled that the 14 employes, and three others laid off after the election, were discriminatorily discharged in violation of the law. Vose found that they continued to retain their status as employes, and were enitled to vote in the election.

He recommended that the challenges be overruled, and the regional director open and count the ballots of the 14 workers laid off before the vote; that the union be certified as the bargaining agent for warehouse employes if it wins a majority of the valid votes cast; or if it does not win a majority, that the election be set aside and a new election be conducted.

Vose also recommended that all the laid-off workers be reinstated to their jobs and be made whole for lost pay, plus 6 percent interest for the time they lost from work.

Vose's report goes to the board for review if the company files exceptions, as it has in all the preceding cases. The first two of five NLRB findings against Stevens were refused review by the U.S. Supreme Court. All have this NLRB judgment in common.

As a result of previous penalties assessed against J. P. Stevens & Co., a total of $666,895 has been collected, so far, by some 70 workers illegally fired by the company during the course of TWUA organizing activities in plants operated by Stevens.

February ~~13~~ 3, 1969

Mr. Mordecai C. Johnson
P. O. Box 743
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mordecai:

I see from my BNA Fair Employment Practices Summary a note that the Justice Department filed suit against Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corporation in Anderson, South Carolina. This was one of several suits filed at the end of the Johnson administration. You may want to keep a special ear-to-the-ground on this.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

cc: Bob Valder

File - LEAP

LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM

LEAP · LEAP · LEAP · LEAP · LEAP · LEAP

A practical application for the development of programs to increase the participation of the Negro in organized labor and to enhance the opportunities for Negro Youth for entrance in the Skilled and Technical Trades.

Sponsored by the **NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE**
and the **AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR-CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

P. A. C. T.

(Planning - Action - and - Communication - Team)

Statement of Purposes:

The stated purposes of PACT shall be the working aims and objectives of the organization. It will constitute the basis of the involvement of the members of the organization, individually and collectively, in community issues and affairs.

To achieve its aims and objectives, this organization will plan, act and communicate for the constructive benefit of the total community from a professional and objective perspective.

Objectives of the Organization:

1. To bring together into one group concerned and responsible members of the community for the purpose of taking aggressive action on issues and programs which affect the total community relative to training and employment opportunities.

2. To provide an organizational framework through which persons and/or institutions can be sufficiently researched, analyzed, interpreted and presented as bases for making realistic decisions suited to the needs, values, problems and goals of the community.

3. To meet with appropriate public and private agency officials and their governing bodies relative to planning, programming and adopting procedures and positions with a view toward influencing and finalizing which will meet the needs, desires and best interests of the labor community.

4. To initiate and develop ways of involving more and more persons from the total labor community for the purpose of fostering greater opportunities for all citizens to participate in the economic growth of the nation.

5. To develop and maintain information on those policy making bodies which exert the most influence on the life-chance factors of this community; including, but not limited to, the City and County Commissions, the School Board, The Office of Economic Opportunity, labor unions, employers, and the Georgia State Employment Service.

Policies of the Building Trades Councils

Before any real discussion can be entered into regarding policies of the B.T.C.'s, it might be well to review the international unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department (AFL-CIO).

1. International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers.
2. International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers.
3. Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers I. U.
4. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
5. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
6. International Union of Elevator Constructors
7. International Union of Operating Engineers
8. Granite Cutters I. U.
9. International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers
10. International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America
11. Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers I. U.
12. International Association of Marble, Stone, etc., Rubbers and Helpers
13. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
14. Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons I. A.
15. United States Tile, etc. and Waterproof Workers
16. Sheet Metal Workers I. A.
17. Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America
18. U. A. of Plumbing and Pipefitting of the U. S. and Canada

Each of these internationals has local unions, which, of course, make up the International body. The local unions may or may not affiliate with their local Building Trades Council. Some international unions have more control than others and require their local unions to affiliate with the local Building Trades Council.

Policies of the Building Trades Councils

The Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, is headed by C. J. Haggerty, President, and Frank Bonadio, Secretary. Together they coordinate information to the various international unions which affect building trades, principally in areas of Congressional legislation and predetermined wage rates.

There is also a plan for settlement of jurisdictional disputes between the individual trades, The National Joint Board for the Settlement of Jurisdictional disputes.

In recent years many landmark decisions have been handed down, causing repercussions of dissension among many of the trades.

The local Building Trades Councils usually negotiate the Master Agreement (area-wide collective bargaining), setting forth the conduct of labor and management for a given period of time (usually two years), which spells out details on safety provisions required, strikes or lockouts, union security and maintenance of standards.

Info on Atlanta

The local B.T.C. in any city has no direct influence on any individual, local union, JAC or individual employer.

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SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION • EUGENE P. FOLEY, Administrator
U. S. Government Agency

Management Aids FOR SMALL MANUFACTURERS

41

Washington, D.C. First Printed January 1954 Revised August 1964

BES for description of services offered by a State Employment Service

HOW THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE HELPS SMALL BUSINESS

By Louis Levine

Director, United States Employment Service, Bureau of Employment Security
U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

The State Employment Services are affiliated with the United States Employment Service (USES), a part of the Bureau of Employment Security in the U.S. Department of Labor. They provide [redacted] with many services which are helpful in meeting personnel needs and in solving manpower problems. Assistance is given locally. About 1,900 full-time and 2,000 part-time local offices of the State Employment Services constitute the public employment service network. They are found in every State and in the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam.

Delete

~~The Employment Service can be particularly helpful to small and medium-sized businesses which do not maintain complete personnel departments and which, therefore, may need help in resolving employment management problems. This Aid suggests how you can utilize the various technical services which are available without charge through public employment service offices.~~

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL SERVICES AVAILABLE

Based on over 30 years of cooperative research with industry on personnel matters, the State Employment Services provide specialized recruitment and placement service, employment management services, and current labor market information to employers.

The 1,900 local offices of these State Employment Services are generally equipped to offer [redacted] the following services:

(1) Recruitment of workers in all occupations and for meeting employers' personnel needs resulting from attrition, expansion, and staffing of new plants, establishments, and offices.

Delete

~~(2) Locating qualified workers not available locally through a nationwide interarea recruitment service which includes a professional placement network of about 1,[illegible] selected offices.~~

(3) Selecting the best qualified workers through the most modern interviewing and testing techniques. Aptitude test batteries have been validated for more than 500 specific occupations.

(4) Testing (including the use of the General Aptitude Test Battery) and counseling of youths in the fields of work for which their aptitudes and interests best fit them.

(5) Giving guidance in resolving employment problems, such as turnover and absenteeism, and in maintaining an adequate work force, and assisting in personnel planning by use of job analysis and related techniques.

(6) Providing information on labor supply and demand on a local, State, and national basis.

(7) Initiating training courses--under the Manpower Development and Training Act and other training programs--to help in alleviating existing shortages of qualified workers and in meeting expected needs for additional trained workers.

(8) Relating veterans' service training to civilian occupations.

LOCAL OFFICE IS FOCAL POINT FOR SERVICE

The point at which to make the first contact is the State Employment Service office in your own community. This is true regardless of the type of assistance you need on recruitment or employment management problems. You will find that this office concerns itself with the employment needs of local businessmen and workers. Members of its staff are trained to locate, select, and refer qualified personnel. They help analyze manpower problems, develop plans of action, and generally provide assistance and advice. Accordingly, it would be to your advantage to develop a continuing relationship with the staff of the local office.

To locate an office of the State Employment Service, consult your telephone directory. If there is no office in your community, you can get the address of the one nearest you by writing to the headquarters office of the State Employment Service--usually located in the State capital.

The Employment Service is concerned with improving the recruitment, selection, placement, training, and utilization of workers, and it is there to help you in these areas of personnel work. (However, it does not enter industrial engineering fields, such as the analysis of plant layout or job evaluation.)

RECRUITMENT OF WORKERS

State Employment Services recruit workers in all occupations--professional, technical, and managerial--as well as in the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled categories. They are organized to meet your particular specifications for current and future manpower requirements.

Matching jobs and workers requires adequate occupational information. Therefore, the degree of success achieved depends not only upon the quality of service provided by local office personnel but also upon your presenting a clear picture of what you need as an employer.

The following actions will help you to obtain the best possible service:

(1) List your job vacancies with your State Employment Service, either by phoning or visiting your nearest local office and be as specific and informative as possible.

(2) Invite an employment service representative to visit your establishment--he can learn about your jobs and you can learn about the services available through the local office.

(3) Make your job qualifications realistic, and the pay should be in line with the requirements of the job.

(4) Give the Employment Service enough time to find the best applicant for your opening.

(5) Inform the local office promptly of your hiring decisions regarding the applicants referred to you.

(6) Refer to the local Employment Service office applicants who apply directly to you, whenever you do not have an immediate need for them.

FINDING SKILLS NOT AVAILABLE LOCALLY

If workers with the required skills are not available in the community, your local office can tap the facilities of a nationwide interarea recruitment system to meet your needs. The 1,900 Employment Service offices throughout the Nation are more than local labor exchanges serving employment needs of communities. They are links in a nationwide network. Through the process of interarea recruitment, an employer with an opening for a certain type of worker, and an applicant who is qualified for that job--each in a different city--can be brought together.

The Employment Service in its interarea recruitment operations offers a variety of methods for referring the qualified worker, or a record of his qualifications, to the employer. The local employment office can advise as to appropriate methods and areas of best applicant potential. It can also assist employers in arranging recruitment itineraries and advance publicity.

PROFESSIONAL PLACEMENT SERVICE

The public employment service places special emphasis on its professional placement program to keep pace with the rapidly growing importance of professional workers in the national economy. Specially trained staff members in local offices are assigned to serve employers and workers in the recruitment and placement of professional, technical, and managerial personnel. Most major metropolitan areas have separate divisions--and in a few cases separate offices--to concentrate efforts on meeting these employment needs effectively. Cooperative relationships with many professional organizations have been established, including placement service at their annual conventions, in an effort to promote applicant-employer accessibility in these demand fields. Employers seeking professional, technical, and managerial personnel and applicants possessing these qualifications are thus brought together through a specialized service geared to their needs.

- Professional Office Network

The Employment Service has a Professional Office Network connecting about 120 key cities in the United States and Puerto Rico. It provides nationwide service for employers seeking workers in professional, technical, and managerial occupations and for applicants in search of such jobs. These offices serve as major recruitment points--for professional workers--for the 1,900 local employment offices. They receive from all States and Territories listings of professional, technical, and managerial job openings that cannot be filled locally. When qualified applicants are available, these offices can communicate directly with any of the other 1,900 local offices by telephone, telegraph, or air mail. This plan greatly facilitates bringing together your job openings with applicants who are qualified and available to fill those jobs.

The Employment Service can also help you to prepare and schedule newspaper and radio advertisements to aid in attracting the workers you may need from out of town.

OCCUPATIONAL COUNSELING AND TESTING

The Employment Service has developed the most comprehensive employment counseling and testing program in the country. The United States Employment Service and its affiliated State Employment Services, in cooperation with industrial management and labor unions, have validated aptitude tests for more than 500 specific occupations.

About 1,500 local offices are now equipped with testing facilities. Aptitude tests are designed for use in selection and counseling of inexperienced workers. They measure potentiality for acquiring occupational skills. Proficiency tests are designed for use in selection of experienced workers, and they measure occupational skills already acquired, such as typing. The use of Employment Service tests in selection benefits the employer through referral to him of test-selected applicants.

While selection devices are already in use for a large variety of occupations, many jobs are not yet covered. If you require test-selected applicants for one of those jobs, the United States Employment Service with the help of the appropriate State Employment Service will, if feasible, develop tailor-made tests to meet your needs.

JOB INFORMATION MATERIALS

The Employment Service is also equipped to give you practical help in manpower planning through job analysis and occupational classification. It has developed a wide variety of tools and methods designed to cope with problems in these areas. Local Employment Service offices can be of assistance regarding the application of these tools and methods in the solution of your particular manpower problems. An example is the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, a publication which has been used in the classification of workers and job openings since 1939.

The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* can provide you with assistance in: (1) recruitment and placement; (2) converting job titles to standard terminology; (3) planning upgrading and transfer programs; (4) preparing staffing patterns; (5) defining job duties for use in job and wage evaluation, indicating skill levels, and showing job relationships; and (6) conversion planning to show the relationship of previous experience to new jobs.

REDUCTION OF TURNOVER AND ABSENTEEISM

Employment Service tools and techniques can help to solve manpower problems resulting from absenteeism and turnover. Underutilization of skills, lack of opportunity for promotion, unsatisfactory working conditions, low wages, and poor supervision contribute to absenteeism and high turnover. Based on years of experience in working with many employers, the Employment Service can assist you in analyzing the causes of your problems and in determining what can be done to maintain a vigorous, stable work force.

Suggestions for Control of Turnover and Absenteeism, an Employment Service publication, is designed to help you in this connection.

LABOR MARKET INFORMATION

Labor market information is compiled by the Employment Service. You can get it upon request. It includes data on employment and unemployment trends, demand and supply of labor by occupations, labor market outlook, wages, labor turnover, and related factors. Such information, compiled on an area, industry, or occupational basis, may be helpful to you in planning recruitment activities, training programs, and expansion or location of new plants or establishments.

Publications, such as the Bureau of Employment Security's *Employment Service Review*, which contains detailed information on some aspects of labor market developments; *Area Labor Market Trends;* and a wide variety of State and area labor market "news letter" releases contain useful information. Occupational labor market information is available through job opportunities information surveys.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES INFORMATION

Some State Employment Services conduct area skill surveys. They provide information about current and expected manpower requirements and training needs by occupation. Such information is essential to a community in its long-term manpower planning. Intensive community-wide efforts are needed in many localities to improve the skills of the work force and to meet current and future skilled manpower requirements.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS DEALING WITH NATIONAL MANPOWER PROBLEMS

The Federal-State employment service system is geared to provide assistance in coping with changes in the labor market. It can assist in meeting employment problems resulting from automation and technological change and from persistent underemployment and unemployment. Some major national programs stemming from these problems, in which the Employment Service is involved, and in which you have an interest, are:

- Area Redevelopment Activities

The Area Redevelopment Act emphasizes the concern of the Federal Government with problems of localized chronic unemployment. Under the Act, loans are provided to increase

employment opportunities in areas designated as redevelopment areas on the basis of persistent unemployment or low income. Training and retraining of unemployed and underemployed residents are also provided as well as payment of subsistence allowances to eligible workers while in training. Local employment office responsibilities under the Act include: (1) obtaining facts needed for identifying areas designated for redevelopment; (2) reviewing the manpower aspects of the overall economic plans for those areas; (3) determining the occupations and number of workers for such training as may be needed; (4) selecting and referring individuals for training; and (5) payment of subsistence allowances to eligible workers in training.

- Manpower Development and Training

The Manpower Development and Training Act provides for institutional and on-the-job training; payment of training allowances; special counseling and training of youth 16 through 21 years of age; and modest transportation and subsistence payments to individuals receiving training away from home. Unlike the Area Redevelopment Act, training under this legislation is available to all areas of the country.

The Manpower Development and Training Act requires that all training project proposals be supported by an appraisal of training needs, prepared by the local public employment office, to determine those occupations where labor demand exists or is expected. The vocational school system and the public employment office carry out the training program at the local level.

On the basis of information obtained by local offices concerning the needs of unemployed workers for training and of employers for trained workers, occupations are identified for manpower training.

- Automation and Technological Change

Among current manpower problems is the rapid extension of automation and other technological changes. New technology has caused an accelerated rate of attrition in jobs in many important industries. Local offices of State Employment Service are available to explore with employers scheduled or foreseeable technological changes and their potential effects on workers and plant employment patterns. This service permits the resources of the local office to be brought to bear on the problems of fitting the displaced workers into new employment.

GETTING A LIST OF UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE PUBLICATIONS

The bulletin, *Bureau of Employment Security Publications*, lists, describes, and explains how to order all USES publications available to the public. You can get a copy of this publication free from any local Employment Service office or from the Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

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Urban Planning Conference

for me to take on

Thursday evening for

Friday AM meeting

at Hilton Inn (Airport)

URBAN PLANNING CONFERENCE

- PARTICIPANTS

1) Robert A. Thompson - 1850 Penelope Road, N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Deputy Assistant to Regional Administrator for Equal Opportunity, Department of Housing & Urban Development.

2) Leon S. Eplan - 1 Barksdale Drive, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Vice-president and partner of Eric Hill Associates, Inc. Community Planning Consultant of Atlanta and Winston-Salem, N. C.

3) Walter L. Smith - Durham, N. C.

Director, Low Income Housing Development Corp., Durham, North Carolina.

4) John Albert Parker - 219 Ransom Street, Chapel Hill, N. C.

City and Regional Planner.

5) David E. Epperson - 7158 Tilden St., Pittsburgh, Penn.

April 1965 to present, Community Action Pittsburgh, Inc.

6) Peter H. Brown - 3619 Barring Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

Summer of 1966 to present: Project and Team Director Office Administrator, David A. Crane, Architect, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

7) Robert J. Nash
AIA Task force responding to Whitney Young's Portland Speech

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

~~HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY~~

TOP INTERGROUP RELATIONS STAFF

July 1965

Mr Charles ADAMS
526 5585

OFFICE OF THE ~~ADMINISTRATOR HHFA~~ SECRETARY

Title and Office Location	Name and Home Address	Area-Jurisdiction
Central Office: Asst. to the ~~Administrator~~ Secretary for Intergroup Relations Normandy Building - Room 814 1626 "K" Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20410 (202) 382-7255	Dr. B. T. McGraw 3036 Park Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) TAylor 9-3140	Central Office and Nation
Regions		
I Asst. to the Reg. Administrator 346 Broadway New York, N. Y. 10013 (212) 264-8090	Earle W. Fisher 10 East 138th St. New York, N.Y.10037	Conn., Maine, Mass. New Hampshire, New York, R.I., Vermont
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III Asst. to the Reg. Administrator Room 645, Peachtree-Seventh Bldg. Atlanta, Georgia 30323 (404) 526-5819	Robert A. Thompson 1850 Penelope Rd.N.W. Atlanta 14, Ga. SY 4-8098 Mr Pursell 526-5475	Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Miss., North Carolina South Carolina, Tenn. 8
IV Asst. to the Reg. Administrator* Room 1500,360 No. Michigan Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60601 (312) 828-4400		Illinois, Indiana, Iowa Mich., Minnesota, Nebr. No. Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin
V Asst. to the Reg. Administrator 2075 Federal Center 300 West Vickery Blvd. Fort Worth, Texas 76104 (817) 335-2861	Samuel W. Hudson, Jr. 2807 Tanner St. Dallas 15, Texas (214) HA 1-7845	Arkansas, Colo., Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri New Mexico, Oklahoma Texas 3
VI Asst. to the Reg. Administrator 450 Golden Gate Ave. Box 36003 San Francisco, Calif. 94102 (415) 556-6841	Lee A. Merriwether, Jr. 137 Central Ave. San Francisco, Calif. HEmlock 1-1189	Arizona, Calif. Idaho, Montana, Nevada Oregon, Utah, Washington Wyoming, Alaska, Guam, Hawaii

(*) Vacancy in process of being filled.

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Assistant to the Commissioner for Intergroup Relations Lafayette Bldg., Room 663 Washington, D. C. 20410 (202)382-3414	J. Lawrence Duncan 1345 Childress St.,N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 399-5877	Central Office and Nation
Region		
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II Intergroup Relations Specialist Widener Bldg. Chestnut & Juniper Sts. Philadelphia, Pa. 19107 (215) 597-2695	William M. Cousins 316 Carpenter Lane Philadelphia, Pa. 19119 GE 8-2029	Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland New Jersey, Penna. Virginia, W. Virginia
III Intergroup Relations Specialist Peachtree-Seventh Bldg. Atlanta, Georgia 30323 (404) 526-5852 5402	Mr Harry Bonkster Alexander D. Gaither Chappell Forest Apts. 425 Chappell Rd.,N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30318 (404) 794-1704 Rm 412 911 Peachtree	Alabama, Florida Georgia, Kentucky, Miss., No. Carolina, So. Carolina, Tenn.
IV Intergroup Relations Specialist 360 North Michigan Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60601 (312) 828-5949	Howard D. Roberts 2901 So. Parkway Apt. ~~#1005~~ 1701 Chicago 16, Illinois (312) CA 5-4203	Illinois, Indiana Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska North Dakota, Ohio South Dakota, Wisc.
V Intergroup Relations Specialist 300 West Vickery Blvd. Fort Worth, Texas 76104 (817) 335-2703	Pete T. Hinojosa 3529 Mission St. Fort Worth 9, Texas	Arkansas, Colorado Kansas, Louisiana Missouri, New Mexico Oklahoma, Texas
VI Intergroup Relations Specialist 450 Golden Gate Ave. Box 36003 San Francisco, Calif. 94102 (415) 556-3751	Tad T. Masaoka 2701 Sunset Terrace San Mateo, Calif. 94403 (415) 341-9883	Arizona, California Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah Washington, Wyoming Alaska, Guam,Hawaii

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

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Field Staff:		
ZONE		
I Intergroup Relations Advisor 2 Park Avenue New York, N. Y. 10016 (212) 460-0100 Xt. 721	Isham B. Jones 165 Park Row, Apt.21F New York, N.Y. 10038 (212) DI 9-3779	Connecticut, Maine Mass., New Hampshire New York, R. I. Vermont
I Intergroup Relations Advisor 2 Penn Center Plaza, Room 900 Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (215) 597-2342	Walter R. Reynolds 401 West Ellet Philadelphia, Pa. (215) CH 7-3368	Delaware, New Jersey Pennsylvania
I Intergroup Relations Advisor Federal Bldg. 400 No. 8th St. Richmond, Virginia 23240 (703) 649-2718	Reuben A. Clay 303 Overbrook Rd. Richmond 22, Va. MI 8-6135	District of Columbia Maryland, Virginia West Virginia
II Intergroup Relations Advisor 230 Peachtree Street, N. W. 3rd Flr.,Peachtree Ctr. Bldg. Atlanta, Georgia 30303 (404) 526-6594	Albert L. Thompson 110 Leathers Circle, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia (404) SY 4-1874	Alabama, Florida Georgia, Kentucky Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee Puerto Rico
II Intergroup Relations Advisor *		

(*) Vacancy to be filled and regional area divided between the two advisors

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (cont'd.)

Title and Office Location	Name and Home Address	Area-Jurisdiction
Field Staff (cont'd.)		
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III Intergroup Relations Advisor 1375 Euclid Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44115 (216)241-7321	DeHart Hubbard 3327 East Blvd. Cleveland 4, Ohio (216) WY 1-6847	Indiana, Michigan Ohio
IV Intergroup Relations Advisor 315 North 7th Street St. Louis, Missouri 63101 (314) 622-4780	William F. McKinney 4872 San Francisco Av. St. Louis 15, Mo. (314) EV 2-1036	Arkansas, Colorado Kansas, Missouri Oklahoma
IV Intergroup Relations Advisor 1621 Main Street Dallas, Texas 75201 (214) 749-2011	A. Maceo Smith 2407 Thomas Ave. Dallas, Texas (4) (214) RI 2-4010	Louisiana, New Mexico, Texas
V Intergroup Relations Advisor ~~714 West Olympic Blvd.~~ Los Angeles ~~15~~, California 90013 (213) 688-5105	Floyd C. Covington 2003 Virginia Road Los Angeles 16, Calif. (213) RE 5-7229	Arizona, Southern California, Nevada Utah, Wyoming, Hawaii
V Intergroup Relations Advisor 105 Market Street San Francisco, Calif. 94111 (415) 556-1038	Arthur Bradford 420 Castenada Ave. San Francisco, Calif. 94116 564-2215	Northern California Idaho, Montana, Oregon Washington, Alaska

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Title and Office Location	Name and Home Address	Area-Jurisdiction
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III Intergroup Relations Officer ~~737 Peachtree Building~~ Atlanta, Ga. 30323 (404) 526-5293 721 - Peachtree Seventh	Hubert M. Jackson 723 Waterford Rd., N.W. Atlanta 18, Georgia (404) SY 4-6129	Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee
IV Intergroup Relations Officer 185 North Wabash Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60601 (312) 828-4608	William E. Hill 2951 South Parkway Chicago, Illinois (312) MI 3-3672	Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin
V Intergroup Relations Officer 300 West Vickery Blvd. Fort Worth, Texas 76104 (817) 335- 2254	Harold A. Odom 2205 Fleming Drive Fort Worth, Texas (817) JE 4-6783	Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas
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DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
~~HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY~~

Regional Office ~~HHFA~~

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DEPUTY REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR — Charles C. Adams

Robert Thompson

- Gilbert T. Laron — Regional Civil Defense Specialist
- George T. Papageorge — Spec. Asst. to the Reg. Adm. (Com. Programs)
- Asst. to the Reg. Adm. (Intergr. Rel.)
- ~~Spec. Asst. to the Reg. Adm. (Pub. Info.)~~
- ~~Executive Secretary (VHMCP)~~
- Harry L. Lindsey — Spec. Asst. to the Reg. Adm. (Liaison-General)

*ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION
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Asst. Regional Dir. of Adm.
Chief, Bud. & Mgmt. Branch
~~Chief, Auditing & Personnel Br.~~
Chief, Accounting Branch
Chief, General Services Br.

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Director — Milton W. Blanton

LEGAL DIVISION
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COMMUNITY FACILITIES DIV.
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Deputy Regional Dir. — Vacant

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Deputy Regional Director — Vacant

Thomas J. Armstrong — Asst. to Reg. Dir. of CF / Rep. & Con. Asst.

Douglas C. Brooks — Local Program Rev. & Eval Sec. Chief

- Intergroup Relations Officer
- Dennis A. Carr — Community Organization Officer
- Dan J. Zuber — Asst. Reg. Dir. for Special Programs

- Samuel N. Evins — College Housing Operations Branch Chief
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- Robert L. Kane — Loan Management Branch Chief
- Robert J. Ingram — Engineering Br. Chief
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- * Area Coordinators

- Frank C. Summers — Project Planning & Review Sec. Head
- James E. Neebrough — Construction Management Sec. Head
- Francis D. Anderson — Real Estate Acquisition Br. Chief
- Richard K. Judy — Fiscal Management Branch Chief
- ~~Regional Urban Renewal Representative~~

* Field Offices

* See Attached

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Asst. Regional Director of Administration - Charles H. Aikens, Jr.
Chief, Budget and Management Branch - Samuel E. Davis
Chief, Accounting Branch - Thomas F. Murphy
Chief, General Services Branch - Eugene C. Garner

AREA COORDINATORS

James W. Mills - Alabama, Mississippi, and W. Tennessee
Alexander F. Milne - Kentucky and E. Tennessee
Robert V. Connerat - Florida, North Carolina, and South Carolina
Lester H. Persells - Georgia

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Miami, Florida
William F. Bach

Atlanta, Georgia
Vacant

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Alex Milne - Kentucky & Tennessee

Jim Mills - Alabama, Mississippi & Tennessee

Vince Connerat - North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida

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copy

SRC -- HUD Conferences on the six cities in the Urban Planning Project
July 8, 1966

SRC: Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

Susan Bresler, Urban Planner
Urban Planning Project

HUD: Les Persells
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Sam Agee
Mr. Jacobson
Mr. Patterson and Mr. Watts
Mr. Vernon Plaisted
Mr. Jim Mills

Copy

CONFERENCES WITH H.U.D. PEOPLE (~~10~~ 8)
July 8, 1966

(Miss) Susan Bresler, Urban Planner
Urban Planning Project

1. Mr. Les Persells. Mr. Persells struck me as an optomistic bureaucrat: like his agency is taking care of everything.

I learned that urban renewal staffs now have a social services coordinator. On a large staff, this person would be a social worker. The social services coordinator sees that the residents of the project area get the social (welfare) services they need. I still don't think HUD is organizing the people in the project area. But at least the urban renewal staffs deal more with the individual problems of people in the project area than in the past.

The Community Action Programs (CAP) may do more than HUD to promote community organization. The CAP's make diagnostic surveys of an area to identify the "socioeconomic problems" of the residents, whatever that means. Still doesn't sound like giving the poor a voice in actual planning. But CAP's do inventory existing organizations in the neighborhood and may even form block clubs. I don't know. See "Interim Guidelines for Encouraging LPA Coordination with Local Anti-Poverty Programs."

Mr. Persells admitted roundabout that planners don't figure the needs of minority groups into their plans. Rather, planners make plans on the basis of 1) good land use-traffic planning and 2) getting the plan carried out (implemented).

So, a minority group could influence planners by helping solve land use-traffic problems and by helping carry out plans.

But who could help the minority groups understand the plans?

2. Mr. Hoffman. Mr. Hoffman felt that localities need their own coordinator for Federal programs.

Paris has a revenue problem. The wealthy people living in the city own large horse farms in the county. City and county governments don't cooperate.

Paris is 30% Negro; its depressed areas are predominantly Negro. The proposed renewal project will rennovate an entire area and provide needed public housing.

Mr. Hoffman described Mayor Rains as "a nice old gentleman." The Mayor's efforts include building codes and high school expansion.

The newspaper is cooperative with urban renewal. It is not racist.

The Citizen's Advisory Committee, which can be a very effective tool to influence the city, is inactive.

Mr. James S. Wilson tries to get money for the city; Frazier Haddix, Director of Urban Renewal knows the most about Paris; Judge Leer and Mr. Saunders, head of the Housing Authority, are influential in Paris. Paris trained a good building inspector by sending him to Lexington for a month to work with the inspector there.

3. Mr. Agee. Mr. Agee had an interesting argument to sell renewal to the city: Do you want the people your children go to school with to come from substandard housing?

Louisville is 60 % Negro. The city's new leadership is interested in renewal. The city has one large slum and other spotty areas.

Judge Abbot controls the bank. He helps people in the community apply for Farm Home Administration loans to improve their homes. The loans are for low-cost housing.

Louisville has some strain in race relations, but the people are trying to do something about it, Mr. Agee said.

The city has trouble enforcing zoning. The main barrier to renewal in Louisville is the cost. Louisville participates in the Central Savanna River Area Planning and Development Commission (whew).

Mr. Agee seemed spirited and very eager to help small communities.

4. Mr. Jacobson . Mr. Jacobson was the only Urban Renewal Representative I talked to today who empahsized the social service function of renewal. In fact, it was practically all he talked about: heart-rending stories of individuals in the project.

Macon has both a social service manager and a field worker. A man named Dave Lucas, a former high school coach, gives adult education classes. Macon's Community Action Program is examining neighborhood facilities for the project area.

In the last five years, Macon has become a very dynamic community and has a big public works program.

B.F. Merritt is a strong full-time mayor. Doug Feagin is Director of the Urban Renewal Program. The city itself is the

local public agency (LPA) rather than a separate renewal agency. Macon has its own city-county planning commission and also takes part in a five-county regional planning commission.

5.& 6. Mr. Patterson and Mr. Watts. These gentlemen used to work with Birmingham and Corinth respectively. The present Urban Renewal representatives for these cities are now McGill and Grouby.

About the only significant thing that came out of the discussion (I was getting tired by then) was that HUD has no record of Negro developers.

7. Mr. Vernon Plaisted. Unfortunately, Mr. Plaisted won't have Ashville any more. The new man is Gibbons. Mr. Plaisted says the Urban Renewal program would be a lot easier to administer and a lot more fair to cities with little money if the non-cash grant-in-aid were eliminated and the Federal share of renewal costs upgraded to something like 90%, like it is with the highway program. The way it is now, localities choose their projects on the basis of these credits. Otherwise, the cities couldn't raise enough money to pay their local one-third share.

Mr. Plaisted pointed out that social services in rehabilitation areas, as opposed to clearance areas, can begin as soon as the application for renewal goes into HUD.

8. Mr. Jim Mills. Mr. Mills caught us by the coattail to tell us why he selected Corinth and Birmingham. He says Corinth

has solved many of its problems. A publication telling the story is coming out soon. Birmingham, by contrast, still has many problems that need solving. For one thing, Birmingham doesn't have the focal of minority group leadership that Corinth has. The two cities should make an interesting contrast.

Mr. Smith. During the conferences Mr. Smith explained how the Urban Planning Project is one part of a five part grant from the Ford Foundation. The other parts are prisoner rehabilitation, voter education, community organization, and labor relations.

What the Southern Regional Council wants to know from its Urban Planning Project is how equal opportunity can become more a fact than a principal, for this affects urban planning. Open housing means not just integration but equal availability of housing as well.

Mr. Smith emphasized the lack of economy in a split system of facilities for whites and Negroes. The planning of these facilities has important effects on the economy.

Federal funds support racial equality. The Southern Regional Council can deal with people HUD can't reach and, in this way, help carry out the intent of the Federal law.

Mr. Smith suggested worksheets for the disadvantaged people to survey their own neighborhoods and an outside advisor to help work with the city government.

HUD

SRC

~~EL~~

NAACP

VR

MEMO

TO: Miss Bressler

FROM: MGS

SUBJECT: Program of Work

for routing
circulate
answer
return
destroy
to files

This is to tentatively project an outline for your work while at SRC. Your main responsibility will be to analyze the 6 Cities composing the SRC - Urban Studies (HUD). After you have had a little time to get oriented and to think this through I would like your recommendation on procedures for research or analysis and methods for presenting and proposing to HUD and/or the cities involved. It would be presumed that we would vary any approach to suit each case

Because we are quite tardy in returning the data on Charlotte I would like to get this material reviewed and a memorandum prepared for the files reviewing this in a consise manner.

Our action on contact towns other than the HUD selection, namely: Athens, Georgia; Charlotte, N.C.; Chapel Hill-Durham-Raleigh, N.C.; Ft. Lauderdale, Florida ; Houston, Texas ; Little Rock, Arkansas are to be used as fillers (other than the Charlotte materials review)

Please let me know when you are ready to review the above.

Morton Sand

ARCHITECTS & ENGINEERS
SSA 105-A (LONG)

RESUME CITY OF BIRMINGHAM

The City of Birmingham has undertaken a new vision of itself since the City government was reorganized from the Commission form of City government to the Mayor and City Council form of government. Mayor Albert Boutwell and the City Council have set high goals to be obtained for the citizens of this great city. Among these goals are:

1. A decent, safe and sanitary home for every citizen.
2. Well planned neighborhoods for the raising of families.
3. A system of major streets and expressways to adequately move the present vehicular traffic and provide for future increases in such traffic.
4. Provide for the cultural and recreational activities through a $25,000,000 civic center complex including a coliseum for sports activities, a theater and art museum for cultural activities.
5. Medical facilities will be expanded in an area known as the Medical Center which will provide some of the best of such facilities in the nation for not only the citizens of Birmingham but also specialized medical care throughout the region.
6. Participation in the relatively recent concept of region wide planning for growth and development through the Birmingham, Jefferson County Regional Planning Commission.
7. Assist and encourage the improvement and beautification of the City through such activities as parks and pedestrian plazas and the improvement of buildings both structurally and aesthetically.
8. Elimination of slums and deteriated housing and the increase of new low rent public housings, housing for moderate income families, and low cost sales housing.

Practically all of the above activities have been brought about to a greater or lesser degree by the Urban Renewal and Public Housing programs being participated in by the City. Through these programs the Federal government has provided many millions of dollars to the City of Birmingham within recent years. Urban Renewal projects which have been instrumental in assisting the City in the achievement of progress are the following:

1. Medical Center Site A completed June 1959. Federal funds provided $261,637.
2. Avondale Site C completed June 1965. Federal funds provided $2,091,002.
3. Ensley No. 1 Urban Renewal Area now nearing completion. Federal funds provided $1,858,698.
4. Medical Center Expansion Area now in the process of planning. Federal funds to be provided $5,816,000.
5. Civic Center Urban Renewal Area now in the process of planning. Federal funds to be provided $2,154,000.
6. Proposed West Park Urban Renewal Area. Federal funds not yet determined.

Birmingham, Ala

7. The Druid Hills Code Enforcement Area which was the first such activity approved in the nation will provide grants and low interest rate loans of funds to low income home owners for the purpose of bringing the condition of their homes up to the minimum standard established by City of Birmingham Housing Ordinances. It is expected that Federal funds in an amount exceeding two million dollars will be provided to the City for these activities.

Key People in the City of Birmingham:

Albert Boutwell, Mayor
William Hamilton, Mayor's Assistant
Hugh Denman, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the Birmingham District
James Wright, Director, City Planning Department
Guy Tate, Administrator, Druid Hills Code Enforcement Project
Vincent Townsend, Chairman, Operation New Birmingham

Macon, Ga.
70,000-Pop.

RESUME

MACON, GEORGIA

Macon, situated in almost the exact geographical center of Georgia, underwent an annexation program approximately three years ago which resulted in a doubling of population to a total of approximately 125,000. The city, in recent years, is very progressive and in many respects has an excellent record on intergroup relations. The Urban Renewal Program was initiated in Macon under a previous term of office served by the present Mayor, B. F. Merritt. The first urban renewal project was a relatively small project which cleared out some Negro-occupied slums and is now in the process of being sold for industrial reuse. While special studies showed that the area could be used for multi-family housing, a firm decision was made by both PHA and FHA that they would be unwilling to participate in multi-family housing in the first urban renewal project area, Ga. R-12, Tybee.

Macon has pursued a program of city planning for many years and has excellent maps and a very satisfactory city plan kept up-to-date. The planning is accomplished by a constitutionally-established planning and zoning commission, the membership of which is self-perpetuating. The decisions of the planning and zoning commission are final and are not subject to review other than by court. Because of the high caliber of the membership, this decision-making power has worked satisfactorily.

Macon has one of the oldest PHA-aided low-rent public housing programs in the south. It is being added to at the present time and other projects are in the planning stage.

In October of 1963, Macon initiated a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan study covering a large portion of east Macon just across the river from the Central Business District. This study originated as a means of producing a proper site for a new coliseum for which a bond issue had just been passed.

In January and May of this year, Projects Ga. R-94 and Ga. R-95 were approved to enter the execution stage. Ga. R-94 consists of 48 acres all of which should be used as the site of low-rent public housing. It will displace 133 families, 33 individuals, and 9 businesses. Project Ga. R-95 contains 145 acres for total clearance with a reuse consisting of a stadium, a coliseum, an office park, a motel, and various retail commercial establishments. It will displace 420 families, 89 individuals, and 41 businesses. Most of the families in each of these projects are Negro and a small part of the businesses are Negro-owned and operated.

In addition to the members of the Citizens Advisory Committee for which a list of key members is attached, key people in the city are:

B. F. Merritt, Mayor
R. D. Feagin, Jr., Director of Urban Renewal

William W. Hibbert, Director of Planning
George Markwalter, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the City of Macon
Ed Wilson, Professor of Law, Emory University - Immediate Past Mayor
Bill Thompson, Architect

WORK PROGRAM 1965-1966

CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

I. Organization

1. Chairman Mr. Phil Taylor

2. Membership - 12 white, 13 non-white members, plus Secretary, R. Douglas Feagin, Mayor and Urban Renewal Committee of Council, Ex-officio.

3. Sub-committee on Minority Housing, Mr. Frank Hutchings, Chairman

4. Codes Review Committee, Mr. Ed Sell, Chairman

5. Public Information, Mr. Bill Ott, Chairman

6. Speakers Bureau, Dr. William Pound, Chairman

7. Community Improvements, Mr. Richard Domingos, Chairman

8. Welfare, Mr. Willis B. Sheftall, Chairman

II. Work Proposed for Next 12 Months

1. Citizens Advisory Committee - Monthly meetings, committee reports, orientation, recommendations to Mayor and Council, personal contact and liaison with residents affected areas.

2. Committee on Minority Housing - Study of housing resources coordination with all real estate agencies, liaison with Mayor and Council and active participation in rendering relocation assistance.

3. Speakers Bureau - Provide qualified speakers and arrange appointments.

4. Community Improvements Committee - Will concern itself with neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation to prevent neighborhood deterioration. Will work towards a comprehensive community improvements plan for the city.

5. Public Information Committee - Will insure wide and complete news coverage and publicity of all activities to insure public understanding and support.

6. Codes Review Committee - Regular review and updating and recommendation to Governing Body on code enforcement.

7. Welfare - Render special assistance to needy families in unusual cases.

Ashville,N.C.
60,000-Pop.

RESUME'

ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

The population of Asheville, North Carolina, is somewhere over 60, 192 at this time. The city, noted for its many tourist attrations shows the need for a revitalization of its residential and commercial structures. To this end, the city officials have taken on an extensive residential and business improvement program. Specifically, 500 new units of low-rent public housing is programmed for construction; 502 acres of slum clearance through urban renewal; and, a comprehensive and rigid enforcement of housing code on existing structures.

Urban Renewal Project No. N. C. R-13

This 77 acres project will be redeveloped primarily for new commercial and public uses. It is located in the eastern section of the Central Business District and now contains a concentration of 120 dwelling units, all but 15 of which are deficient or substandard.

Having been in execution since 1964, the relocation of some 150 families and 70 business concerns are 87% completed. Community wide cooperation has been evident in relocation of site occupants.

The persons this agency have been working directly with are as follows:

Earl W. Elder, Mayor
Weldon Weir, City Manager
James W. Greer, Executive Director
Vitto F. LaPore, Rehabilitation Officer
Norma Grayson, Social Work Coordinator
Eric Hill, Planning Consultant
Ruth Mase, Contractor for Diagnostic Survey

Urban Renewal Project No. N. C. R-48

This 425 acres project will be redeveloped primarily for residential reuse. It is located southwest of the Central Business District and contains 1,250 dwelling units, of which 1,000 are classified as deficient. Redevelopment will be in the form of rehabilitation and the development of new public and private low and middle income housing resources.

There will be a total of 704 families and individuals and some 50 business concerns displaced and relocated. The relocation process is to take place in stages in order to eliminate to the maximum extent possible, the hardships inherent in moving. Plans are that all displaced families and individuals will relocate back into the redeveloped area.

In order to assure orderly and expeditious relocation of site occupants, the local public agency has established an office in the project area where advice and assistance is readily available (see attached bulletins).

All local public and civic agencies of the community have been contacted relative to their providing every assistance possible to project area residents. The local Economic Opportunity Authority is establishing an office in the project area through which assistance will be provided area residents throughout the planning phase of the project - with the view of eliminating individual family problems prior to relocation.

A diagnostic survey is being conducted in the project area, from which the information obtained will be utilized in solving the problems identified.

Following are the persons this agency have been working with directly in the planning of the subject project:

Earl W. Elder, Mayor
Weldon Weir, City Manager
James W. Greer, Executive Director
Vitto F. LaPore, Rehabilitation Officer
Norma Grayson, Social Work Coordinator
Eric Hill, Planning Consultant
Ruth Mase, Contractor for Diagnostic Survey

MARCH, 1966
VOL. I

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

INTRODUCING. . .

Vito F. LePore who comes to us from Chicago via Southern Italy. Mr. LePore received his early education in Italy before coming to the United States, where he studied architecture at Wright Junior College in Chicago and the University of Illinois.

He has been employed by various architectural firms in Chicago and Knoxville. At his latest position he served as a designer for 2 years and later as an associate member with Mr. Hubert Bebb, architect. During this period, Mr. LePore has been involved in the development of shopping centers, resort complexes, churches, schools, motels, restaurants and residences. While in this association, Mr. Bebb and Mr. LePore were commissioned to prepare studies and final design presentations for a workable solution to the ever present decaying conditions in the central business district in Morristown, Tennessee. This rehabilitation and conservation project received 1st prize in the national convention of NAHRO.

In 1964, Vito married Virginia Robison. He and Mrs. LePore are presently expecting the first addition to their family.

WE APOLOGIZE. . .

We intended to print reports from each group in the East Riverside Area - thirteen in all - in this first issue, but we have had trouble procurring them.

The best sources of information this paper has are its group reporters. These people are in a position to get the "scoop" on news in their groups. We want to know what you are doing - and we want to print it for everyone to read. Reporters, we need your help; let us hear from you!

NEW NEWS

This newspaper is a "first edition." It is the beginning of what we hope will be a long series of papers published exclusively for the residents of the East Riverside Redevelopment Area to promote better understanding of Urban Renewal - especially Urban Renewal in our area.

Some of the articles in this paper are donated by residents of the area; others are written by the staff of the Redevelopment Commission.

The idea is communication. Through this paper our East Riverside citizens can tell the Redevelopment Commission their opinions and questions, and the Commission can more quickly inform the citizens of the latest developments in the program.

It is hoped also that East Riverside residents will make use of this paper to make their

Continued on Page 3

This picture has been repeated many times in past weeks at the "Rehab" office on Livingston Street. Groups get together to talk, joke, have fun, and learn how to knit.

And knitting isn't the only thing that goes on in the evenings at 86 Livingston Street. There are classes in typing, sewing, rug making, and an art class for the younger set.

Give them a ring. Find out what's going on. If you aren't interested in any of these things, tell them what you would like to do. Chances are you're not the only one who would like to see another class started. The number is--------- 253-4745.

ANY QUESTIONS?

Many questions have been asked about Urban Renewal in the East Riverside Project Area in past months. Some of the answers to these questions we feel would be of interest to many people who perhaps have not asked for them but have been wondering.

In the future copies of this newspaper, this column will be devoted to answering the questions of our readers. Naturally, some questions would be of broader interest than others. We will limit our answers to those questions. Other inquiries that are concerned with individual matters will be answered personally.

Please address your queries to Questions, Redevelopment Commission, Box 7148, Asheville, North Carolina. Let us know whether or not you wish your name to be mentioned. If your question is of general interest, look for an answer in this column in the very next issue.

BEWARE OF "SLICK OPERATORS"

Most home building, maintenance and home improvement contractors are honest in their advertising and selling, but there are a few unscrupulous "bait" advertisers and high-pressure sellers against whom you must constantly be on guard. To protect yourself and your family.....

DON'T DEAL WITH THE "BAIT" ADVERTISER WHO offers an unbelievably low price..... then tries to add on "EXTRAS" or "SWITCH" you to something much more expensive.

DON'T FALL FOR THE "MODEL HOME" SALES PITCH. . (the promise of commissions for use of your home as a "DISPLAY MODEL").

WATCH OUT FOR fly-by-night roofing or chimney repair operators who "JUST HAPPEN TO BE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD" and who offer you a "SPECIAL DEAL".

BEWARE OF IMPOSTERS falsely claiming to be "SENT BY THE CITY" or "THE REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION". Remember, CITY INSPECTORS or REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION EMPLOYEES MUST DISPLAY CREDENTIALS ON REQUEST, WILL NOT try to SELL you anything....and cannot RECOMMEND any particular COMPANY or PRODUCT.

DOUBLE-CHECK ON ZONING, HOUSING and legal occupancy requirements and on CITY REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION PLANS for the area BEFORE BUYING OR BUILDING A HOME OR MAKING ANY SUBSTANTIAL EXPENDITURE for ALTERATIONS or IMPROVEMENTS.

DEAL WITH AN ESTABLISHED CONTRACTOR....Ask for a list of previous customers whose satisfaction you can determine.

DON'T HESITATE TO GET ESTIMATES from several contractors (based upon the same specifications) to make sure you will not be OVERCHARGED. FIND OUT the exact FINANCING TERMS, as interest rates VARY. REMEMBER that the FHA and lending agencies DO NOT INSPECT or GUARANTEE the JOB for MATERIAL and WORKMANSHIP.

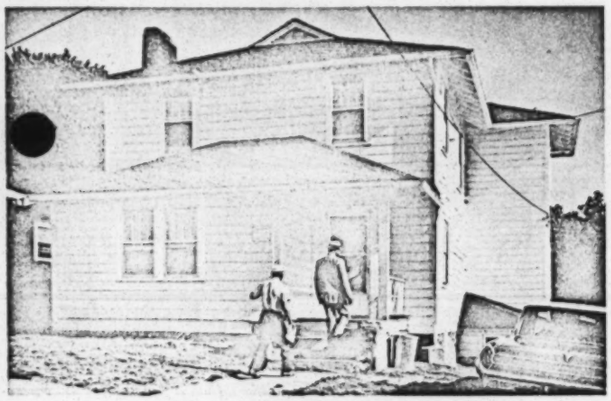
Watch for continuation next month!

The house below is familiar to a great number of East Riverside residents. We'd like more people to become familiar with it.

This address - 86 Livingston Street - is an excellent example of what rehabilitation can do for a badly deteriorated house. Neighbors will tell you that before this house was improved, it was as bad as many of the worst in the area.

Some paint, some gutters, some screens and storm windows made this house a solid one once again. It will last now for many more years.

The Redevelopment Commission saw this house as an ideal location for the east Riverside field office and rented it for the purpose. Vito LePore, William Roland, Norma Grayson and Leilani Littlejohn, all Redevelopment Commission employees, want you to visit and see how rehabilitation can save an old house.



86 Livingston Street

COMING DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY

Starting toward the end of March and for the following weeks, the Redevelopment Commission will be sponsoring a Diagnostic Survey of the East Riverside area. The first part of this survey will consist of meetings and discussions in the area to inform you, the resident, as to what questions will be asked and why they need to be asked.

The purpose of this program will be to promote better understanding of Urban Renewal, to find out what services are needed and wanted in the area, and to give YOU a chance to have a part in making your area a better place in which to live.

MOVIES

We are fortunate in having the Mental Health Center participate with us in the presentation of a film series, concerning the family, its members, and some of their problems. These films are both entertaining and informative.

Dr. Richard Pallazza, Psychologist with Mental Health Center, will conduct an open discussion period following each program.

We invite all teenagers, young adults, and adults to attend at Livingston School at 7:00 p.m. on the following dates:

Wednesday, April 6
- *Family Life* - 15 min.
- *Palmour Street* - 21 min.

Wednesday, April 13
- *Meeting Emotional Needs in Childhood* - 30 min.

Wednesday, April 20
- *Roots of Happiness* - 25 min.
- *Family Circus* - 8 min.

Wednesday, April 27
- *Borderline* - 27 min.
- *Sibling Rivalries and Parents* - 11 min.
- Alternate: *A Family Affair* - 31 min.

Jointly Sponsored by -
MENTAL HEALTH CENTER
CITIZENS PARTICIPATION LEAGUE
REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

Continued from Page 1

school and church announcements, to tell of new births, to announce weddings, and to make any other announcement of public interest.

This newspaper will set aside space for "letters to the editor" in which everyone is encouraged to speak his mind. Let us print your approval - and your criticism.

This is not a Redevelopment Commission publication. It belongs to the people. It needs give and take to make it work. This is your Urban Renewal Project. This is your newspaper. Help us make them work to your benefit by contributing questions, letters, announcements, and opinions.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Mr. Clarence Nearer, the grandson of Mr. and Mrs. Cannon, 216 Asheland Avenue is attending Asheville Buncombe Tech., taking the Data Processing course.

Miss Diane Blakely, the niece of Mrs. Eleanor Carpenter, 31 Blanton Street is attending Livingston College in Salisbury, North Carolina.

Miss Julianna Calhoun, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Willie Calhoun, 249 Asheland Avenue is attending Winston-Salem Teachers College in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Miss Sandra Nicholas, the niece of Mrs. C. N. Harris, 62 Blanton Street is attending Asheville-Buncombe Tech., taking the Executive Secretarial course.

Mr. and Mrs. Archie King, 20 Blanton Street are happy to announce the marriage of their daughter Olivia Frances to Mr. Ronald Dean Cook on December 7, 1965.

The Sunshine Neighborhood Club met Sunday, January 23, 1965 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert McAdams. The topic of discussion was a "Spring Tea". The next meeting will be held Sunday, March 27, 1966 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Ferguson, 97 Blanton Street. They gave money to the needy at Thanksgiving as their last project. *Group IV, Sandra Nicholas, Reporter*

IMPORTANT MEDICARE INFORMATION

IF you are 65 years old or older, you are probably eligible for medical and hospital insurance that is financed mostly by the Federal Government. This program is operated at no cost to you if you are not working. It is like Social Security in that respect.

If you are 65 or older, the Medicare program will help you pay your hospital bills. BUT YOU MUST SIGN UP. THE DEADLINE IS MARCH 31, 1966, and that is not far away. For information, call Mrs. Grayson at 253-4745, or come by the Rehabilitation Office at 86 Livingston Street --we have a limited number of informational pamphlets. Or call the Social Security Administration at 252-8773.

THIS IS IMPORTANT AND THE TIME IS NOW!

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
OF THE
CITY OF ASHEVILLE

P. O. Box 7148
604 City Building
Asheville, N. C. 28807

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APRIL, 1966
VOL. II

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

MAY WE INTRODUCE. . .

W. E. Roland, a native of Asheville and a graduate of public schools here. After his early training, he attended vocational schools in Norfolk, Va., Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa. After returning to Asheville he operated a jewelry store from 1948 until 1965 at which time he accepted a position as Rehabilitation Advisor with the Redevelopment Commission of the City of Asheville.

His interest and continual contact with the people of the East Riverside Area have made him one of the Commission's most popular employees. His civic efforts to improve his community have made him a public figure.

He is a member of the Hill Street Baptist Church where he serves as Superintendent of the Church School. He is on the Board of Trustees of both the Church and the Hill Street Nursery School, which is located in the Church. He is also a member of the Board of the Youth Advisory Council

Mr. Roland is a Shriner, and he is Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Service Credit Union of Asheville. He continues to be very active in community affairs. In 1962 he received the annual Man of the Year award from the Omega Psi Shi Fraternity for his outstanding achievement in the area of social action.

WHAT IS URBAN RENEWAL?

When anything big is in the wind (and urban renewal is BIG), rumors start blowing around, too. We've heard some of them, and we know there must be others where those came from

Some people think a bulldozer will sweep away their house, leaving them to shift for themselves. Others think it is a gift from Heaven that will put them in a good house and pay all their bills.

Neither idea is true. Urban renewal is neither all good nor all bad. It is a program of our federal government for the City of Asheville that we all support through taxes. This program is designed to help cure the problems of bad housing in our cities.

Urban renewal can do this better than any other program, public or private, because it has the revenue of the federal government behind it, and also because of the great fund of experience that has been amassed for the last number of years by redevelopment authorities all over the nation. Urban renewal is a specialist when it comes to curing sick cities.

Some parts of our city have become so dilapidated through misuse or neglect that only a major operation such as clearance and rehabilitation can save them from complete decay. In order to save these areas, many houses must be bought and demolished to provide space for modern, well-planned housing. This is not profitable. Even if private builders could afford it they

Continued on back page

BEWARE OF "SLICK OPERATORS"

(This article is a continuation of last month's article on how to avoid being "taken" by dishonest home improvement contractors.)

NEVER SIGN A CONTRACT IN BLANK! READ BEFORE YOU SIGN...AND AND KEEP A COPY. INSIST that all PROMISES and GUARANTEES be confirmed in WRITING. CHECK the CONTRACT with an ATTORNEY BEFORE SIGNING FOR MAJOR PURCHASES.

REMEMBER THAT YOU...THE HOMEOWNER... ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE for the proper correction of violations and you must also make sure that any alteration or improvements are in conformance with housing and building regulations.

DON'T GIVE the work your final "OKAY" until it has been passed by the CITY INSPECTOR and the REHABILITATION OFFICER of the Redevelopment Commission.

DON'T SIGN A "COMPLETION CERTIFICATE" before the job is finished to your satisfaction and the required CITY and REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION REHABILITATION OFFICE INSPECTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE. IF YOU DO, the contractor may collect his money from the financing agency, BUT FAIL TO COMPLETE THE WORK.

DON'T SELL YOUR PROPERTY.

CONTACT YOUR REHABILITATION OFFICE BEFORE STARTING ANY TYPE OF REHABILITATION WORK.

THE AGENCIES LISTED BELOW ARE READY AND WILLING TO SERVE YOU:

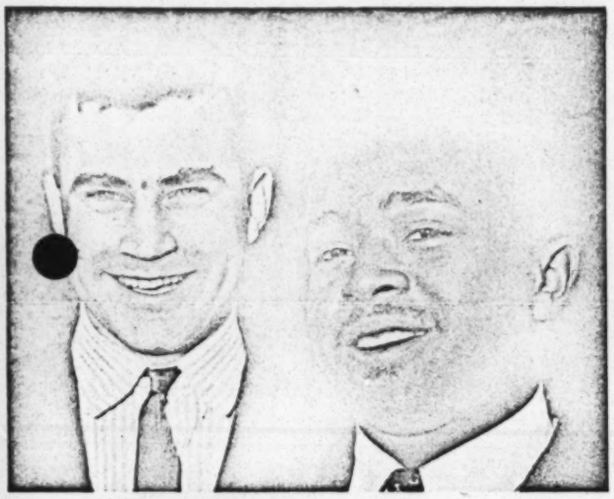
REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
TELEPHONE - 253-4745

CITY DEPARTMENT
Codes,Permits,Inspections, and Zoning
CITY HALL BUILDING
TELEPHONE - 253-3611

FAMILIARIZE yourself with the above guide lines. If further explanation is needed contact your neighborhood chairman or the Rehabilitation Office.

THE REHABILITATION OFFICE has been established to serve and guide you, take advantage of it - it can save you money.

Vito F. LePore
COMMUNITY RENEWAL ADVISOR



WHO ARE THEY?

In the next few months, the faces in the picture above will become more familiar to everyone in the East Riverside Area.

Dwight Patterson and Morris Johnson will be calling on people at home, talking to organizations, and getting small groups together to find out what should be done to make East Riverside an even better place to live.

A survey of the area will be made by interviewers going into each home in the early part of June. Dwight Patterson and Morris Johnson are working to make everyone familiar with the material in the survey.

Look for them. Let them know what you are thinking...and ask questions!

APRIL IS YWCA MONTH

During this month, visit your YWCA and find out what you can do. Make new friends - learn new skills!

There is a program for all ages. Join today! Just come to 13 Grove Street or 185 S. French Broad Avenue - or give your membership to one of the campaign workers.

CAN YOU FIND YOUR HOUSE IN THIS PICTURE?

This is a bird's eye view of the East Riverside Area. It was made from a small plane last fall. It shows almost all of the project area from Hilliard Street (lower right hand corner), to Walton Street Park (upper left hand side) - from the tracks (those tiny little oblong things are box cars), to Coxe Avenue. The landmarks numbered on the picture are: 1. Aston Park, 2. YWCA, 3. South French Broad High School, 4. Livingston Street School, 5. The Rehabilitation Office, 6. Walton Street Park.

PTSA BEAUTIFIES

The Parent-Teacher-Student Association of South French Broad High School has entered whole-heartedly into the program of the Redevelopment Commission.

Recently, two projects, a talent show and a tea, provided $198.25 to pay for shrubbery which has been planted around the school. This shrubbery helps beautify our school and at the same time indicates the Association's cooperation with Urban Renewal. --Miss M. E. Jones

MOVIES

Educational movies will be shown at the Livingston Street School on the nights of April 20 and April 27 at 7:30 p.m. Dr. Pallazza, a psychologist, will lead a group discussion after the films are shown. All East Riverside residents are cordially invited.

More than 1½ times as many babies die in the East Riverside Area than in other sections of similar size. Greater care needs to be taken with our newborn.

URBAN RENEWAL - *Continued from Page1*

could not make much profit. Urban renewal is not designed to make money, but to use it to improve our city and to help provide better housing for our citizens.

Urban renewal is an Asheville operation with most of the money coming from the federal government. The City of Asheville makes all the important decisions concerning where renewal is to take place, when it will happen, and what the new land is to be used for. In this way Asheville is sure to do what her citizens want.

When the plans that are now being made are completed, probably by January, 1967, the Redevelopment Commission will start buying the houses in the East Riverside Area that are too dilapidated to be repaired. Owners will be offered a fair price, based on two or three separate appraisals. No one will be left homeless. Each family, whether it owns or rents, will be given assistance, both personal and financial, in finding a "standard" place to live. By "standard", we mean a place that is as good or better than the city housing code requirements. It is a place as good as or better than the house that must be torn down.

There are other houses in the area that are in fair condition and can be improved to "standard" through rehabilitation. In some cases, this work can be done with low-interest rate government loans to include rehabilitation while actually lowering monthly house payments.

Urban renewal is not a "gift". It will cost some people money. In some cases, it causes people a certain amount of inconvenience. It is not a program which will help everyone, but it will help almost everyone. It is the only way to turn our run-down neighborhoods into communities that once again offer the citizens a decent, healthy place in which to live and work.

LIVINGSTON STREET SCHOOL PROJECT

A beautification project was launched by the Livingston Street School PTA, Student Council, and Grade Mothers. Mr. Edington, principal, said the PTA hopes this project will spread. This project is in cooperation with the city-wide Beautification Project.

The PTA meets next-April 19, at 7:30 p.m.

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF ASHEVILLE

P. O. Box 7148
604 City Building
Asheville, N. C. 28807

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MAY, 1966
VOL.III

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
PHONE: 253-4745

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

MAY WE INTRODUCE. . .

Mrs. Norma Grayson was born in Alabama but raised in Asheville. She is the daughter of the late John and Leila Michael. Her father was for 30 years a principal of Hill Street School where her mother also taught for the same number of years.

Mrs. Grayson is a graduate of Stephens Lee High School and Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee. Later she received her Masters Degree in social work from the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia. She has studied at the New York School of Social Work and attended workshops at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. For some years she was case worker with the Family Service Society, St. Louis. She next was an interviewer with the State Employment office in N. C. During the war she was a Field Director of the Red Cross Prior to her present position with the Redevelopment Commission, she was a clinical social worker with the Veterans Administration in New York City for 19 years. While with this agency, she served as a supervisor of Trainee Social Workers of Fordham University and the New York School of Social Work.

PLANNING FOR RENEWAL

Many plans are being made to improve the area in which you live. The East Riverside area is the center of attention nowadays. Much time, effort, and money have gone into plans to make it one of the nicest sections of town.

There are two stages in any Urban Renewal Project. One phase is "survey and planning." The other is the action phase in which the plan is carried out and the area is renewed. We are presently in the first stage. We have not yet completed all the plans and preparations necessary for intelligent action. No buildings will be purchased or land cleared until these plans are completed.

When plans are finished and the time comes for renewal, we hope each person will support the effort to make East Riverside a better place to live. -- *Editor*

MOTHER'S DAY

This is the time of year I stop for just one day to appreciate the First Lady of my life; the lady who always thinks of me as her "baby".

If I have done wrong, it is always Mother who sees the spark of goodness in me through all the shabbiness, and loves me still. If I have done well, it is Mother who beams with pride.

It has been jokingly siad, "A man is never truly old until his Mother stops worrying about him." -- *Kent Washburn*

THE FABLE OF A CITY CALLED ASHEVILLE

Long, long ago, in a high enchanting valley in the Blue Ridge Mountains, was a city called Asheville.

Its climate, location, and scenic beauty made it famous as a tourist attraction the world over. It soon acquired the nickname "The Land of the Sky."

Asheville was a simple community consisting of a commercial or shopping cone surrounded by a residential area, which again was surrounded by farms and timberland.

The demands of this uncomplicated society were adequately met by the City Administration.

But the coming of the industrial revolution, automobiles, and the population explosion changed the city of Asheville drastically.

Lack of city planning and code enforcement produced insurmountable problems which the city administration could not overcome financially and administratively without state and federal loans and grants.

Since World War II, growing decay at the heart of Asheville has been the Number One problem. For 25 years, slums have grown and real estate values and municipal tax income have dropped.

The affluent and then middle-income families headed for the suburbs and the downtown and the surrounding residential area deteriorated.

Industry has brought its share of problems, hodgepodge land use, industrial stench, air pollution, water pollution, besides contributing to the crowded and unsanitary living conditions.

The automobile has produced junk yards, traffic congestion, strip development, parking problems, air pollution, decentralization of cities and wholesale slaughter on the highways.

Well aware that these conditions have become a nationwide trend, in 1963, the City Fathers decided to investigate the possibility of using the urban renewal program in the hope of renewing the vitality of older and worn-out neighborhoods - a task financially impossible by the City Administration. A few months later a conference was held between the urban renewal people and City Administrators to determine which area would best be benefited by this program.

The area known as East Riverside was chosen for two reasons:

(1) The cost of building the South French Broad High School $1,400,000 - will provide the City of Asheville with the majority of her one-third share of the cost of this urban renewal project.

(2) 55% of the structures in this area can be rehabilitated feasibly now - but not later.

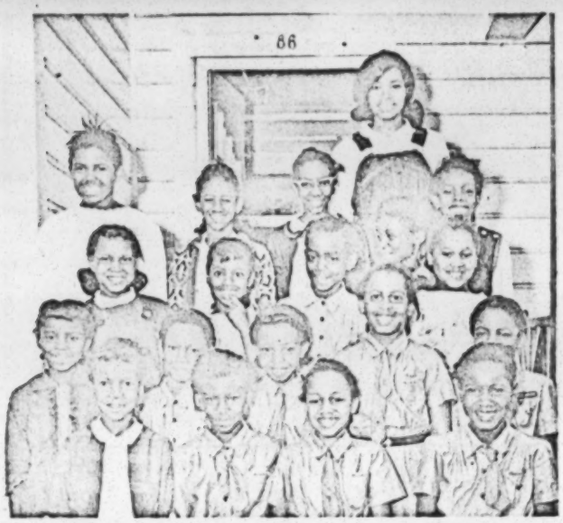
In January 1965, the City of Asheville received advance funds to begin its survey and planning work. We are presently in this phase of the operation.

SOMETHING TO GET FIRED-UP ABOUT

What if someone told you that the possibility of your house burning is 100% greater than the average Ashevillian? If you live in one of the 1,000 blighted houses in the East Riverside Redevelopment Project, your chances of having a major fire are just about twice those of the average person in Asheville.

The major cause of fires in the Project Area seems to be careless smoking. Be careful! Many houses in this area are like kindling waiting to be lit. The second major cause is faulty wiring. This is a problem that must be corrected by Community Improvement. Too many houses have no electric outlets on the walls. Drop cords alone provide electricity in many cases. This wiring is not meant to furnish power for such high-drain appliances such as toasters, frypans, refrigerators, or television sets. Something must be done if this appallingly high incidence of fires is to be checked.

The Young Women's Christian Association, founded 110 years ago in London, England, now is at work in 75 countries around the world, including 5500 locations in the USA. In Asheville the YWCA has been serving women and girls for 59 years.



These smiling faces belong to Brownie Troop No. 127. They have good reason to be smiling; they just have come downstairs from a meeting of games and songs.

These girls meet in the same Rehab Office room each Tuesday from 4-5 p.m. Besides singing and playing games, they discuss good citizenship and plan hikes and outings.

This past Easter, the Brownies made and delivered Easter cards to the patients at the Silent Rest Nursing Home.

Troop No. 127 is sponsored by the New Mount Olive Baptist Church, and is under the leadership of Gail and Betty Sligh. (Miss Sligh is pictured in the back.)

LIVINGSTON STREET SCHOOL REPORTS

Mrs. Mary R. Sligh represented the Livingston Street School PTA at the State PTA Convention in Lumberton, North Carolina, recently.

Those of you who are interested in finding out what went on there may find out when she gives her report of this meeting to the Livingston Street School PTA at the regular meeting Tuesday, May 17, at 7:30 p.m.

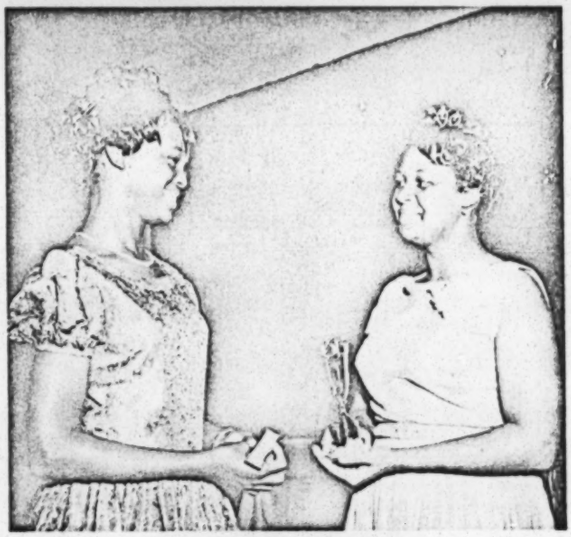
Also slated for this meeting is a report from the First Grade teachers on an experimental reading program they have been conducting with their students. This should be interesting.

MEDICARE - AGAIN

So many people failed to sign up for the benefits of Medicare in March that President Johnson asked to have the deadline extended.

If you have not signed up, you may do so until May 31. Don't wait until the last minute!

For information, call Mrs. Grayson at 253-4745; or call the Social Security Administration at 252-8773.



Y-TEEN QUEENS

Marche Forney (right), of the Shiloh Y-Teens, was crowned at the Y-Teen Extravaganza which was held at the South French Broad YWCA, Saturday, May 30. Judy Foster of the Livingston Y-Teen Club, was the runner-up.

The program consisted of a "Fashionetta", "Fashions of Yesterday, Today," by the South French Broad Y-Teens (advisor, Mrs. C. P. Chandler); a skit entitled "A Y-Teen Dreams," involving all Junior Y-Teen clubs; and a dance number by Carolyn Lyles of the South French Broad Club.

Sherrie Stevens, a Livingston Y-Teen, played the leading role in the skit, and Brenda Gibson, Miss Y-Teen of 1965, crowned Miss Y-Teen for 1966.

The program was sponsored by the YWCA Teenage Committee, Miss Delores Carnegie, Chairman.

NEW APARTMENTS FOR THE ELDERLY

The Housing Authority of Asheville has revealed plans for a new hundred-unit apartment building for the elderly. This structure will be located on three and one-half acres of land next to Aston Park on South French Broad Avenue. A general administration building is also planned.

The main building will be 7 stories high and will contain 335 rooms. More than half of the apartments will be used by people who will move from substandard houses in the Redevelopment Project Area.

This building will be an attractive addition to Asheville housing. It will provide space for meeting and recreation, an area with automatic washers and dryers to be used by the occupants, and quiet, roomy apartments. There will be a range and refrigerator in each apartment, and two automatic elevators will carry people quickly and safely to and from their rooms.

We should be seeing the beginning of construction late this year. This is real progress!

THANK YOU!

For the past several weeks, the "Rehab" Office at 86 Livingston Street has reported a great number of visits and phone calls by East Riverside residents who are interested in the Urban Renewal plans. We welcome this kind of interest.

As plans for the project progress it appears that more and more people are taking a personal interest in these plans. Many want to know how Urban Renewal will affect their houses. Others are asking the Rehabilitation staff what they could do to improve their property. Some have already started a program of improvement.

In an area as large as East Riverside, success will come only with your interest and effort. Thank you for your visits and phone calls. Let us hear from more of you!

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
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CITY OF ASHEVILLE

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JUNE, 1966
VOL. IV

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
PHONE: 253-4745

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

May We Introduce . . .

Leilani Littlejohn was born in The Bronx, New York City, but was reared in Asheville where she attended and graduated from St. Anthony's Parochial School. She later attended Notre Dame Academy in Cleveland, Ohio, but returned to Asheville where she completed her high school education at Allen High School, in 1955.

Leilani then went to New York City where she became employed by the R. H. Macy Company and was employed there for several years. During this time she attended secretarial school furthering her skills in secretarial work. She has worked in the secretarial-receptionist field since her graduation in 1955.

Miss Littlejohn is now employed as secretary-receptionist with the Asheville Redevelopment Commission where her professional demeanor and winning personality are an asset to the Rehabilitation Office.

DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY PROGRESSES

Thirty-five surveyors have been selected to conduct the East Riverside Diagnostic Survey. The survey will begin Monday, June 6. We ask for your cooperation in this important program.

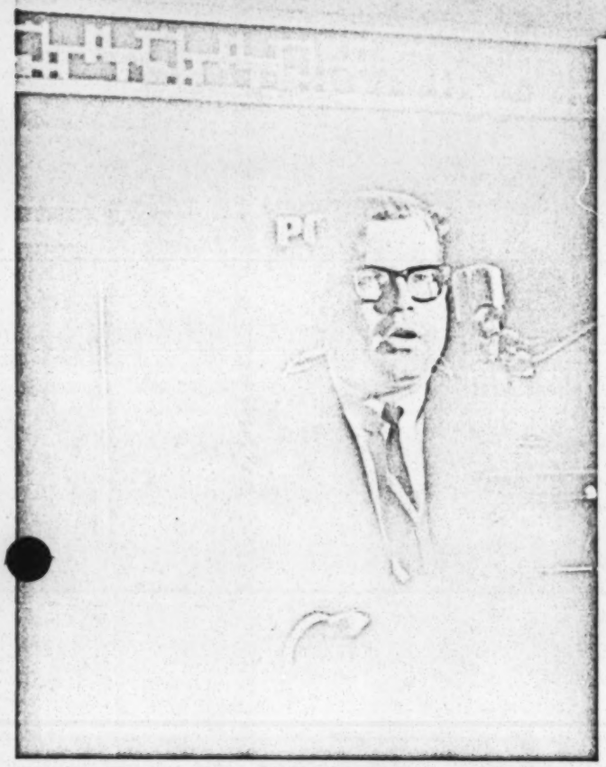
PUBLIC HEARING

A Public Hearing will be held in the Court House on May 31, 1966, in Room 409, at 7:30 p. m. The Urban Renewal Plan for East Riverside will be discussed, and everyone will have a chance to voice an opinion. This is your opportunity to see first-hand exactly what is being proposed and to be heard on the matter. More than any other single group of citizens in Asheville, the East Riverside families will benefit from this program. The East Riverside Project needs your support at this meeting.

URBAN RENEWAL PLAN SUBMITTED

At a meeting of the Redevelopment Commission on Tuesday, May 17, the Urban Renewal Plan for the Redevelopment of East Riverside was approved for submission to the Federal Government. What this means is that the program for East Riverside is on its way towards being endorsed. Before the project actually gets under way, the citizens of Asheville must be heard at the public hearing to be held May 31, at 7:30 p.m. in Room 409 of the County Court House, the City Council must approve it; and a bond issue will probably be held to provide the city's share of the cost. All of this will be accomplished by December of this year — if the citizens of East Riverside and other citizens of Asheville join in support of this program.

SPONSORED BY
E CHAMBER OF COMMERCE



CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETING

On Wednesday, May 18, the "Mountain Boomer" Club, an offshoot of the Chamber of Commerce, held a regular breakfast meeting. The program was presented by the Redevelopment Commission. Photographs of some of the conditions in East Riverside were shown along with a plan to renew the area. James W. Greer, Executive Director of the Commission, spoke for few minutes concerning the blight and deterioration that are present in the area, and gave his opinion as to how the area might best be redeveloped. Concerning urban blight, he said:

> I can think of no better illustration for the effects of urban blight than the well-used comparison with cancer. Deterioration of housing in a neighborhood is to the health of the whole community what cancer cells are to the health of a person. Without treatment, blight spreads . . . left alone, blight will engulf all of East Riverside.

He further stated that:

> The only answer at this point for the cancer of urban blight in East Riverside is major surgery and rehabilitation. The pockets of decay must be cut out. The weak areas must be given a chance to revitalize themselves.

Mr. Greer indicated that the costs of renewal would be only about 1-¼ million dollars compared with its total cost of about 10 million dollars. He said further that this project would bring in additional new construction of private and low-rental housing costing about 10 million dollars more — at no cost to the City of Asheville. Therefore, the East Riverside area will receive the benefits of 20 million dollars worth of renewal at a cost to the city of a little more than 1 million dollars. He said, "It doesn't require the new math to tell us that this is a good exchange of money."

As fortunate as Asheville is in the financial arrangements for the East Riverside Program, Mr. Greer was quick to state that financial considerations are not the main reason for the project. He said:

> Specifically, the prime consideration for the East Riverside Project is the opportunity of improving the living conditions of almost 5,000 citizens of the City of Asheville. (The people who live in East Riverside)

In closing, he commented:

> I know that in East Riverside there is a nucleus of proud and intelligent citizens . . . who would seize the opportunity of transforming their neighborhood, if it were offered.
>
> The Urban Renewal plan offers East Riverside this opportunity.

SPACE PROGRAM

URBAN RENEWAL is a little like the American space program. Our country has launched a series of rockets and tried a number of experiments in order to reach the moon and advance modern science. The moon program has taken and will take months of planning and experiment and action and infinite patience. It is a big and important project.

In East Riverside, we are not trying to reach the moon, although it might seem like it to look at our extensive plans and surveys. But we *are* involved in a big and important project. This program involves our homes and our everyday lives. And it will take patience.

A big step forward has just been made. The plan for East Riverside has been submitted to the Federal Government. This plan is the result of months of study and hundreds of visits with the residents of East Riverside.

This plan includes better streets, new storm drainage to keep Southside and Depot from flooding in heavy rains, two new parks, new houses, a new fire station — and "Nasty Branch" will be cleaned up.

Many old and unsafe houses must be taken down. The owners of these houses will be helped to find a good place to live that is safe and clean. The moving expenses of these people will be paid, and in some cases, a "relocation adjustment payment" may also be paid by the Redevelopment Commission. The houses these people will move into will be "standard", that is, they will be screened, will be heated, and will have good plumbing with hot and cold running water.

The Redevelopment Commission will do its best to help the people that are displaced find places to live that are suitably located. Since there will be many new houses built in the area, this should not be hard to do.

This program will be very expensive. It will cost about 10 million dollars. But only a little more than one million dollars of this money will come from Asheville. The federal government will make up the difference. There are other costs that cannot be counted in dollars. Some people will be inconvenienced in having to move from houses they have lived in for many years. Other people may dislike the necessity of repairing their homes. But to renew an old neighborhood, to make our homes safer and our neighborhood better, and to give our children better places to play, live, and grow up in, we feel is worth the trouble we'll be taking.

We expect that actual work can begin on the East Riverside Area in the early part of 1967. At that time, the Redevelopment Commission will begin to approach the owners of the property to be acquired. There is just a certain amount of space in East Riverside, and Asheville's "space program" is designed to make the best use of it.

SOUTH FRENCH BROAD HIGH SCHOOL EVENTS

The 1966 Senior Class of South French Broad High School will present its class night program on Friday evening, June 3, at 8:00 p.m. in the Lee H. Edwards Auditorium.

The class will hold its Vesper Service on Sunday afternoon, June 5, at 4:00 p.m. Dr. G. Gordon Mahy, presently instructor of English at Warren Wilson College, will be the speaker.

Commencement Exercises will be held on Monday evening, June 6, at 8:00 p.m. in the Asheville City Auditorium. The speaker will be Dr. Kenneth R. Williams, president of Winston-Salem State College. There are 141 candidates for graduation for 1966.

LIVINGSTON STREET SCHOOL PTA ELECTS OFFICERS

The Livingston Street School PTA held its final meeting of this school year on Tuesday evening, May 17. Mrs. Pauline Seabrook presided over this important meeting at which new officers for the coming year were elected. The new officers are:

President—Mr. Charles Samuel
1st Vice President—Reverend J. T. Jones
2nd Vice President—Mrs. Bertha McAdams
Secretary—Mrs. Marguerite Shivers
Asst. Secretary—Miss Margaret Orr
Chaplain—Miss D. C. Williams
Treasurer—Miss F. M. Owens
Program Chairman—Miss Pauline Seabrook
Reporter—Mrs. A. M. D. McElrath

THANKS MRS. SZITTYA

Our thanks to Mrs. Sandar Szittya, one of our volunteer teachers who has completed her instructional period in a ten lesson typing course for adult students. Now that Mrs. Szittya has fulfilled her commitment, she will be giving full time to her place of employment. We feel that she has made a real contribution toward the goal of helping people help themselves. As to date at least one student has found a place of employment in this capacity. Mrs. Szittya leaves with this group's sincere appreciation.

IN CASE OF FIRE DIAL "0"

Sometimes in an emergency people don't think too clearly. It is hard to remember that to report a fire, the number to call is 252-5311 - in order to get the Fire Department. Or to get the help of the Police Department, one should call 252-6411. But it is always well to remember the magic number "0" for Operator. You can always dial "0" and tell the operator the nature of the emergency and the location.

YWCA SUMMER DAY CAMP SCHEDULE

This year the YWCA has announced that it will expand its "Summer Fun Camp" to include programs at the Skyland Community Center and Weaverville Community Center in addition to the regular camp at 13 Grove Street, so that a greater area may be served. The two community center programs will be coeducational.

Courses in skills such as crafts, music, dancing, camp craft, nature, swimming, games, land sports, fishing, and boating will be taught, depending upon the facilities available at each location. The hours will be from 9:00 to 3:00 Monday through Friday.

Later in the summer, an enrichment program will be offered for Junior High age girls. This program will expose the girls to a combination of cultural, social, mental, spiritual, and physical enrichment.

Information on rates and dates may be obtained by calling 254-4343 or 254-7206.

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JULY, 1966
VOL. V

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
PHONE: 253-4745

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

ANOTHER PUBLIC HEARING

Another public hearing will be held for the East Riverside Urban Renewal Area. This time it will be held by the City Council in City Hall. The hearing will be held on the 2nd floor, at 4:00 p.m., on June 23rd. Again, all interested citizens of Asheville are urged to attend and voice their opinions. We especially urge the residents of East Riverside to appear at this very important meeting. This will be the last chance you will have to support the East Riverside Urban Renewal Area at an official Public Hearing.

Three R's Revisited

At Livingston Street School next year, some first-grade pupils will not be reading such things as "See John run. Run John, run." Instead they will be reading from books such as *Riding by Pony Express, The Tree is a Plant, The Boy who Drew Birds,* or *The Maverick Cow.*

Dr. R. E. Robinson, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Instruction in the City Schools, has designed a program to stimulate the minds of our young readers. "We do best what we are most interested in," Dr. Robinson asserts. All over the country, it has been proved that children treated as individuals and given reading material interesting to them improve their reading skills more rapidly than children given the standard 1st Grade Reading course.

According to the Principal, Mr. Edington, the 2nd and 3rd grades of Livingston Street School have adopted this successful program for this fall. So 4th graders, don't be surprised if your 1st grade brother or sister wants to borrow your books to read.

APPROVAL EXPRESSED AT PUBLIC HEARING

The Public Hearing that was held on the last evening in May was very successful. The feeling was that a number of questions were answered, and on the whole, there was a response of wholehearted approval from the people of East Riverside in particular and the city in general.

The meeting began as Mr. Alfred Miller, Chairman of the Redevelopment Commission, called the meeting to order and explained the rules by which members of the group could speak concerning the project.

Mr. James Greer, the Director of the Redevelopment Commission, was introduced next. Mr. Greer presented the plan for renewal of the 410-acre East Riverside Area. According to Mr. Greer, it will include a large neighborhood park of about 12 acres, two or three small parks of from 1 to 3 acres, provision for neighborhood shopping area, for expansion of the two schools in the area, for a YMCA branch, a new fire department and community center. With regard to housing, the Public Housing Authority will construct 500 units designed to blend in with private housing, and it is expected that private builders will build from 150-200 units, both single family and apartment type.

Mr. Greer stated that it was the Redevelopment Commission's intention to preserve as much of the existing neighborhood as possible. He said that the 4,800 people of the area are the most important consideration.

Mr. Greer indicated the net cost of the project (after sale of land) to be $8,742,002.00. Asheville's part of this is less than $3 million. But due

to some credits that the city [illegible]able to claim from the construction of South [illegible]ch Broad High School and the anticipated Public Housing, the cash cost will be only $1.4 million. For less than 1½ million dollars, the East Riverside Area can see many million dollar's worth of improvement.

Mr. Miller, the chairman, then opened the floor for any questions or comments.

A question was asked concerning whether a library would be provided. Mr. Greer said that plans on this matter were uncertain as yet, but that some facility would be available for the loan of books.

Miss Fannie McCoy spoke in opposition to what she termed "Metropolitan Government." She said she believed the Redevelopment Commission was out to control the land and the man. She took her stand against "high taxes and poisoned water." She stated her opposition to a "socialized, communistic, collectivist government," and feared that perhaps this would be the last time the people of Asheville would be allowed to vote for their sheriff.

Mr. Michael of 64 Phifer Street indicated his support of the East Riverside Urban Renewal Project, and made a request of the realtors that they begin dealing more in Negro real estate.

Mrs. Pickard of the Buncombe County Planning Council stated that her agency was primarily concerned with the needs of the people, that she had been working with the Redevelopment Commission in this program, and was pleased that the Commission also was primarily concerned with the needs of the people. She said that she and the Planning Council favored the contemplated Redevelopment Program.

Mr. Ruben Dailey, a well-known lawyer from the area, made the statement that he was one of the first to vote for the project. "I was for it then, and I am for it now," he said. "I think it's going to really do something for this section." Mr. Dailey said that the people of East Riverside must be on their guard for the "hawks" who would try to spread rumors and false information in order to buy and sell real estate. He warned that the people must not listen to the "street lawyers" and others who pretend to know about the program, but that they must listen instead to the trained personnel of the Redevelopment Commission who could give them the facts and save them needless worry. He deplored those "hardship cases that you create yourself." He said that Washington is made up of people like ourselves, some of whom come from North Carolina, who are interested in the people. He said this project is a good project—"You are going to be benefitted by it." He said that Asheville will now have a chance to get some of her tax money back, as we have a right to. He closed by again warning the residents to be level-headed: "I am concerned about the errors that we make in panic." And he again urged the people to listen to the advice of the Redevelopment Commission employees.

Dr. Joseph Schandler, the Asheville Housing Authority Chairman, then spoke about the new kind of housing that will be built. He said the new housing would be completely different from the Lee Walker Heights, Pisgah View, and Hillcrest housing. "You won't see any more of this type of public housing in Asheville." He spoke about the modern, 7-story high-rise apartment near Aston Park and the 100 units of housing near Walton Park. "You won't be able to tell these from the finest homes in Asheville."

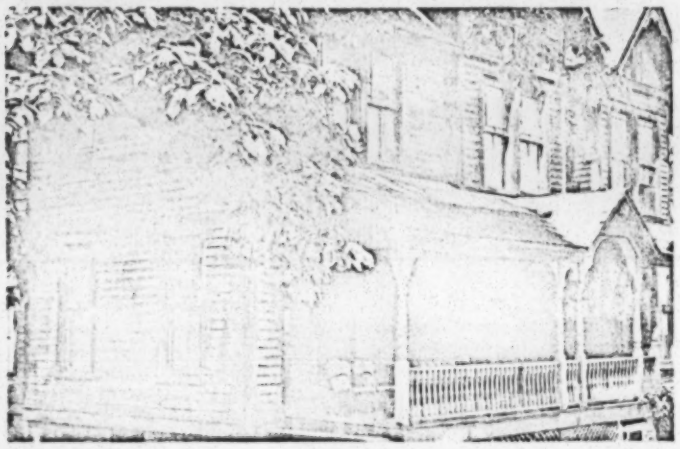
At this point, Mr. Allen, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Citizens Participation League, (who is one of those property owners to be displaced by project activities), made a motion that the program as recommended by the Redevelopment Commission be approved. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilkins and was then passed almost unanimously.

Mr. Algary, a member of the City Council of Asheville, said that the people now had the opportunity to make of East Riverside, not just a nice place to live, but a "showplace" in Asheville. He said that with the loving care that the area deserved it could be a place where anyone would be glad to live.

After only one hour, the meeting was adjourned, and the overflow crowd began to leave.

ON THE VERY NEXT DAY, a special meeting of the Redevelopment Commission was held to adopt a resolution approving the plan for East Riverside. The resolution was adopted and sent that same afternoon to the City Planning and Zoning Commission, where it also received the approval of that body.

THE NEXT STEP toward redevelopment of East Riverside is the submission of the project to the City Council for a public hearing to be held by the City Council on June 23. After this hearing, the City Council will then approve or disapprove the project.



from THIS, to...

A NEW PLACE TO LIVE

One of our East Riverside residents, a lady who will be unable to read this story because she is blind, will soon be benefitted by the activities of the Housing Authority and the Redevelopment Commission. For a long time, she has lived in a very large, very old house. She made her living by renting rooms to tenants she was unable to manage because of her blindness.

The Housing Authority of Asheville will soon approach her to buy her property as a site for new housing. Because of this, she is now preparing to make her home elsewhere.

Recently she applied for additional aid from the Welfare Department to supplement her social security so she would be able to live without her tenants until she receives payment from the Housing Authority for her property. It will then be up to the Redevelopment Commission to pay her moving expenses and to see that she is suitably relocated in a house or apartment that is clean and fully equipped for her.

It will be a pleasure to see her receive a fair price for an old house that she would probably not be able to sell otherwise and to see her moved from that dangerous old house to a safe, much newer place. She tells us she is looking forward to moving.

SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA SCHOOL

"Toward a Better Christian Education and Building of Character"

June 3rd saw another crop of fine young ladies and gentlemen passing from the hands of the Allegany Franciscan Sisters into Asheville High Schools. These youth have had the advantages of an education integrated and permeated with the teachings of Christ.

The graduates and their teacher, Sister Mark Francis, O.S.F., were honored at a Mass in the morning followed by a breakfast in the school hall. During the breakfast the parents and guests of the graduates enjoyed the reading of the Class History, Will, and Prophesy.

The graduation exercises in the evening were dignified and impressive. Alma Burson, Robert Dorn, Joselyn Goodwin, Glynis Holmes, Cathy McAdams, Vernelle Ray, Freddy Ryans, Cherri Samuel, and Gerald Smith received their diplomas from Reverend Joseph L. Howze, pastor and administrator of the school.

The valedictory address to the graduates was by Robert Dorn. His talk was followed by that of Dr. Otis B. Michael, guest speaker and alumnus of Saint Anthony's School.

The graduates recessed to the notes of "Pomp and Circumstance" after Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

SOUTH FRENCH BROAD COMMENCEMENT

On June 6th at the Asheville City Auditorium, 144 young men and women graduated from South French Broad High School. These graduates listened attentively to the commencement address by Dr. Kenneth R. Williams, President of Winston-Salem State College, and then received their diplomas from Mr. Sales and Mr. Schell (both members of the City Board of Education), and Mr. W. P. Griffin (Superintendent of the City Schools).

Hal Guess was the Valedictorian and also received the Alumnus Award. Others receiving awards were Patricia McKinney, who received the W. S. Lee Citizenship Award; and Walterine Elaine Morehead, who received the Pearlman Family Award.

WE APPRECIATE . . .

All the many residents of East Riverside who took time out to attend the first Public Hearing for the East Riverside Area. You performed an important service for your community and for your city. Any project of this great size and importance depends upon the interest and involvement of the people, and the overflow crowd at the hearing certainly proves that you are interested and involved.

We owe a special "thank you" to those individuals who spoke at the meeting, who either asked questions or made a statement.

DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY

In the next couple of weeks, surveyors will be completing their assignments in the East Riverside Area. Residents have been most helpful to them in allowing them to come into their houses and ask many questions. All of these questions are important in helping the Redevelopment Commission prepare for the coming renewal program. We thank you for your assistance.

Surveyors in training at Y W C A

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Paris, Ky.
18,000-Pop.

RESUME'

PARIS, KENTUCKY

Paris, Kentucky, has a population of approximately 7,800. The City has completed two Urban Renewal projects with the reuse of the land being primarily for Public Housing.

Urban Renewal Project No. Ky. R-57

An estimate of approximately 29 white and 92 non-white households reside in this area. It is planned to stage the redevelopment of this area to provide low-rent housing for the elderly in the initial stages of the project for occupancy by households living within the area.

The City is presently planning a project of approximately 13 acres of slum clearance and a comprehensive codes program. Approximately 60 new units of low-rent housing are planned for this area.

The persons this Department has been working directly with are: Emil Rains, Mayor, Frazier Haddix, Director of Urban Renewal, James S. Wilson, City Attorney.

An active Citizens Advisory Committee is working with City Officials and residents of the proposed Urban Renewal area to insure that each family is fully appraised of the progress of the project.

Corinth, Miss
7,000-Pop

Louisville, Ga.
2,500-Pop.

RESUME'

CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

Corinth, Mississippi is located in the extreme northeastern section of the state (approximately 90 miles southeast of Memphis, Tennessee) and currently has an estimated population of 13,500.

The Corinth Urban Renewal Commission was organized early in 1960 and has been an active and vibrant force in the community. Initial Urban Renewal discussions began in early 1961 with the Workable Program for Community Improvement being initially certified in September of the same year.

A Survey and Planning application for the Highway 45 Urban Renewal Project (Project No. Miss. R-6) was filed in late 1962 and approved in April 1963. This project has since entered the execution phase and the LPA is now acquiring property. Reuse of the land is planned for Public Housing, lots for private low-cost housing and commercial.

In November 1963 an application for a Community Renewal Program was approved and this study is now nearing completion. The Study will outline objectives and methods for the undertaking of a broad range of Federal programs and badly needed public improvements.

In addition to the two Urban Renewal Programs, the Corinth Urban Renewal Commission has administered several activities or programs authorized by the office of Economic Opportunity.

Principal contacts in the community:

1. John D. Mercier, Mayor
2. Troy Morris, Chairman, Corinth Urban Renewal Agency
3. James Billingsley, NYC Director
4. Lew Miller, Chairman, Planning Commission
5. Hugh Hopper, Executive Director, Corinth Housing Authority
6. Professor E. S. Bishop, Principal, Kasem High School and Member, Citizens Advisory Committee
7. Mrs. Viola Lusk, Housewife and Member of Citizens Advisory Committee

RESUME'

LOUISVILLE, GEORGIA

The population of Louisville, Georgia, is somewhere over 2,500 at this time. The city officials have taken on an ambitious residential improvement program. This can be broken down into three categories: 70 new units of low-rent public housing; 31 acres of slum clearance through urban renewal; and, a comprehensive codes program for compliance on new construction and rigid enforcement of housing code on existing structures.

Urban Renewal Project No. Ga. R-103

This project will be redeveloped primarily for residential reuse. It is located about two blocks northwest of the Central Business District and now contains the largest concentration of substandard housing in the county.

There will be a total of 103 families and 8 businesses relocated. The city's plans at this time are to stage the urban renewal program to provide for persons to be relocated back in this area or adjacent to it.

This community appears to have made use of a relatively unfamiliar program of the Department of Agriculture. The local Farm Home Administrator has encouraged the use of Farm Home Administration loans, and the local bank has established a referral service for persons not able to meet the requirements of bank policy, or Federal Housing Administration type loans. This cooperation has shown much benefit to the community on a whole.

The persons this agency have been working directly with are listed:

T. E. Buchanan, Mayor
A. D. Little, City Manager
Mike A. Cox, Jr., City Administrator
W. F. Easterlin, Director of Urban Renewal
James Abbott, Attorney

W. J. REVELL
MAYOR PRO-TEM
R. M. CULVERN
TREASURER
ABBOT & ABBOT
CITY ATTYS.
J. M. LIVINGSTON, III
SUPT. UTILITIES
W. T. WEEKS
FIRE CHIEF
W. P. HATTAWAY
POLICE CHIEF

CITY OF LOUISVILLE

"Georgia's First Capital"

T. E. BUCHANAN, MAYOR A. P. LITTLE, CITY MGR.-CLERK
MRS. DORIS W. ETHRIDGE, DEPUTY CLERK

LOUISVILLE, GEORGIA

COUNCILMEN
R. M. CULVERN
HERMAN RASKIN
W. F. HARTLEY
F. E. JONES, JR.
W. J. REVELL

June 25, 1965

Mr. George T. Papageorge
Special Assistant to the Regional Administrator (Community Programs)
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Reginal Administrator
Room 645, Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Papageorge:

Complying with your letter to me of May 24, 1965, I have appointed the following community-wide, representative group to the Citizens Advisory Committee:

1. I. Goldwasser, furniture store owner, Chairman of Louisville Planning Commission.

2. J. P. Morgan, Contractor.

3. T. V. Henson, farm implement dealer.

4. W. F. Easterlin, Jr., bank executive.

5. E. B. Carroll, local Georgia Power Company representative.

6. Odell Hannah, negro, contractor, active civic leader.

To a special committee on minority group housing, I have appointed:

1. Odell Hannah.

2. Alton Spells, negro, schoolteacher, resident in area under consideration for renewal.

3. Roy Fleming, negro, mechanic, resident in area under consideration for renewal.

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA
February 21 and 22, 1966

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

I visited the city at the invitation of Mr. James Hibben, Urban Renewal Agency, to consult with him about two different urban renewal plans presently under consideration by the city government.

Impressions on walking tour:

All the homes in the Negro neighborhood have poor drainage and depressing views. Even the best Negro homes are adjacent to the incinerator or city dumps. The housing construction is poor, and for the most part the homes are built of highly inflammable wood construction. (Florida pine has an excessive amount of sap; when this dries, the wood is almost explosive.) There would be complete loss in case of fire. Insurance companies refuse to insure Negro frame dwellings because of this hazard.

Throughout the Negro neighborhood except in the areas of higher value homes, I observed many "winos." Many dives for wine, beer and games of chance were evident, and there was indication of an appreciable per cent of dope addiction.

There seems to be very little dynamic Negro leadership. With the physical environment, if the people ever wake up from their coma brought on by dope and alcohol, this section could ignite into a southern Watts. This is true even if the city urban renewal authority succeeds in putting over their plan which means minimum neighborhood improvement.

Prospects for urban renewal:

Mr. James Hibben, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Agency, is a young man in his late thirties with two children. He came to

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA
February 21 and 22, 1966

Moreland Griffith Smith

Fort Lauderdale last year from Chicago and has a two-year contract. He seems sincere in his desire to make changes which would better conditions in the Negro community and perhaps lead to some integration. Whether he will be able to accomplish any of his plans remains to be seen. He must persuade the city officials and gain support from the Negro community. He feels he needs pressure from Negroes to help him make his point to the city. This is one of the new Southern cities where the leadership is "business conservative" and therefore will go to lengths to preserve a good "image" nationally for inspection by prospective new businesses. If the Negro community applied pressure, Hibben thinks he would be enabled to make changes.

At present Hibben is considering two schemes for urban renewal. Either would be superior to what the Negro community has now as far as environment. Naturally the better one costs more.

1. "Dry Scheme" - the less expensive plan; has the advantage of being close to the city and less expensive.
2. "Canal Scheme" - more advantages and amenities, the chief advantage being that the fill from the canal would be used for elevation and to improve drainage for the Negro homes. This is the better plan of the two, and more expensive. Unfortunately, the improvements are "structural" and therefore do not show up easily to taxpayers or to the disadvantaged Negro community which would hope for more physically impressive improvements.

Neither scheme would affect more than a small percentage of the substandard dwellings nor does either try to strike at the root of the problem. Both are simply attempts to placate the disadvantaged,

inarticulate and generally ignored Negroes in the hope that city government and white citizens can buy several more years of blissful unconcern with this festering sore in the body politic.

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
March 3, 1966

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

I went to Charlotte to meet with city officials and let them know of the SRC Urban Planning Project and our services. Dr. Ray Wheeler arranged the meeting with the mayor, city manager and their staff. Mr. John Wheeler joined us for the day, and Mr. Fred Alexander, Charlotte alderman who is on our board, met with us.

After introductions, I reviewed SRC's new Urban Planning Project, telling of its intent and the services which might be of interest to Charlotte. These officials were reluctant to discuss Charlotte openly and freely, and their attitude was hostile. The city government appeared to have strong reservations about SRC and the project and to be sceptical as to any value Charlotte could derive from interchange and informal association. Shortly before the meeting ended I mentioned that were I to review their urban renewal plans as an informed third party SRC's opinion might have weight with the federal government in its assessment of Charlotte's compliance with federal directives on urban planning. This would mean that an impartial review, if affirmative, might help Charlotte when applying for more federal funds. At this point in the conversation the four of us encountered a sudden and marked change in attitude by the city officials. All at once they couldn't give us enough information; they instructed one another to send this or that semi-confidential report to me in Atlanta. (None of this material has yet arrived as of March 10, 1966.)

At lunch Dr. Wheeler, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Alexander and I discussed this baffling change in atmosphere. All of us felt it, but none of us could spot exactly what made the difference. As far as I can tell

it appeared at the point where the mayor, et al, realized they would have nothing to lose and much to gain, including a better position for federal funding. And the whole service would cost them nothing more than the postage to send their information and plans to Atlanta for review.

I found a high degree of intelligence in the city government; it is confident, self-centered, aware, motivated by self-interest but willing to listen. My only criticism would be their attitude and outlook on regional planning.

Charlotte's importance is primarily that of a transportation center for its area, and regional planning is most pertinent for the continuing growth of the community in the future. Because it is a distribution point it draws people in a 60 or 70 mile radius into the city for services and goods. But there was no awareness on the part of the city government of any need for regional planning. Their attitude was that they had too many problems in the city to worry about without trying to develop a comprehensive plan for the entire region. Actually Charlotte and Durham-Chapel Hill-Raleigh are interdependent, and these cities need to realize this now and begin a far-sighted examination of how to solve their mutual problems and plan for their mutual growth. As yet this awareness is lacking; so are the federal incentives for such planning.

The mayor has an unusual understanding of business, commerce and the financial needs for the city. He is strongly influenced, however, by Arthur G. Odell, Jr., FAIA, Charlotte architect. Odell, while highly intelligent, is a pompous ass interested only in what will glorify Odell.

I was highly impressed and pleasantly surprised at the quality of the city manager and the other staff members I met.

Fred Alexander is a very able Negro; he is not looking out after self but has a broad and unselfish view. Alexander is faced with the problem of conflict and jealousy in his own community and among his own people. He told me that when he first became an alderman he was hostile and suspicious of all whites, including other aldermen, and their motives. After examining his attitude he realized that he was just as prejudiced as he accused them of being. With that insight he was able to destroy his own prejudice and in so doing has been able to work more effectively in the city government and make more gains for his constituents.

I took a tour of the Negro community. Some of Charlotte's slums are as bad as the worst in the South, but they are smaller in area and fewer in number of dilapidated dwellings. The better Negro homes were better than in other cities I've examined, and there was a large quantity of nice middle-income Negro housing. The middle-income housing was the typical type of developer sub-division housing financed under FHA and VA. This housing has only been available in the last four or five years. The physical facilities of the schools in this area were way above average for the South both school building structure and grounds.

It is interesting to note that there have been a number of improvements in conditions and services for the Negro community since the election of a Negro alderman. For instance, the Negro cemetery now has a fence around it like the white one and the interior roads there have recently

been paved. Streets in the poorest Negro sections have now been repaired.

I asked the city officials about the possibility of passing a fair housing law in Charlotte and was told it was very unlikely. The only housing integration in the private sector is along fringe areas where whites are moving out at the border of the Negro section and Negroes are occupying the newly available dwellings. The public sector is little better. Public housing has been built along this Negro-white border, and those units immediately adjacent to the Negro side are integrated while the other units are all-white.

Impression

MEMORANDUM

June 9, 1966

RE: CONFERENCE WITH
LESTER H. PERSELLS
HUD

I had a conference with Les Persells, HUD, and the following items were discussed:

1. Selected six cities - Birmingham, 341,000 population; Macon, Georgia, 70,000 population; Asheville, North Carolina, 60,000 population; Paris, Kentucky, 18,000 population; Corinth, Mississippi, 7,000 population; and Louisville, Georgia, 2,500 population. In addition to the cities in which we are working informally - Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 84,000 population; Charlotte, North Carolina, 202,000 population, these six cities will form the basis of SRC's Urban Planning Project. Although it will be impossible for SRC staff adequately to handle this many projects it is felt that the items of action will not come up all at one time and we can keep things moving.

2. I expressed very positively my doubts on Birmingham as a good town. This is based on my knowledge of their leadership and action in the past.

3. HUD to write capsule set-up on each city.

4. SRC is at present collecting data.

5. Staff coop conference to be established as soon as the capsule reports are sent to Smith, and this coop conference will establish procedure for the future.

6. Miss Bresler to study site.

7. Proceed with action.

Conference with Dennis Carr, Community Organization Officer
Urban Renewal Division, HUD
July ~~22~~ 15, 1966

(Miss) Susan Bresler, Urban Planner
Urban Planning Project

Met briefly with Dennis Carr. He told me about the current Manpower Task Force that can be called in to prevent a "long hot summer" situation. The task force consists of representatives from OEO, Department of Labor, and HEW. The task force analyzes the racial situation and may speed up a pending Federal program, if this would help the situation. Or the task force may decide to shelve a program.

Dennis also told me about the Federal executive board here in Atlanta. This board now has a technical board to coordinate anti-poverty programs with the other Federal agencies.

Dennis says the Community Action Programs have helped pursuade welfare agencies of the effectiveness of dispersing their services in order to reach the poor. CAP's also encourage other services that can prevent the need for welfare services; for example, home management courses. CAP's have had to hire some social workers of their own because of the failure of welfare agencies to reach the very people they are intended to serve. Dennis wonders why the Federal government doesn't require welfare agencies to disperse their services. The Federal government does require, after all, professional qualifications for social workers. Why not also require dispersed locations for welfare offices?

CAP's have a referral service for the poor. "Referral" should, at the very least, mean taking the client over to the agency that can help him. At best, "referral" should mean providing the needed service right there in the neighborhood center. Referral should not mean sending the client across town to another office. The client may not even be able to afford the bus fare.

CAP's organize block groups and neighborhood councils. These groups meet at the neighborhood center to discuss what't wrong and to decide what <u>they</u> need. The purpose of the Community Action Program is twofold: 1) to organize the poor, so that they can express their needs, and 2) to bring the needed to services to the neighborhood center where they will be available to the poor.

Cities (and counties) should recognize that they can save money in the long run through the preventive effects of dispersed services. This will be true even while the proportion of Federal funds to CAP's will get lower in future years.

Susan Bresler

Impressions-Fort Lauderdale-July 17 to 24, 1966

Background-Fort Lauderdale

Fort Lauderdale is a unique community. Unique because its basic industry is the tourist trade. The city has a lot of wealthy retirees. The population has tripled, from 50,000 to 150,000, since World War II. Negroes make up about 1/6 of the population. Almost one-third of the families in Broward County are in the poverty income bracket.

The city and county officials are mainly business people who have lived there for many years. Instead of having an "invisible government," the power structure and the local officials are virtually one and the same. The leadership is very conservative. The Fort Lauderdale public housing board is made up of real estate interests. The Broward County School board has no educators. Heads of county health, welfare, and schools are on the anti-poverty board.

There is a pervasive unwritten system of practices to deny the Negroes their share of health, welfare, school, housing, and job opportunities. No Negroes are employed in the city's water or fire departments. The public housing is segregated. 85% of Negro pupils attend all-Negro schools. Building codes are not enforced in Negro neighborhoods. Bi-Racial Advisory Boards exist in name only.

Organization of the Negro Community

NAACP is the only significant force in the Fort Lauderdale Negro community. It has six active members and $15 in the treasury. NAACP has only been active since Rev. George came a year and a half ago. Before that, Eulah Johnson dominated the dying group with her own self-interest. NAACP's main concern has been with school desegregation in Broward County.

Negroes are confined to the northwest section of the city. Only 10% of them turned out to vote in the last election. Fort Lauderdale has 24,000 Negroes.

Don Hallock is the most active in NAACP. He began by registering Negroes for the last presidential election. He has written letters to the newspapers complaining of poor coverage of racial issues. He complained to HEW of school segregation. He led pickets of the school board. He cooperates actively with Jim Hibben, urban renewal director.

Urban Renewal

The idea of urban renewal in Fort Lauderdale came about by accident. It seems the planners were looking into the requirements for Federally aided public housing back in 1961. And they discovered the city had to have a Workable Program. The Workable Program is also required for urban renewal. The planners mistakenly concluded that the city had to have urban renewal in order to get public housing.

A year and a half ago the city decided to finance a survey and plan of the northwest area. The city used only local funds. Jim Hibben took the $12,000 a year job as Urban Renewal Director because he likes a good fight.

Jim Hibben made exhaustive efforts to win support for urban renewal. He gave over a hundred presentations of a slide talk on the urban renewal plans and their cost. His staff canvassed the northwest area in an effort to involve tenants and

homeowners in the renewal plans. He worked closely with the NAACP committee on urban renewal, headed by Father Jones.

The Chamber of Commerce

According to Charles Fletcher, Chairman of the Urban Renewal Agency and executive of prosperous Burdine's department Store, the Chamber of Commerce (Greater Fort Lauderdale) has supported urban renewal from the beginning. Fletcher volunteers that he doesn't want any more Negro customers for Burdine's but that his work with the Urban Renewal Agency is only out of love.

The Chamber of Commerce supports urban renewal to be financed by local funds. But if this is not feasible, then the Chamber supports renewal with the aid of Federal funds.

The main interest of the Chamber of Commerce is bringing industry to Fort Lauderdale. Year round employment would be a blessing to the migrant farm laborers and longshoremen in the area whose work is seasonal. But there is no communication between the Chamber and the people who might get the new jobs. Negroes feel that the possible new jobs would not be for them. They've been too long conditioned to seeing jobs advertised and, when they go to apply, there is no job for them. This is why Negroes haven't flocked to the suddenly open doors of the City, where so long they have been turned away.

The Federal funds issue

The objection of Fort Lauderdale leaders to Federal funds in the schools is the same as the objection in urban renewal. What they say is the Federal government will tell you what to think. What they mean is they don't want integration. It's not so bad in the hospitals because, when the Federal official comes to check for civil rights compliance, you just shuffle the beds around so it looks like the hospital is integrated. But it isn't so easy to shuffle pupils around. And if low income housing were available to whites and Negroes on the same basis, it would be very difficult for owners of Negro real estate to continue charging Negroes higher rentals and higher purchase prices than whites.

Urban renewal in Fort Lauderdale without Federal funds would serve to continue discrimination in housing. With Federal funds, Negroes would get a fair program. The City wanted a referrendum on whether to have Federal funds supposedly because there were so many objections to Federal aid. The referrendum would kill urban renewal. And, as Al Hastings pointed out, the referrendum would in fact be a racial issue.

Perhaps pressure from NAACP had some effect. In any case, the City Attorney discovered that a referrendum at this time would be illegal. The City adopted an urban renewal law that first requires the plan be reviewed by the planning commission and by the Council. There would not be time to have a referrendum by August 30th, so the referrendum was postponed indefinitely.

The NAACP name

Charles Fletcher feels he cannot win support for renewal without strong support from the Negro community. One way to

achieve this apparent support, he felt, was to have a name that signified support from the whole northwest neighborhood, instead of the NAACP committee on urban renewal. Fletcher feels the NAACP names suggests the work of a few outsiders, rather than the will of the Fort Lauderdale Negro community.

But Negroes feel that NAACP is the only strong force they have. For one thing, there is a perennial problem of Negro leadership. And that is, that so often Negro "leaders" don't speak out for the Negroes. When the School Board selected a Negro principal, they chose the one who would not speak out rather than one who was qualified to do the job. Negro "leaders" are afraid. Rev. George made a point of this.

Second, Negroes need a single voice. Jim Hibben formed the Homeowner's Association with the intention of increasing Negro support. But he segmented that support. NAACP fears that other groups may still be formed and the original group disgarded. Father Jones, Chairman of the NAACP committee on urban renewal, was alienated because he and members of his congegation were not invited to the Homeowner's meetings.

So, if the NAACP name is a stigma to the white community, it is a point of strength to the Negro community. To change the name or form additional separate groups is a betrayal.

Conflicts over the canal scheme

To Father Jones and Al Hastings the canal scheme is a quality plan, the basic scheme somehow inferior. To Mr. Haygood and to the homeowners the canal scheme creates too many problems. If the land next to a man's home is raised, won't the water drain onto his property? Mr. Haygood feels the canal along the railroad tracks is not a buffer, but a wall that isolates the neighborhood. Many feel the canals will be a maintenance problem. This is also the objection of the white leaders.

Homeowners also prefer the basic scheme because it is less expensive. So, it might have a better chance of being adopted by the city. That the canal scheme was intended to solve the drainage problem and create valuable waterfront property seems to be overshadowed by these other problems.

Mr. Haygood felt that a canvass should have been made of the people in the northwest area. There was one. What evolved was a slowly growing homeowner's group and no response from tenants. Mr. Haygood felt it would be wise to consult businessmen in the northwest area on redevelopment. But for those whose business is the sale of liquor, they don't want renewal. They probably wouldn't be able to get another liquor license. And one of them owns slum property.

Negro leaders wonder if anything is going to happen with renewal after all these years. The two schemes proposed seem but a way to prolong action. Nothing seems definite.

The role of SRC

Consultation by the Southern Regional Council added strength to the efforts of NAACP toward renewal. The presence of SRC drew the attention of city officials. And the advice on the schemes helped the local people clarify their thoughts. But there was one problem. The advice of a professional tends either

to be ignored, as it was by the homeowners, or taken as law. The canal scheme became good and the basic scheme bad. This is part of the larger misunderstanding and confusion that surrounds the urban renewal effort.

Conclusions

Public Information

Federal programs. It's one thing for the conservative white leadership to object to Federal funds. But it's another thing when these people make false claims about Federal control. The only way to fight them is with the facts. And the facts should be publicized. A common fallacy in Fort Lauderdale that could be dispelled quickly is that the Federal government tells the local schools what to teach.

Urban renewal. Many people living in the renewal area didn't know what renewal was, didn't understand it. They didn't understand the timing, didn't know what would happen to their homes, didn't know how the plan could be modified. The canvass that was made needed publicity; so did the formation of the homeowner's group. The technical aspects of the canal scheme needed explanation. A grass roots type of publication might have helped. Some general information on renewal could be distributed. Neighborhood meetings on a regular basis might help. Whatever the public information program, it should be thorough and should have a full-time person on the staff. If this is impossible, perhaps volunteers from the neighborhood could help.

Community organization

Along with public information for urban renewal, there should be a neighborhood organization in the renewal area. The urban renewal staff could not undertake a thorough community organization effort on top of all its other duties. A Community Action group could do the job if it had the funds and staff. Or some other agency with trained people. A solid neighborhood organization is one of the best ways of getting information across.

The renewal neighborhood should have only one organization. Whatever its name, the group should remain intact. Any new groups that form should be incorporated in the original group.

Housing

Housing for low income groups should tie in with other improvement programs: care of the home, adult education, job opportunities. Many people felt the effort toward improved housing was rather futile without the hope of a better job (and hence, ability to pay for better housing).

Home ownership should be made more widely available. Because home ownership gives the incentive for better home care, more interest in the neighborhood, and, in turn, more interest in other improvement programs.

People who serve on boards like public housing and urban renewal should have a vested interest in serving the poor. If instead they are real estate people, for example, they will

manipulate the policies of the board to serve their own interests. In the case of public housing, such people will not permit a backlog of applications to accumulate because that would mean more public housing. And the public housing competes with their slum dwellings.

Events during the week

City Commission meeting

The City Attorney told the City Commission they could not have a referrendum at this time because of the set procedure they must follow under the local urban renewal law. The Urban Renewal Agency submitted its report, not the final plan, to the City. The Agency must submit its final plan. This has to be reviewed by the planning and zoning board. Then it goes to the City Commission for approval. At that time, the City holds a public hearing on the plan. The City Attorney emphasized the public hearing. Perhaps the referrendum will not be held at all.

School Board meeting

The school board chartered a plane to Washington to meet with Mr. Kruger of HEW in Congressman Paul Rogers' office. A few days before this meeting, Kruger called Don Hallock and asked him to arrange a meeting in Fort Lauderdale. This was in answer to a request that Kruger come down. But Al Hastings says Kruger was going to come down anyway if the school beard did not comply with the civil rights law.

The school board managed to fill the afternoon with business. But at the very last minute Al Hastings told them that Kruger was coming down the next Tuesday and that their trip to Washington was an exercise in futility. When Don Hallock told them that Kruger had called him in answer to an NAACP request, they were infuriated.

Kruger told Don Hallock confidentially that HEW was being pressured by two Florida Congressmen.

Publicity

The Monday evening (July 18) newscast on Channel 4 showed me walking in the northwest neighborhood and showed the people there. But there were no shots in the film where I was talking with the people, face to face.

The July 20th newspaper article describes the City Commission meeting discussion of urban renewal.

The Friday night (July 22) newscast on Channel 7 described Southern Regional Council's project. Then I told how Pompano was going to have more riots; Fort Lauderdale could be next; and that urban renewal was a chance to build good race relations between the white and Negro communities.

Also, an article appeared in Tuesday's paper where Don Hallock defends Federal funds. Jim Hibben and I helped him.

Susan Bresler

Impressions - Louisville, Ga. July 31 to August 3, 1966

Background-Louisville

Louisville is a small rural community of about 2500 people. It's history is over 200 years old. In the center of the main business street stands a slave market built in 1758.

Attitudes toward Negroes have been slow to change. Genuine integration exists only in Louisville's new industries. Communication between whites and Negroes can be described as fearful and sporadic.

The town's economy suffers from a gap in the working age group of the population. Older people are putting their children through college and don't have money to invest in the community. They don't want to pay more taxes; they can't afford "urban" standards; and they are reluctant to change.

Discussions of urban renewal with both white and Negro leaders inevitable leads back to school desegregation problems. Jefferson County is 57% Negro.

The same people appear in several leadership positions. And many of the community leaders are relatives.

The Negro community

The civil rights movement in general and the efforts of Mr. Dons, Augusta, in the Council on Human Relations in particular helped the Negroes of Jefferson County to start to overcome their fear of the white man and to speak up for their rights. A few years ago, Mayor Buchanon, Rufus Wrens, who is an owner of Negro property and man chairman of the anti-poverty board, Negro leader Odell Hannah, and others formed a bi-racial committee or board. But nothing ever came of it. The committee is inactive.

There are two active Negro organizations that work together in Jefferson County: the Citizens League and a combined NAACP-SCLC. The Citizens League endorses candidates for the Negro block vote. Negroes in the county bring their problems to the Citizens League. Then the League contacts the government agency that is involved in the problem, be it the County Commissioners, City Council, or whatever. If further action is necessary, the Citizens League tells NAACP-SCLC. Of course, the membership in the two groups overlaps.

NAACP and SCLC are informally combined in the county. Last year they brought in SCOPE (a part of SCLC) and conducted a peaceful, successful voter registration campaign. There was no violence in Jefferson County. The FBI and the police were copperative. The success of the campaign helped make more Negroes willing to participate in civil rights activities. Further efforts resulted in a Negro deputy sheriff, and Negro policman in Louisville, and desegregated restaurants.

Of the current battles, school desegregation is the most important. Last year there was token integration in the classrooms. This year, all but two white classes will have Negro pupils. But the faculty is not yet integrated. School board chiarman Jim Abbott says they've gone as far as they can go and will lose their Federal funds for a year. If the faculty is not integrated this fall, NAACP-SCLC plans to picket.

"Something Old-- Something New"

Louisville, the county seat of Jefferson County, Georgia, is located in the heart of Dixie's cotton belt. Though cotton is the chief product of the farming area, Louisville has modern stores, a fertilizer plant, a freezer locker plant, cottonseed oil mills, cotton gins, Thermo King Corp., a J. P. Stevens plant, an up to date printing plant, a garment factory, to furnish steady, year 'round employment. Louisville is also the hub city of several excellent highways and has good hotel accommodations and an AAA motel.

Here in Louisville, you can enjoy the advantages of a large city, and yet appreciate living in one of Georgia's most interesting small towns. For example, this little city has a municipally owned golf course, a playground for your children, a modern motion picture theatre and many recreational facilities, including fine hunting and fishing.

Louisville cordially invites you to make your home here—to locate your plant here. But if you can't do either, please stop with us for a pleasant visit!

Louisville, deep in the heart of Dixie —an old town, but with every new, modern convenience.

Historic Louisville

CITY OF HOMES AND CHURCHES

HOME OF
LOUISVILLE ACADEMY
(Established in 1796)

Modern Louisville Has:

- FINE FARMS
- LOW TAXES
- CHEAP POWER
- NO LABOR PROBLEM
- ABUNDANT ARTESIAN WATER
- WIDE, SHADY, PAVED STREETS
- UNEXCELLED FACTORY SITES
- A FINE PLACE TO VISIT
- A GOOD PLACE TO LIVE

Compliments of

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

LOUISVILLE, GEORGIA

Things You'll See

★

OLD SLAVE MARKET
ORIGINAL BUILDING

★

In Louisville, Georgia

- OLD FRENCH BELL
- SITE OF BURNING OF YAZOO FRAUD PAPERS
- LOUISVILLE, ACADEMY
- OLD SLAVE MARKET
- OLD CEMETERY

Louisville, Georgia

THE FIRST PERMANENT CAPITAL OF GEORGIA (1794 to 1807)

Louisville, First Permanent Capital

Louisville was the first permanent capital of Georgia. A capitol building, a Governor's mansion, and many residents were built in Louisville before the population moved in.

The town was the seat of the state government from 1794 to 1807, and was designated as the capital before there was a street or any houses.

The colonists who settled at Savannah and founded the State of Georgia were timid about pressing further inland and in an effort to encourage the settlement of the interior a commission of men was selected to choose a place far from the coast where a permanent capitol could be built.

The Site Chosen

The three man commission was sent inland to choose site for the new city. They were instructed to find a location amidst peace-loving and friendly Indians; a place where there was good drinking water; and a high place "far above the unhealthy swampy vapors." That the commission chose well is shown by the fact that Louisville had no serious difficulties with the Indians. The water supply here, when the town was dependent on artesian wells, was always the best. The health record of the town is excellent and it is noted that every approach to the town is up-grade.

"The Sidewalks of Louisville"

The streets of Louisville did not "just grow." By legislative enactment it was decreed that the streets in the new town should be laid off "after the style of the streets of Philadelphia. This early plan accounts in part for the wide, shady streets that lie at right angles and not helter-skelter. The streets were numbered and named before the town was populated.

Louisville was built near Galphin's Old Town, a settlement believed to have antedated the coming of Oglethorpe. This trading post was established by George Galphin, a prosperous Indian trader, who took up a large tract of land in what was then St. George's Parish, now Jefferson County.

The Yazoo Fraud

Many stirring events marked the early days of Louisville, but none had so wide consequences as the Yazoo matter.

At that time the State of Georgia embraced all that tract of land now the states of Mississippi and Alabama. The legislature voted to sell about 35 million acres of this unsettled territory for a half a million dollars, which was about one and a half cents per acre. This acreage was called the Yazoo Tract, because it embraced the Yazoo river, tributary to the Mississippi. When the people realized what a fraud this land sale was, they were indignant and demanded the repeal of the Yazoo Act.

James Jackson, U. S. Senator from Georgia, resigned his post in Washington to return to the state to lead the fight for repeal of the act.

When the legislature met in the new capitol at Louisville in January, 1796, one of its first deeds who to pass the Rescinding Act, declared that "The last legislature, not confining itself to the powers with which that body was constitutionally invested did usury a power to pass the obnoxious act, contrary to the constitutional authority and repugnant to the democratical form of government of the State."

Not only did the body declare the Yazoo Act null and void, but ordered it removed from all public records of the State. Two days after the passage of the rescinding act, the members assembled outside the capitol building and in solemn ceremony burned the infamous Yazoo Act by "fire from heaven," which was called down by the simple means of a sunglass.

Named for French King

Louisville was named for Louis XVI of France in appreciation for military help given the colony by the French people during the American Revolution.

On "March to the Sea"

When Sherman made his famous "March to the Sea," in 1864, Gen. Slocum and his troops made Louisville their headquarters. They paused long enough to burn the business section, and many of the old landmarks and records. Two of the few buildings left were the Old Market and the residence used by the General as headquarters.

Seal Adopted

The famous constitutional convention of 1798 was held in Louisville and it was at this convention that the constitution was adopted under which the State of Georgia functioned for seventy years. It was at Louisville that the State Legislature met in June 1799 and adopted the great Seal of State. This seal adopted at Louisville, except for a brief period during Reconstruction Days, has been in constant use from that day, to this, thus linking the Georgia of today with the Georgia of the 18th Century.

The Market House

One building in Louisville really antedates the town itself. That building is the Old Market House. The market house was the scene of all public sales, of course slaves were sold there preceeding the War Between the States, but in the old days this quaint old square building, there in the middle of the main street in Louisville was called the Market House. Made of great heavy timbers, the original structure is still intact, though tradition says that it is older than the town and was built in 1758 at the convergence of two important Indian trails, one running west from the coast, the other inland north and south.

Louisville Academy

Louisville Academy, founded in 1796, is one of the ten original institutions chosen to make up the University system of Georgia. The University of Georgia was established at the site later known as Athens, while Louisville was the state capital. Louisville Academy was built on a land grant of several hundred acres, and to this day Louisville Academy holds deeds to a part of the original land grant.

The Old Bell

Hanging in the old Market House is an old bell, cast in France in 1772. The bell was designed for a convent in Louisiana, but the French boat on which the bell was shipped was sacked by pirates. The pirate ship was in turn captured near Savannah, and later the bell was sent inland to the new state capital.

The bell was rung to assemble the settlers when the Indians were uprising. It was also rung in celebration of the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies.

Another current battle is to try to get a Negro appointed to the County Welfare board.

Urban renewal in Louisville is still another battle. Negroes want to find out what's happening: what is holding the project up? should they go ahead and build a new home somewhere else? There will be a meeting of neighborhood residents and urban renewal officials later this month.

According to NAACP, W.E.Price, a high school principal, is an Uncle Tom. He won't let Negro teachers participate in political or civil rights activities. The local NAACP president calls Price the worst man in the county. Price is active in the Red Cross and the Lakeview Country Club, but he will not take part in civil rights activities. He was reluctant to endorse the Headstart program until it was already accepted. He fools a lot of Negroes and so has a large following. And he is very popular with the white leadership. Odell Hannah says Price wants integration for himself but not for other Negroes.

Odell Hannah, a building contractor, is the most active leader. White leaders speak of him in negative tones as "militant." Despite his 6th grade education, Hannah has a pretty good business. I think the man has a fine mind and is a good organizer. Hannah makes forthright demands of local officials. At times, other Negroes have let him down: once, when he approached the City Council, and another time during the voter registration campaign. But each success makes the Negroes braver.

Urban Renewal

Sidney Carter, a planning consultant in Augusta, did planning studies for Louisville. He suggested urban renewal and suggested the Beech Street area be the first project. The area is compact and could be valuable property. It will be used for residential purposes. A public housing project will be built adjacent to the project area.

Alton Spells and Roy Fleming are on the minoirty subcommittee of the Citizens Advisory Committee. Several months ago they made a survey of the Beech Street area. They have not been contacted since. There has been no effort as yet to inform the residents of the renewal area about the project or about their rights under urban renewal.

Mr. Easterlin, the part-time Urban Renewal Director, is concerned over the affect of slums on potential industries. He is also concerned over the elderly people in the project area who own their own homes. These people will not get enough money fortheir property to build a standard house. They can, however, get a long-term, low-interest loan from the Farmers Home Administration. But they don't want to go into debt.

Mrs. Rosa Green, Administrative Assistant to Easterlin, says the city had to be sold and resold on the idea of renewal. One of the prohibitive factors is the cost. The city recently passed a $35,000 bond issue to finance a new airport. The cost to the city of the proposed renewal project is estimated at $100,000.

As required by the Workable Program (which is required for public housing), the city has a codes compliance program. But

City-appointed Joe Cox, brother of City Administrator Mike Cox, is not likely to enforce housing and building codes any more than necessary to recertify the Workable Program. So, white landlords will continue to neglect their Negro tenant property. And Rufus Wrens will continue to supply poor Negroes with makeshift shacks on unimproved land. And outside the city limits, there are no codes at all.

Renewal and the Anti-Poverty Program

The only proposed cooperation between the urban renewal program and the anti-poverty program is for a recreation center in the project area. The CAP could staff the recreation facility. The Jefferson County CAP just received $132,000 in July for administration, supplus commodities, home management aides, and employment counseling and development. So, both programs are new.

The 13-county Central Savannah River Area Planning and Development Commission (CSRA) began providing local planning assistance in February and employed Mr. Starnes. Starnes is writing articles on urban renewal for Mr. Easterlin to give to the press. I asked Mr. Starnes if he would encourage cooperation with the anti-poverty program. He said no. CSRA once had an anti-poverty program. But it failed. Starnes feels anti-poverty programs can be good if they're administered properly. But he is so concerned over the prestige of CSRA, that he will not mention anti-poverty programs publicly in any way.

The role of SRC

SRC can be helpful to Louisville's urban renewal program in two ways: one, we can provide encouragement to the tirelessly struggling Negroes in Jefferson County and point out to them that they have certain rights under urban renewal; and two, we can provide professional assistance to both the officials and the residents of the renewal neighborhood.

Events during visit

I met with Odell Hannah, Alton Spells, Roy Fleming, and Prof. Shinhoster and told them they could call a meeting of the neighborhood residents in the Beech Street Project and the urban renewal officials to find out the facts. Without mentioning my name, they asked Mr. Easterlin to call the meeting. It will be held later this month.

Conclusions:

Public information on Federal programs before they are applied for. Television, radio, simplified literature, public meetings, and surveys all can be used. There should be discussion with the Negro community. Negroes should be involved and represented.

The Beech Street renewal area may not have been the best place to start slum clearance in Louisville, since there were many homeowners over 65 in this project area who didn't want to go into debt on a new home, even though Farmers Home Administration loans are available. Earlier discussion might have helped.

Rent subsidy to the poor. Without the subsidy, shacks and slums will continue to be built; sewers will not be provided; building and housing codes will not be enforced; and there will not be enough public housing to replace the shacks. Perhaps the recipient of a rent subsidy could be required to participate in an education and/or job training program to help him raise his income level.

The rent subsidy will indirectly be paying for (the property taxes that pay for) streets and sewers. So, this program might alleviate some of the need for Federally aided water and sewer grants and loans. At the same time, the Federal funds that will be paying for water and sewer facilities in a community will be used to serve the Negro neighborhoods as well as the white.

Susan Bresler

Impressions - Louisville, Ga. - July 31 to August 3, 1966

Mr. W.F. Easterlin, Jr., President, First National Bank
Urban Renewal Director, part-time
President, Chamber of Commerce
member, Planning Commission
Louisville representative to CSRA
Chairman, Hospital Authority

Mr. Easterlin is a native of Americus, Ga. He came to live in Louisville since it's his wife's hometown. He inherited the job of Urban Renewal Director from his brother-in-law, attorney James Abbott. Abbott is chairman of the Jefferson County School Board.

Mrs. Saxon, 30 years editor of the conservative weekly, "The News and Farmer," is on the Chamber of Commerce board. Her neice, Mrs. Rosa Green, is administrative assistant to Mr. Easterlin.

Easterlin boasts of the city's new airport and adjacent industrial park. Westinghouse, the largest employer, has 400 workers; J.P.Stevens & Co., 2000; and the "stitching plant", 200. These are integrated. Seeking new industry seems to be Mr. Easterlin's favorite topic. He comments that the Chamber of Commerce was careful not to let the potential industry representatives see the city's slums, or, shacks, as he put it. I think he said 40% of the city's housing is dilapidated, another 20% substandard, and The need for renewal is evident.

Easterlin feels the city is conservative and reluctant to move on renewal programs. He commented that the city got by with doing nothing in the first year of the survey and planning stage and that, now in the second year, they must make it work. The citizen advisory committee has not been active. There have been no meetings yet with residents of the project area. No articles in the local paper on renewal yet. But Easterlin says both these things will take place.

Citing the community's Negro leadership, Easterlin names high school principal W.E. Price as head of the conservative faction. Easterlin thinks Price is a fine person. And then there's the more militant faction, headed by the Hannah brothers, Odell and Ozie. Last year they brought a very effective (SCOPE) voter registration project into the county. The brothers are also responsible for the agreement of restaurant owners to serve Negroes and for a Negro on the police force and a Negro Deputy Sherriff. The Hannah brothers operate a contracting business. They may have to liquidate some of their assets in order to repay a loan to Mr. Easterlin's bank.

Homeowners who are relocated from the renewal area can get Farm Home Administration loans--since Louisville is a rural community under 5500--to build new homes. But Negroes don't like to go into debt, Easterlin says. He and his wife have had arguments about uprooting Negroes from their homes. His wife doesn't approve.

Mr. Easterlin feels it's important to give Negroes their fair share of community services and shakes his head at how the others (city officials) don't realize . . . (how discrimination affects the Negroes). Easterlin seemed receptive to a visit from the Southern Regional Council, particularly by a planner, since they don't know what it's all about. (Who does?)

Susan Bresler

Impressions - Louisville, Ga. - July 39 to August 3, 1966

Jimmy Polhill, III
Chairman, Citizens Advisory Committee
brother of Mrs. Rosa Green, Administrative Assistant to Urban Renewal Director
son of Jim Polhill, first chairman of the Jefferson County Community Action board
nephew of Mrs. Saxon, editor of weekly newspaper, "The News and Farmer"

Mr. Polhill opened the conversation with . . . You know the problem in a small town ? The manpower problem. We meet each other coming out of meetings and going to meetings.

Next, he described the five Citizen Advisory Committee meetings he had planned for the coming year. He felt the first step was to educate the advisory committee on urban renewal, and the next step, to educate the people in the community. I asked whether the Urban Renewal Representative, Sam Agee, was helpful in explaining urban renewal. Mr. Polhill commented that Sam Agee uses terms and initials unfamiliar to the layman.

Polhill said nearly every high school graduate and all college graduates had left Louisville for the past twenty years. They were unable to find jobs in town. Because the young working age people were gone, there was no interest (money) in investing in the community. The older adults were using their money to send their children to college. Louisville, he felt,could not afford good standards, such as improved lots, The city has no recreation to speak of. And most of the work of running the city is done by volunteers.

I gave Mr. Polhill a pamphlet on the Southern Regional Council. Just the word 'Council' was enough to set him off. He immediately classified me as just another civil rights worker. He was hostile toward me and toward civil rights workers in general for condemning him for the sins of his grandfather. He didn't feel he was responsible for the situation of Negroes today. He said if your grandfather was a horsethief, does that make you one? He felt that the solution to race relations problems would take time. He recalled in the span of his forty years when there was once no Negro school at all, until there was a school but no busses, until finally there were enough busses to transport the pupils to the Negro school.

He said we've put the problem off as long as we could. We used to deal with Negro problems through extermination. We have practically exterminated the Indians. Short of extermination, we'll have to deal with the problem. He told how new industries in the Louisvlle area had brought integration on the job. But when it comes to the schools, he feels that is a moral problem. He would hate to see integration in the schools. Why, I asked. He said if we comply with total integration at once, the quality of education would go down. The proportion of Negroes to whites in the schools would be two to one. Negroes, he said, would set the standards.

They'll dominate the extracurricular activities. They're the best dancers, the best musicians, the best athletes, and the worst students. Polhill was concerned with Negro morals, partiuclarly the family institution. I think he was also concerned that Negroes would be very popular . He said they're so amiable, so easy-going--you read about where it ain't so, but it is--so pleasant. He felt, if the schools were integrated at once, that his eight year old daughter couldn't stand the pressure.

Polhill wondered what you can expect of city government? The small rural community, he said, can't afford such standards as subdivision regulations, building codes, paved streets, and all the utilities. I mentioned that Federal programs require as little as ten percent participation by the locality. Yes, he said, but with so many programs, Louisville has already taxed itself to the hilt.

Mr. Polhill's father spearheaded Jefferson County's Community Action Program. The elder is interested in training the poor for jobs in new industries. The younger Polhill said his family had been branded as Negger-lovers in Louisville and had been ostracized. How would you like to be branded a Negger-lover? he said. You walk into a room full of people and everyone stops talking.

Polhill felt that communication with Negro leaders is important and that informing the public is important. The era of operating in the dark is gone, he said. We've got to inform the public, so we can get public support.

Five years ago if Negroes walked into a meeting of whites, there'd have bee a riot. Now, nobody objects, but nobody greets 'em either. I was presiding at such a meeting and I wouldn't greet 'em, for selfish reasons. I beleive he was afraid of what his friends and business associates would say.

He said it was a big step putting Negroes on the advisory committee. And there'll have to be more Negroes on it before we're through, if the committee is to be representative.

Polhill says he fears the Negroes. He fears associating with them. Why do I have this fear? he asks. Why doesn't the Southern REgional Council find out why there is this fear? There must be a reason. Before we can communicate, we have to get over this fear. I figure in about two years we'll have better communitcation.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[illegible] 2-8764

The fear that Jimmy Polhill expressed about the quality of education going down when the shhools are integrated is expressed in this article by Joseph Alsop.

JOSEPH ALSOP

A Modest Proposal

WASHINGTON

The problem of the cities, in the form that it is now assuming, is the most urgent, the most difficult and the most frightening American domestic problem that has emerged in all the years of this country's history since the Civil War.

As a sort of farewell before a month's vacation, an attempt will, therefore, be made to sum up the problem, as it now stands, in a series of three reports. The only way to begin is with the terrible words of the general confession: **"We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done."**

This includes, first of all, the almost complete failure to find out and to face the hard facts of the modern urban problem. The heart of the problem of the cities is the problem of the Negro ghettos which have been flaming into riot in recent deeks.

To begin with, you cannot "end de facto segregation" in an urban school system when the entire school system is already de facto segregated. Yet some people are still mouthing this slogan here in the District of Columbia where public elementary schools are now 91 per cent Negro!

To go on with, short of a constitutional amendment, you could not even end de facto segregation by forcibly homogenizing all the schools in an urban school system that was only 30 per cent Negro. **The careful research behind the Watts report shows that any school which is forced to accept as much as 25 per cent of disadvantaged children virtually ceases to be a school;** and almost all the children of the ghettos are very seriously disadvantaged.

Race has nothing to do with the effect on the school. The school becomes worthless because the teachers are unable to carry the huge extra burden of helping their disadvantaged pupils — whether they are Negro or Mexican-American or poor white. And when the neighborhood school goes to hell in a hack, all the middle and lower-middle income families in the neighborhood simply pick up and move to the suburbs, **thereby creating another wholly segregated school.**

Since an amendment forbidding such movement is unlikely, the important thing is not to "end de facto segregation." The important thing is to provide many more teachers, and much better teachers, for all schools carrying a serious burden of disadvantaged pupils. **But there is no money to do that.** Nothing for schools, and billions upon billions for freeways and expressways that promote the white emigration to the suburbs! That has been our rule for many years, again recalling the terrible sentence from the general confession.

The result is the present situation. This situation is not generally understood, yet the new SNCC leader, Stokely Carmichael, clearly understood it well enough when he boasted to a recent Washington rally that "We'd have black power" in most of the big American cities "within six years."

Six years is too short an interval, but **school figures and population figures unanswerably indicate that most of the really major American cities are likely to have Negro majorities within the next decade, if not sooner.** This is partly because of the growth of the ghettos, but the main cause is the flight to the suburbs of virtually all white families with children of school age.

Unless present trends are reversed, in short, most of our great cities are due to become huge Negro reservations — a series of super-Watts areas! When and if that happens, "black power" will no doubt be installed in city hall. But when and if that happens, as any practical-minded man can foresee, there will be other consequences, too.

The change in the cities will not only accelerate the white movement to the suburbs until the city centers truly are reservations in the grimmest sense of that grim word. This change will also, and above all, accelerate another movement that has already begun without anyone paying much attention.

Finance and business, industry and commerce will follow the flight into the suburbs; **all the vast national investment in the centers will quite suddenly be almost worthless.** And far worse still, these city-sized super-Watts areas of the future will have hardly more resources of their own to solve their problems than the Watts district of Los Angeles has today.

If we do not change the trend, there will be no hope of integration, no hope of equality for the Negro Americans. **There will be an immense increase of the ugly race feeling that the riots have already begun to promote.** There could even be, one day, a President Verwoerd in the White House. Any effort, any expenditure, any personal or national sacrifice will be better than the thing we are threatened with, whites and Negroes together.

The Macon News. Wed. aft Aug. 3, 1966

Susan Bresler

Impressions - Macon, Ga. - August 3 to 5, 1966

Introductory remarks

I didn't spend a whole lot of time in Macon because the urban renewal program was well underway, appeared thorough and successful, and because everyone I talked to seemed pleased with the program. So, this report will mainly tell how they did it--how the urban renewal staff made the program work.

Background of community - "Macon on the Move"

Macon has 125,000 people. The city's economy is based on trade; manufacturing, particularly textiles; and nearby Robins Air Force Base. Mayor Merritt is a full-time mayor. He's a self-sufficient businessman. He was progressive two terms ago but evidently didn't start off close enough to the people. Wilson defeated Merritt, then proceeded to carry out Merritt's ideas. Now Merritt is back in office, closer to the people, and continuing progressive leadership.

To show you what I mean by progressive, Merritt recently got a public housing project through that will be located right between white and Negro neighborhoods. All the existing public housing projects are segregated. This project has a good chance of being integrated.

Mayor Merritt is also chairman of the local Community Action board. Negro leader Lewis Wynne gives the mayor most of the credit for the City's progressive outlook. I think this forward-looking attitude influenced the urban renewal program.

Organization of the Negro community

The Bibb County Co-ordinating Committee is the local voter's league. This group and NAACP work together closely. Lewis Wynne and Bill Randall are in several businesses together. One of them is the Macon Weekly that Bill Randall edits. The paper told of local ministers picketing the supermarkets until the stores agreed to employ Negroes and to employ them in supervisory positions. The picketing (and boycott) were successful. Both Randall and Wynne are on the Community Action board.

Urban Renewal

Macon has three urban renewal projects: Tybee, Ocmulgee, and Coliseum. Tybee is about completed. The area is next to existing industry and was cleared for industrial reuse. The city wanted to put in public housing so the people living there could be close to their jobs. But PHA and FHA wouldn't allow public housing adjacent to industry.

Coliseum project involves clearance for a coliseum, stadium, office park, and shopping areas. A hundred families have been relocated into standard housing. Ocmulgee project will be for residential reuse and public housing.

Assets

Three important conditions have contributed to Macon's urban renewal program: One that I've already mentioned is the progressive mayor. I forgot to say earlier that the mayor set up an active bi-racial committee; he cooperates with Negro leaders. A second important condition has been the contacts

of the urban renewal staff with other public agencies. Mrs. Mary Asbell, now the Social Services Coordinator, used to work for the housing authority--the housing authority used to be the Local Public Agency that carried on urban renewal in Macon--and for the county welfare department. Before relocation began, Mrs. Asbell went around to all the public agencies and told them she would be relocating people and would need to refer them to the public agencies for help: to the welfare department for food stamps and medicare, to the health department for family planning, to the Georgia State Employment Service for jobs and vocational rehabilitation. Mrs. Asbell says, "When people understand what you're doing, they usually cooperate."

The third important condition that contributed to Macon's urban renewal program was informal coordination of the urban renewal staff with the Community Action Program. In fact, the urban renewal staff helped organize the anti-poverty program. So, while the urban renewal staff relocates people, the staff looks for children to put in the Headstart program. A staff relocation worker set up adult classes right in the urban renewal site office. And neighborhood youth corps workers help relocate people and help out in the site offices.

In addition, the renewal staff cooperates with the Rescue Mission, the Salvation Army, and even the Boy Scouts. The staff is interested in starting a clothing bank in the fall. On the citizens advisory committe, a welfare committee, composed of Negroes, appeals to Negro organizations at Christmas times to give gifts and toys to needy families. I read some case studies in the renewal office of people the staff had worked with in relocating. You could see from their stories how many people responded to the efforts of the renewal staff, not only because they were getting help, but also because they were getting attention.

Liabilities

There isn't enough standard, moderately-priced housing for Negroes in Macon. The relocation staff has been able to relocate families successfully so far, but the task is becoming more difficult. In its estimate of housing available to displaced families, the Urban Renewal Department reported 420 rental units to middle income white families; 100 rental units to middle income Nonwhite families; 375 sales units to middle income white families; but only 70 sales units to middle income Nonwhite families in Macon.

There has been no organization of or participation by the residents of the renewal areas in the urban renewal program or plans. At the same time, the residents have misunderstood the program, and the job of relocation has been difficult and time-consuming. Also, there is no 222(d)3 housing in Macon. I think if the people in the renewal neighborhoods had taken part in the renewal program, the job of relocation would have been easier. Also, the need for moderately priced housing might have been pointed out better; 221(d)3 housing might have come into the program.

Finally, the relocation workers felt unprepared for their work; they had to learn on the job. David Lucas, the relocation officer I talked to, said he wished there were a state organization

of relocation workers who could get together, discuss their problems, and share solutions. One thing he said he had to learn was to stop and talk to people in the renewal area as he saw them on the street. Then they would be more receptive when he came to their homes.

Related problems

The anti-poverty program in Bibb County has been slow in getting started and even slower in setting up the most important part of the anti-poverty program, the neighborhood centers. Dave Lucas says if the neighborhood centers had been operating and had provided child care services, his staff would have been able to get many more people to attend the adult classes. But as it was, there was no way for these people to take care of their children while they were attending class.

Finally, there's the school desegregation problem. Things have been moving very slowly. The Board of Education, a self-perpetuating and autonomous body, is now acting under a court order.

Role of SRC

I think Southern Regional Council's main role in regard to Macon is to report on what the Urban Renewal Department has done and tell other communities about it.

We could experiment with distributing literature to community leaders and to renewal neighborhood leaders. The literature would tell in simple language what is involved in an urban renewal project.

Conclusions

Rent subsidy

Here are some new reasons for having the rent subsidy: 1) Some people can't even afford the $21 minimum per month for public housing. These are people over 40 who can't pass examinations to get work to supplement their fixed incomes. Their I.Q. is too low, and their only income might be social security or welfare. 2) A rent subsidy could be used to fill the gap between the time a family lives in public housing and the time they are financially able to own their own home.

Consultant to the residents of the renewal neighborhood

One thing this consultant could do is give people in the renewal area advice on negotiating for their properties.

Block groups and neighborhood organizations

Dave Lucas, the Relocation Specialist, felt block groups would help in discussing problems. He said at least once a month, meeting with a neighborhood organization would help; people in the community don't know much about urban renewal--that's the answer to a lot of questions

Susan Bresler
August 17, 1966

Conferences with Ed Stodgill,
Hugh Lasseter,
and Bill Holland
at OEO.

At the suggestion of Dennis Carr of HUD, I visited Ed Stodgill, Intergroup Relations Officer, at OEO, to find out about the Community Action Programs (CAP's) in four of my six cities. He sent me to see the people who cover Louisville, Corinth, Macon, and Birmingham.

I talked to Hugh Lasseter about Louisville, Ga., and Macon, Ga. Louisville (Jefferson County) is just getting its CAP started. Macon's (Bibb County) CAP has been moving very slowly: there are still nowneighborhood centers. Mr. Lasseter thinks the CAP staff director has been reluctant to push new programs in Macon.

Bill Zearden, the person I would have seen about Corinth, was out of town. I talked to Bill Holland instead. He didn't know anything about Corinth.

I made an appointment to see Jim May about Birmingham. He got tied up in a meeting and couldn't make the appointment.

So far, I haven't gotten too much out of OEO.

Susan Bresler

Impressions - Corinth, Miss. - August 21 to 23, 1966

Background-Corinth

Corinth has been a go-getter for Federal programs (over 4 1/2 million dollars' worth approved between 1962 and 1966) and has conceived of community improvement on a broad and comprehensive scale: housing, job training, education, watershed development, and much more.

Why this little city of 15,000 in the poorest section of Mississippi? Two reasons: 1) ambitious Troy Norris. He lives in Corinth because his wife is from there and she doesn't want to move. Norris is about to get a Federal appointment. 2) The Federal government was, at one point, close to cutting off all aid to Mississippi. Federal agencies were eager to push their programs in a Mississippi town. Through Troy Norris they could do it.

Related to Sparkman

Corinth was once written up in the Birmingham News as "Little Chicago." It seems that the gamblers and strip show operators that were cleaned out of Phenix City, Alabama, migrated to Corinth. Alcorn County is one of six Mississippi counties that voted to remain dry in a local referendum. Bootlegging is a local industry.

The city has managed to attract some manufacturing industry in recent years. But driving into the downtown business section, Corinth looks like a sleepy little town. The buildings are old and several are vacant.

Organization of the Negro community

Corinth is 13% Negro. There is no local civil rights organization. But some local Negroes are affiliated with the state NAACP. Among them, high school principal E.S. Bishop.

Prof. Bishop acts in the old-line Negro leader manner: quiet, polite, continuous. To his credit are two Negroes on the city police force, a Negro secretary hired by the Urban Renewal Agency, recreation facilities for Negroes, and most of the 65 Negroes employed by ITT-Kellogg. (The company has a total of 870 employees and must comply with FEPC fair employment practices. The personnel manager boasts of the company's integrated office parties.)*

Prof. Bishop also gets the credit for keeping militant civil rights activities out of Corinth. Bishop and a few other influential Negroes are regularly chosen by white leaders to serve on committees dealing with minority problems.

A small group of Negroes, led by Robert U. Jones, voice impatient objections against Bishop. They feel Bishop is an Uncle Tom. They feel Bishop is not doing as much as he could. Perhaps he's not. Perhaps Bishop thinks more rapid integration would weaken his powerful position in the Negro community. But I don't think so. Certainly, Bishop has kept communication with white leaders open.

Urban Renewal

Corinth's urban renewal project had only one unpaved street. Houses had electricity and some had gas.

In a nearby neighborhood, 16 units of 221(d)3 housing sparked a revitalization of home maintainance and repair.

Here are Prof. Bishop's comments on urban renewal: Develop new housing first; don't relocate people into what could become another slum. Why couldn't Negroes be relocated into white neighborhoods of comparable income and education? Why couldn't Negroes move into white public housing? I see no reason why this couldn't be done. I wouldn't like to see any more public housing built. Negroes have more difficulty than whites in finding good housing and in finding good locations for housing.

There should be a Negro on the urban renewal board.

A subcommittee on minority housing is by definition isolated. Minority members and problems should be part of the whole citizens advisory committee. (The subcommittee on minority housing did not meet with the rest of the citizens advisory committee.)

The subcommittee needed better techniques to get the renewal area residents to participate; newspaper announcements, telephone calls, and personal contacts were not enough.

Here are Robert U. Jones'comments on urban renewal: The mayor wanted to subdivide some property near the sewage treatment area. Jones says the area was unsuitable. Bishop told him the decision was final, Jones says. And this was misleading and not true. This land was supposedly bait to get the mayor interested in urban renewal.

James Billingsley, Neighborhood Youth Corps Director, says he lives in the area where the mayor owns property and the land was suitable. The site is near sewage lagoons.

Jones says Troy Norris said his (Norris') parents would live there. They were sharecroppers and this suited their living standards. Jones feels Norris applies this standard to Negroes.

Jones says the urban renewal project was intended to take the land away from Negro residents and businessmen and crowd them into the Easom High School (Prof. Bishop's school) area. And that the project was a way to expand downtown business; Jim Billingsley agrees on this point. But he says Negroes have relocated into other areas of the city.

Jones says if the residents of the renewal area could move back into the area, he would have no complaints. He felt one unfortunate aspect of renewal was that older people with limited incomes were forced to go into debt on a new home.

Jones' main grievance is the subcommittee on minority housing. He says they're hand picked and they are the ones the whites always pick because they are cooperative. Besides, Jones had personal differences with E.S. Bishop. So, instead of taking his grievances to the subcommittee first, Jones wrote letters complaining to Federal officials.

Here are Thomas Coleman, Urban Renewal Director's, comments on the project: I wouldn't put public housing in an urban renewal project. It was too hard to relocate people. Some couhldn't even afford public housing. Several people don't like public housing, possibly, Coleman says, because Corinth's public housing isn't well maintained or the relocatees wouldn't want to live next to the people now living in public housing. In other cities, he says, people consider it an honor to get into public housing.

And here are the mayor's comments on urban renewal: I wish

we'd had a Community Renewal Program before we went into the urban renewal project. For one thing, the project was total clearance. Now we know we could have rehabilitated some of the houses. We didn't have enough public housing to relocate people into. We made a financial commitment that's going to tie us up for several years. The project caused a temporary inflation in our small town real estate market: prices of property and homes went up. And people didn't know about all the programs that were available to provide decent housing.

Related programs

Seven months after Corinth got its Federal funds for the urban renewal project, the City got a Community Renewal Program (CRP) funded. Now, a CRP is usually a study of all the slums and blight in a community and the use of various Federal programs to alleviate blight. So the City's CRP proposal touched on home ownership for low income families, 221(d)3 housing, and an urban renewal booklet. But, in addition, the CRP proposal dealt with citizenship education, vocational training, regional planning and economic growth, school attendance, civil defense, soil conservation, waterway improvement, and support of the President's anti-poverty program before it was legislated.

The Urban Renewal Commission, headed by Troy Norris, was ready for the anti-poverty program and Corinth was one of the first ten cities in the country to be funded. This was before OEO guidelines came out. After the guidelines, the administering agency, called the Northeast Mississippi Economic Commission was to have acceptable representatives from each of the counties involved. The NMEC was reformed several times but never met OEO requirements. A year after it was funded, Corinth's anti-poverty program was closed.

In the meantime, a group called Corinth Community Development, Inc., also headed by Troy Norris, formed the nonprofit sponsoring agency to borrow and dispense funds for the 221(d)3 housing. This group also handled Neighborhood Youth Corps funds. These funds made it possible to buy the cars the NYC and the Urban Renewal Agency use. The cars have Northeast Mississippi Economic Commission written on the doors. Yet, the NMEC never functioned and, for all practical purposes, never existed. This part is all very confusing to me. And I'm not sure if I have it right. The Demonstration report doesn't explain it. It just says all the programs were coordinated through the Urban Renewal Commission. (What it means is Troy Norris). NYC funds also made possible a fiscal management office with data processing equipment for NYC enrollee payroll checks and records.

Has Corinth made progress?
Toward integration?

The tie-in with further Federal programs and their benefits has put pressure on local agencies to comply with the law. The Urban Renewal Agency hired a Negro relocation specialist and

a Negro secretary. The Neighborhood Youth Corps hired a Negro director; half the enrollees were Negro students. The state employment division was involved with NYC, Manpower (MDTA), and On-the-Job training. All these programs required integrated staff operations. The Head Start program integrated at least one school. But the school board is having difficulties.

Yet, the public housing is still segregated. Though the housing pattern in the city is integrated overall, housing is segregated on a block by block basis. The school faculties have not integrated. Parks are still segregated.

Toward minority representation?

Representatives on minority committees are still hand picked. One encouraging sign is a Negro running for City Council. I would say that white leaders still have to be pushed for every inch the Negro is to gain toward equal opportunity.

Toward uplifting people from poverty?

The NYC has helped students remain in high school and has helped dropouts return. Work-study has helped some go on to college. On-the-job training and Manpower development training programs have provided people with work skills. Work experience has helped hard-core unemployable adults. Head Start has given motivation to youngsters before they enter school. Corinth's new industry has provided new jobs.

Toward coordinated efforts at community improvement?

How much Corinth's programs were coordinated for the individual being relocated from the urban renewal project, I don't know. Certainly, Corinth's programs were coordinated from an administrative standpoint. If Corinth's Community Action Program had been refunded, it would have provided for home management aides. These are women from the poor neighborhoods who learn to help others with homemaking. They perhaps could have also helped bring about greater participation of the residents. But when OEO did make another grant recently, it was for a Federal coordinator. Sounds like more administrative coordination.

Toward more progressive government in M ississippi?

Neighboring counties say, we need these programs: work experience, Youth Corps, Head Start. Fears of Federal control have subsided. Integration is not impossible. School principals and mayors recognize their problems of poverty and know they can do something about it. Corinth has served its purpose well of setting an example for other communities.

Two of Corinth's greatest assets are also its handicaps.

Norris, in his eagerness to push programs through and set an example in Corinth, operated not so much by informing and educating community officials and leaders, as by confusing them. So that they would leave things up to him and rely on his judgment. In this he was successful. Norris says local officals "backed off," when it came to handling programs. I think Norris confused them, and while they were trying to figure out what was going on, he forged ahead. In view of local attitudes toward Federal funds and toward urban renewal at the time, maybe this was the only way he could have done it.

The Federal government was more interested in opening up

Mississippi for Federal programs, than in the people of Corinth. Once the programs were in the state, the Federal government was eager to cut Corinth off. But then, relations between the Federal government and Mississippi were so bad,that maybe this was the best Corinth could do under the circumstances.

* The branch manager admits ITT is not doing as much as it could toward equal opportunity. He complains of his problems with poor whites who have poor housekeeping habits. All of his Negroes, he says, are clean.

Susan Bresler

Impressions-Birmingham-January 22-25, 1967

Background-Birmingham

I have as little background as anyone on the unhappy history of Birmingham. But even the newcomer couldn't miss the rows of small crowded shacks edging the city's industrial areas. And from any high place, see the puffing chimneys and smoky skies. Industries own vast tracts of land in and around the city.

Business must be good: Six new skyscrapers are going up, one of them a construction company, one a gas company. I sometimes think skyscrapers tend to make a city conscious (or guilty) of its image. At any rate, I heard someone here in the office saying Birmingham is now hiring a public relations firm to improve its image.

The mayor's assistant, who doubles as a public relations director, W.C. Hamilton, boasted that Birmingham has no suit with the Department of Justice on Title VII or Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. He says before the act was signed, the city had distributed explanatory pamphlets to 6000 businessmen.

Hamilton complained that Negroes are not meeting up to their responsibilities because, when job training schools were suddenly opened to Negroes, they didn't come flocking to the doors. "Negro leaders have a responsibility to get the children to train for the newly open jobs and go after them."

Hamilton boasted of a 10 day seminar held in Birmingham for labor unions, employers, and Negro leaders. The rate of Negro improvement in income and education is faster than the whites'. "The root of the problem," Hamilton feels, "is the economic competition of unskilled white and Negro laborers." Later he says, "Income has very little to do with acceptibility," and, "You'd have trouble in hgiher priced apartments if Negroes moved in." That sounds inconsistent to me, I don't know about you.

Hamilton says the Negro community doesn't want integrated housing, only a place to live. Later, he mentioned neighborhoods in the city that were integrated. He mentioned that, under the freedom of choice plan, schoolchildren didn't apply to other schools, that they had merely wanted the right. Was there intimidation, I asked? Oh, no we didn't have any intimidation here.

Finally, I was to be taught that A.G. Gaston, Negro millionaire, based his business on segregation because he never sold insurance to whites.

Oh, yes, and just to cap things off, we have an explanation from Mr. Hamilton on why the public housing is still completely segregated. The problem, of course, comes from no demands by Negroes to move into white public housing or white neighborhoods. How about that!

Organization of the Negro community

What Negro community? What organization? That is not to say that neither exists, but I had trouble putting my finger on anything.

Vincent Mazzara, a white man who builds predominantly for Negroes, felt that A.G. Gaston, the millionaire, and John Drew, in real estate, would emerge as the rightful leaders of the Negro community in Birmingham. These two organized the Park West

urban renewal project, which I'll mention later.

Dr. John Nixon, head of NAACP in Birmingham and Alabama, says he's preparing to launch demonstrations against segregated public housing and against discrimination in urban renewal relocation practices. Wilbur Hollins, newly employed in relocation, devotes his free time, in the face of failing health, to voter registration. Birmingham is 35-40% Negro, but Negroes comprise only 20-25% of the voters. He says everytime he gets some Negroes registered, the whites try to register more. The Jefferson County Democratic Party is integrated. With the last elections of precinct committeemen, Hollins says, young people are in control.

Availability of mortgage financing evidently hasn't been a problem in the past ten years. Negroes were able to interest the Masons, with their assets of 8 to 10 million dollars, to make some investment in mortgage lending. Then, once the Negro insurance company got into the act, the white lenders took note of the market and made their mortgage money available to Negroes.

Wilbur Hollins became the first Negro on a Birmingham commission two years ago, when he was appointed to the planning commission. The only other Negro on a commission is Arthur Shores, who is on the public housing and urban renewal (one) commission. The mayor's advisory committee on relocation includes three Negroes.

Public housing and urban renewal

Of 5527 public housing units in Birmingham, 2270 are white, the remaining Negro. There are no integrated units; there have been no applicants of whites for Negro projects or Negro applicants for white projects. If there were? "We won't break any Federal law," says deputy director George Davis, once a tenant of public housing himself many, many years ago.

The smallest project in Birmingham is 200 units, the largest 910. One application office is entirely Negro-staffed. The other office is white except for the printer and a Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollee.

Community services for public housing tenants appear all-inclusive: kinderkarten for all the children (none is offered in city schools); day care; recreation; classes in sewing, ceramics, Bible, adult literacy, nutrition and kitchen care (in model kitchens), planned parenthood, and health and safety. There is a mobile library that makes the rounds of the 9 projects. Also, public health nurses and a visiting teacher. The community buildings for each project are leased to and run by the Park Board, YWCA, Methodist Board of Missions, Birmingham Baptist Association, and Community Chest.

The medical center and civic center urban renewal projects are presently involved with relocation. "Attitudes of separate housing prevail," says Wilbur Hollins, relocation director. Whites are still relocated into white neighborhoods; Negroes, into Negro neighborhoods. Standard relocation housing is supposed to be offered. But minimal standards are used and these may be liberally interpreted, which means people are perhaps being moved to other slums, which would be nothing new in Birmingham.

A.G. Gaston and John Drew formed the Park West committee, took their total clearance proposal to the mayor, and got their project moved from number 50+ to number 3. The goal of the project, I think is to build new moderate cost housing on low cost land.

"Operation Pride" is a code enforcement project, Federally-

aided. It's supposed to be the first of its kind, providing low cost loans and grants for building repairs. But there is a problem with state legislation preventing the city from turning over Federal relocation money (to move people from condemned buildings) to the city health department to dispense the money. The project is just starting. No loans have been made yet.

Code enforcement elsewhere in the city focuses on about 14 areas, 10 of them the city's worst areas (rental) and 4 areas that are about to decline. Real estate agents have been cooperative, says Dale Richards, Chief Housing Inspector. Where there is no agent, the city can condemn and vacate the property. The biggest problem is that retired and other people on fixed incomes can't afford the repairs. In such cases, Richards says, he extends their time limits for meeting the city codes.

A Federal requirement now puts relocation site offices in urban renewal areas a year before property acquisition begins. The local community action agency (War on Poverty), which is 50-50 white and Negro in Jefferson County, is supposed to coordinate its programs with the relocation site offices, also a Federal requirement. They have been in contact, by mail.

Much in the news and on the lips of Birmingham citizens have been the recent elections in 16 neighborhoods of advisory councils, which, in turn, choose representatives to the Jefferson County community action agency, called the Committee for Economic Opportunity. The 16 neighborhoods are target azeas of disadvantaged people. Their representatives will make up the required 1/3 representation of the poor on the anti-poverty board. Jim Wright, Birmingham's Planning Director, called the neighborhood elections "the blind leading blind." He was equally unperceptive of local matters relating to the poor and to Negroes. Aaugh!

Biracial participation in anti-poverty meetings was the first interracial contact for citizens from such communities as Adamsville, Leeds, Warrior, Trussville, and Bessemer. So says the anti-poverty director, a Mr. Carr, graduate of N.Y.U. School of Social Work and formerly the Duane Beck of Birmingham.

Last year the school board wouldn't let Head Start children go to integrated or to white schools. So, Negro schools and churches were used. But the faculty and teacher's aides, for the first time were more than 1/3 white. The archbishop has given permission for the use of Catholic schools for the coming year.

There are 500 out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees, 75% of them Negro, working in biracial teams for city departments.

At the day care center in a Negro area, high income white children are brought from across town, since low income white parents won't send their children there.

Carr says his is probably the most integrated office in the city. (It is.)

Most of the city's vacant land is owned by industry. The housing authority has difficulty finding sites to build on. Land in more outlying areas is more difficult to build on, topographically, not to mention its inaccessibility. And the city doesn't seem interested in writing down the cost of renewal sites for builders of moderate cost housing.

Presently, the housing authority wants to build 1000 new units to help meet future relocation needs. The homebuilders are opposed, saying they could build housing just as durable, cheaper, and more

attractive if the city would just provide the low priced land.

Vincent Mazzara is among these homebuilders. He says he knows of sponsors who are interested in 221(d)(3) using rent supplements. He said the 16th St. Baptist Church (the one that was bombed) is interested sponsoring 300 units.

Mazzara feels that Negroes in the Birmingham area need their jobs upgraded. He says slum dwellers need training in how to keep up housing. He thinks big plants should be sold on the idea that better housing can mean better employees. The plants, after all, have the money and the land to put up housing.

He says there have been a few tests by Negroes of moving into white neighborhoods, but that, otherwise, Negroes prefer Negro neighborhoods.

Went to see Orzell Billingsley. He told me how he helped a group of people in Huntsville get $1000 and more increase on the offers for their homes in an urban renewal area. His share of the increase was 1/2 to 1/3.

Conclusions

There is a cycle of attitudes in Birmingham that feeds back on itself to the assured detriment of ever providing good housing eqally available to all. This despite the mayor and council's stated goal of "a decent, safe and sanitary home for every citizen." The cycle begins with a lack of commitment, a tokenism in the attitudes of city officials: Housing authority administrators still point to all Negro projects when suggesting possible choices for Negro applicants. W.C. Hamilton has produced a booklet on the government of the city of Birmingham that is to be distributed to school libraries and made available for purchase. And possibly the school board will offer a course, using the booklet. But the booklet is mechanical, slanted, verbose, and dull. A token effort in the face of a critical need.

Code enforcement is understaffed and underfunded. Code enforcement officials take no interest related programs or the related needs of families living in substandard housing. Relocation is an afterthought program, not geared to first providing the housing, but rather, geared to first getting the urban renewal land. Low cost housing programs outside of public housing haven't even been investigated by the city.

The result of this lack of commitment is most assuredly a lack of information on housing issues. And with this lack of information, the taxpayer feels he doesn't want to subsidize somebody else with a housing program. And with this lack of understanding, we get right back to a lack of commitment all over again.

The role of the Federal government can be seen very clearly in Birmingham. Were it not for the Workable Program requirement, the city's code enforcement program that began in 1958 would probably not exist. The absence of Federal policy can also be seen. It explains why the public housing is still segregated.

Finally, better housing, neighborhoods, and communities require so much education that the average citizen, much less the average school student, never gets. Who understands zoning? Who's ever heard of many of the Federal programs, much less knows how

they work?

You don't pick up these things on your own any more than you pick up good driver training, except by sheer luck. Most of us live in cities these days and pay taxes to support the city services we depend on. Yet, we so little understand how our city operates. Is it any wonder we have slums, traffic problems, and smog, when most of our ideas and information about city living come from tv commercials and magazine ads!

RALPH McGILL

Journal 5/1

McGILL

An Essay On 'Speaking Out'

Demands that the President "speak out" against slum riots are part of the explanation of why these dreadful, grievous riots occur. They are not race riots. They are triggered by the most routine and trivial incidents — a policeman, for example, cuts off a fire hydrant where kids frolic in and out of the spray on a desperate, hot day when the pavement is soft from heat and there is no escape from it. Shoving and pushing begins. A riot develops in which men and kids are hurt. (Politicians who ask that the President speak out are, of course, seeking to divert attention from their own failures and to make the President the whipping boy. They really know better.)

Editors, ministers, laymen, and politicians angrily demand that those in authority "speak out," that the police and judges "get tougher." This is a sad and immature suggestion. It is an old, even illogical response to an old and ugly situation that demands a creative answer.

Tough Crackdowns

Ministers have been speaking out against sin for generations. There have been tough crackdowns on crime and sin. Heaven alone knows how many persons have "spoken out" against various forms of immorality and corruption. Prisons and jails are as crowded as our mental institutions. For years we have needed a new response to these problems. It has not been made.

No matter who "speaks out," or how "tough" the judges and police man become, the slums remain. The people are there. They are what they were. They are what they are. Their condition is what it was. Their condition is what it is.

They are human beings. Neither they nor their condi-

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Ralph McGill

An Essay On 'Speaking Out'

Continued from Page 1

tion will be changed by "speaking out" or filling the jails.

There has been a lot of speaking out — and very little of doing. There is no surprise in the coming of the riots. There is a sadness in their violence. The damage done is confined largely to the Negro residents—their persons and their belongings. There is a certain madness in the riots. And they, of course, solve nothing. They are as much an immaturity as is the policy that asks that there be a "speaking out" instead of action against the fact of slums and their conditions. One cannot in any sense condone the disorders and violence. But one can comprehend that until there is positive, remedial action the powder will lie there, ready to be ignited.

Conditions

That some of the riots are used by organizations of dubious intent and purpose is likely true. But, still, they could not if reused conditions were not what they are.

Other cities, South and North, are vulnerable. As of this writing, for example, one could expect Jacksonville to have trouble. There are, in that city, desperate conditions, long neglected. There has been much "speaking out" and "tough" law enforcement by segregationist political power.

Atlanta has one slum situation where, despite a beginning of alleviation of conditions, rival factions seem to be trying to create demonstrations. Yet, it is a piece of folly to ignore the fact that in all slum riots where organizations are accused, they could not act if conditions were not what they are.

Neither "speaking out," "getting tough with police," "the courts," nor calling out the guard can produce more than a temporary stillness. The people, their awful living conditions, will remain.

Those whose only answer is "speaking out" and getting tough encourage violence and give strength to the very organizations they deplore.

It should be plain that the cost of really doing what must be done about slums is less than years of riots, but apparently it is not. Too many wish merely to "speak out."

WASHINGTON - Notes for the file

1. In one of your publications that was sent me you said your two key problems were real estate agents and the public schools. How have these problems been handled over the years, especially the schools?

   Washington has found, as has everyone, that the real estate agents are perhaps the most difficult to deal with, and the findings are not any different from what we have heard before. They were able to have a great deal of effect by assembling evidence against one particular agent and making a charge about him to the governing board of the real estate agents who put him on probation with a warning. After that Neighbors, Inc. didn't have as many blatant promotions of blockbusting. It was rather interesting to note that Mrs. Ware felt that the school problem was the most difficult for for this is a continuing matter, always needing attention , to upgrade schools. The main problem in schools comes at the junior high level because of prejudices concerning socializing of the sexes which starts at this age. They help in these particular problems by having the principal of the junior high send one or more people to each of the elementary schools to prepare the students for the transition to the junior high school and attendant problems. Washington Neighbors, Inc. also has a monthly meeting of their education committee at which the principal of a school attends, and they work out a constructive program approach including support of the budget for the schools and the D. C. government. In all of the problems, Washington Neighbors, Inc. use the newsletter to set forth everything favorable that is happening in the neighborhood. Neighbors have also had a "rumor clinic" in their newsletter in which they investigated all rumors and gave facts. Neighbors found that the average person does not take the trouble to ascertain the difference between fact and fiction.

2. What are the continuing programs at NI; what have they to offer;' how are they staffed?

   In the literature all of the continuing programs are included in the listing of committees. The staffing problem seems to be mainly a matter of finance and conviction by the governing board as to the particular needs at the time. At present they have less staff than they did the two previous years.

3. How many are on your professional staff? What are their functions and the services they offer?

   They have had two professional members of the staff in the past and only have one at the present time who is Mrs. Ware. She is a sociologist by training. I believe she feels she needs a professional community organizer now as well as a professional office manager or business manager.

4. Where does the money come from for your budget, especially foundation grants? What sort of proposals are sent in and to whom?

   The Meyers Foundation originally gave NI $28,000 for three years and matched $3,000 in addition later. At the present time NI have produced approximately $4,500 from the Art and Book Festival, membership and some larger donations. Getting the money becomes increasingly difficult year by year.

5. Have you ever had an Eleanor Roosevelt NAIRO intern?

   Yes, and they found him very successful.

6. How is the budget at this time? I noticed in your 1963 Annual Report that you had a deficit.

   When the 1965 Annual Report is completed, they will mail us a copy.

7. Have you maintained community interest and concern over the years? How? If not, where do you diagnose the trouble to lie?

   NI have maintained community interest by keeping the needs up to date, keeping aware of what the people need, what concerned parents and other people in the neighborhood are interested in at the particular time. NI also keeps junior high students occupied with hayrides and parties and visits to other parts of the community; they also have choral groups and these activities have the participation and support of interested parents. In the future the stress will be more on community development because Mrs. Ware feels they have gone to this particular stage in their development. NI has an effective help by the Conference of Clergy, both Negro and white, and excellent help by an extremely able superintendent of the junior high. Their help in other areas of the city and in neighboring Maryland and Virginia has developed a pride of accomplishment in this particular neighborhood. They have used the method of visiting people who have prestige and improving the prestige of the neighborhood and associating themselves with the prestige needs of the metropolitan area of Washington, D. C.

Miss Breslin

Wismer, Tenn Council

Please fill me in

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40208

URBAN STUDIES CENTER

August 23, 1966

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Mr. Moreland Griffith Smith
Director, Urban Planning Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your kind letter of welcome of July 19, 1966. While the announcement of my appointment was made over a month ago, I assumed my new duties only this past week. Your letter made my arrival a bit more comfortable.

It will be a little while before plans for the Urban Studies Center take clear form. Meanwhile, I would appreciate any additional material that may emerge from your Urban Planning Project. I suspect the "New South" would also help us obtain a better perspective.

I will let you know of any trips to Atlanta, and hope that you will do the same about trips to Louisville, or to any national professional meetings we might both attend.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph F. Maloney

Joseph F. Maloney
Director

JFM:bmr

Res: (502) 459-6461

Mr. & Mrs. Weissner

Ten Council

Nashville

(615)
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urban league

Pulaski, Ten.

legal advice

pilot project -
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Feb. 8 NLP

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Housing Opportunities in Southern Cities*

Take a handful of Southern cities, an industrial giant, a rural county seat, a tourist town, a trade center; take one with a scarcity of land, one with plenty; take one city with lots of revenue, one with little; take one city with good race relations, one with bad. Take a handful of Southern cities and look at the housing. What do you see?

You see ugly, segregated public housing. There's never enough of it for all the people who can't afford decent shelter, whether you're in a ~~the~~ city that is wealthy or poor. The bland but safe structures you see are ~~It's~~ a seeming gesture for the Negroes who can't find jobs because of discrimination, whether industry abounds in that city or is lacking. Public housing is a gesture for the elderly ~~famil~~ on fixed incomes, whether or not you're in a city with ~~there is~~ ample land ~~in the city or not~~, for private builders aren't interested in building low-cost housing. It's a gesture for the families who don't mind having their apartments inspected or taking a day from work to have their incomes recertified, whether you're in a ~~or not~~ ~~the~~ city that can afford to hire employees to handle administration more humanely. Public housing is ~~It's~~ a gesture for the mothers and children who don't mind being isolated from the rest of the community and the fathers who have to move their families out when their income gets too high. There is a certain sameness of housing opportunities in this handful of such diverse Southern cities.

You see urban renewal projects that relocate families into segregated neighborhoods that, if not slums already, are about to become slums. Sometimes the houses families move to are worse than the ones they left. The urban renewal you see isn't a low-cost housing program; it's a business expansion program or a ~~site for a~~ civic center site or a land cost write-down for middle and upper income housing. If a

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*This article may be just as appropriate for Northern cities, the main difference being that the history of racial discrimination is more obvious in the South than in the North.

project gets proposed that will rehabilitate a neighborhood for the families living there, the project gets defeated in a bond issue referendum, whether you're in a prosperous city ~~or one~~ with limited revenue or one that is prosperous

In this handful of Southern cities, you see general planning that finances new airports and industrial parks but that ~~kind~~ can't find funds in its budget to put sewers in the Negro neighborhoods or pick up the garbage ~~there~~ ~~and junk~~ ~~cars~~ there. You see code enforcement that hits impoverished homeowners who can't get financing for improvements and that ignores the tenants subject to the whims of slum landlords. You see zoning that protects the wealthier subdivisions but ignores the poorer neighborhoods.

There's one thing you don't see in this handful of Southern cities: enough standard low-cost ~~private~~ either public or private housing, Cities don't write down the cost of urban renewal land for private builders of low and moderate cost housing. Cities don't teach people who've never bought a home how to save their equity or how to guard aganist slick-operating contractors. Cities don't encourage private builders or nonprofit sponsors to take advantage of the Federal aid programs that already exist for providing low and moderate cost housing.

Federal officials don't review and evaluate housing and renewal plans for their impact on minority groups. They don't urge integration in public housing or in relocation. Sometimes they speak a language that city folks can't understand. Federal officials deal with the Federal programs to suit Federal agencies, whether or not ~~they~~ the programs fit the needs of the cities. Congressional hearings dwell endlessly on the need to find talented people in a county that abounds in human resources.

State officials add to the red tape, instead of helping cities get through it. Some ~~of them~~ states, for example, have laws to stop certain Federal aid programs altogether. But the states don't have laws to control unscrupulous landlords or to tax them on ~~the basis of~~ their high-profit rental income ~~from rentals instead of the~~ rather than their low-value, ~~but high profit~~ ~~deteriorated~~ dilapidated property.

Cities resist sharing in by organizing land, loans, builders, equity, home maintenance, education and property tax, trans, needs of low-income families.

City officials don't have a genuine commitment to the housing needs of their citizens. Citizens themselves are not fully aware of the problems nor are they informed about housing programs. Housing opportunities look bleak in this handful of Southern cities.

What can you do about housing? ~~should be done~~ At the Federal level, urge Congress ~~should~~ to authorize wholeheartedly its long neglected role of research in low cost private housing. Insist that the research should be published and widely distributed to home-builders and nonprofit sponsors. Require that no public housing projects ~~should~~ be approved that will contribute to segregated living, by unit or by neighborhood. Seek more funds ~~should be available~~ for good architectural standards and have public housing building requirements ~~should be~~ streamlined and brought up to date to reduce unit costs. Urge ~~to~~ Rent supplements ~~should be available to~~ for families and individuals who can't afford the minimum rent in public housing.

Urge Congress to approve only those urban renewal clearance projects ~~should~~ that begin with a low-and-moderate-cost housing building program. See that New housing units for relocated families ~~should be~~ are convenient to jobs and transportation for ~~these~~ families.

Require Plans for urban renewal, public housing, and general planning ~~should~~ to be reviewed by Federal agencies for their impact on minority groups. And see that any city receiving Federal funds for housing, planning, or renewal funds ~~should~~ has a full-time staff to keep abreast of Federal programs and make the Federal programs known to local citizens.

Insist that information put out by Federal agencies and officials, both written and spoken, is in language that you, the ~~average~~ can citizen, can understand and use easily. Require ~~the~~ Federal agencies to prepare educational materials on Federal programs that you use in your community for adults and school children as well.

Where programs don't fit the needs of your community, urge your Congressmen to make these programs flexible.

At the state level, urge your state government to engage in statewide planning to build a framework in which each community will grow. ~~Should your~~ State agencies are in a strategic position to guide the growth of communities ~~through~~ by controlling ~~such decisions~~ ~~the~~ investments ~~development~~ ~~obtaine~~ in highways, parks, industry, and educational institutions. ~~Second best, insist on ample professional assistance~~ See that your state laws do not prevent or discourage housing programs. Urge the passage of laws that will tax landlords on their rental income, and give tenants the ~~po~~ right to demand safe, decent housing from their landlords.

Urge your state government to provide housing programs to supplement Federal housing aids, and to acquire land for building low cost housing outside urban renewal areas.

~~It~~ Urge your state government to provide people to help your community with its housing problems and to train people from your community to become public housing administrators, building inspectors, urban renewal directors, community service specialists, and low-cost housing experts.

Above all, see that your state government develops community education materials and programs for all school grade levels.

At the city level, see that your local government uses the tools it has available to provide good housing, including Federal aids, local tax assessments, and community education in the public schools and for adults. And ~~urge~~ call on members of ~~the citizen groups to which you belong~~ your own citizen and community groups to urge action for good housing at all ~~levels of~~ government levels.

c.

~~If the~~ If so much needs to be done by government and ~~of~~ lay citizens and if housing opportunities look so bleak anyway, why bother? Will it make a difference if you try to do anything about housing?

We looked at our handful of Southern cities a bit hastily. Let's look more closely and see if there aren't some good things being done about housing.

Why, one of our cities has a whole range of community services for its public housing tenants. Look at them: kindergarten for all the children; day care; recreation; classes in sewing, ceramics, adult literacy, nutrition, and kitchen care, planned parenthood, and health and safety; and the ~~mobile~~ services of a mobile library, a public health nurse, and a visiting teacher. ~~In another city~~ These services didn't just happen; they were programmed by a housing administrator who wanted to do something for better housing.

In another city, the tenants of one public housing project have formed an organization to get better community services. The tenants didn't just up and ~~do it~~ organize. An economic opportunity worker got the tenants interested and worked from his center to help them.

In still another city, a public housing project is integrated. That didn't just happen, either. The director made a point of telling every applicant about every project and ~~where~~ exactly where every vacancy existed.

Four men from an urban renewal neighborhood got together and called on the urban renewal director to hold a meeting to explain to them their rights. The four men called on everyone in the neighborhood to attend the meeting. The meeting was a success. Other meetings followed. Race relations improved. The urban renewal project improved. It started with four men.

Three men asked the mayor for an urban renewal project, pledging their cooperation. They got the project. Housing will be built for moderate income families.

(end)

88th Congress
2d Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

URBAN RESEARCH UNDER FEDERAL AUSPICES

A SURVEY

PREPARED FOR THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

BY THE

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

APRIL 15, 1964

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
31-820 WASHINGTON : 1964

Urban Program--School for Workers Spring, 1964
The University of Wisconsin
Union community and political participation
and attitudes: leaders

Interviewer should introduce himself and the general nature of the survey and begin asking the questions on the schedule. Ask all questions without undue emphasis on their importance except where words are underscored for clarity. If respondent does not understand a question, repeat it carefully to him.

Be as objective as possible in your own responses. It's fine to be friendly, but in general do not indicate your own sympathies, approval or disapproval to answers stated by respondent. Do not pry and probe. However, on open end questions it is all right to respond in a way to encourage further response if respondent seems willing and has something to say of interest to the overall purposes of the survey.

Interviewer's Name _____ Interview No. _____

Date _____ Time: _____ to _____.

Place of Interview _____

Urban Problems — Business

Corporate brains hit city ills

New urban affairs experts are companies' answer to problems plaguing cities

There's a new specialist moving into the upper ranks of the U. S. corporations: the man in charge of urban affairs.

In the past year, companies in fields as diverse as retailing, chemicals, and banking have begun trying to develop their own talent to deal with the whole long gamut of urban problems.

Much of the new man's work is in coordinating programs in which their companies are already active. But they are expected to go beyond such staples as minority group employment to explore such areas as housing, urban renewal, health and education, and master planning for their localities, and to recommend relevant policies.

One reason the urban affairs appointments have been coming thick and fast is the impetus from national developments. The formation of the National Alliance of Businessmen earlier this year played its part. Another major spur has been the increasing federal government emphasis on training and hiring inner-city minorities: It has placed a heavy load on personnel offices and prompted many companies to establish urban departments.

A number of companies have seen the opportunity of applying their built-in expertise to urban problems. Radio Corp. of America, for instance, three months ago created a systems development organization aimed at using the company's systems engineering talents on social problems. Thomas G. Paterson, a specialist in large-scale information systems, heads the group.

Inside and out. More often than not, companies are finding their urban affairs talent inside the corporation walls, and are also discovering that a professional background in

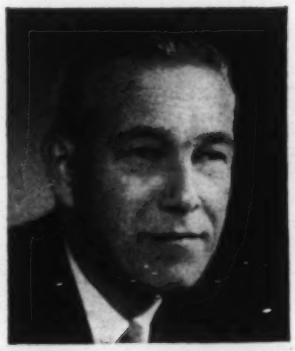
Where companies find urban talent

Sales

Lloyd J. Haynes, 46, Michigan Bell, came out of company's sales, marketing and traffic departments

Engineering

Thomas G. Paterson, 43, RCA, was specialist in large-scale information systems and also did market planning



Law

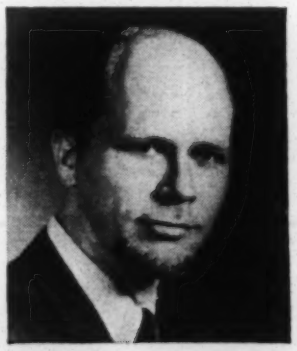
John A. LeVan, 48, Union Carbide, was a lawyer who was long active in community affairs where he lived

FBI

Thomas N. Bowdle, 44, Kaiser Aluminum, was an FBI agent, labor official and in Kaiser's labor relations

Campus

Dennis Durden, 38, Federated Department Store's vice-president, taught city planning and was land consultant



Planning

R. Wayne Nelson, 37, Westinghouse, went to company from post as senior city planner for city of Detroit

Finance

Marvin E. Cardoza, 54, Bank of America, is lawyer who handled bank's governmental finance relations

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Ford Motor Company, Milpitas, California

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urban matters is not a prerequisite. L. J. Haynes, for example, who was named director of urban affairs at Michigan Bell Telephone Co. five months ago, was formerly general marketing manager. Union Carbide Corp.'s new director of urban affairs, John A. LeVan, was a company lawyer. And Bank of America's Marvin E. Cardoza, new vice-president of personnel relations, moved over from a post in governmental finance.

Yet some companies do seek outside specialists for their urban affairs staffs. Federated Department Stores, Inc., a year ago hired Dennis Durden, a land development consultant, as operating vice-president in charge of urban affairs. His consulting duties are precisely defined: service to Federated's 17 operating divisions—in downtown urban renewal, model cities, regional planning, and minority employment; service to trade associations in which the company has membership; and service to senior management—speeches, legislation, background studies, position papers. "I provide the same kind of service that a real estate expert does," says Durden.

Indirectly, Durden also provides services to cities in which Federated has an operating unit. A typical case: A city comes up with a broad urban renewal plan, but is unsure of its feasibility. Federated's local management is contacted and Durden is brought in from Cincinnati headquarters. "I conduct an analysis of my own," he says, "talk with local planners and our management, then recommend to our people how the project can best be carried out." The project is not necessarily one in which Federated will take part.

Different styles. Federated's approach, however, is just one of a wide variety. Red-bearded R. Wayne Nelson joined Westinghouse Electric Corp.'s construction group a year ago as urban planning director, and like Durden, he had planning experience. Yet his duties are quite different. He spends most of his time consulting with Westinghouse's land developer customers. Though Nelson's advice is largely confined to urban planning, it does happen that the customer may be interested in, say, a Westinghouse lighting system. Though Nelson emphasizes that he isn't a salesman, he will try to answer the customer's questions. "Service is never binding to the customer," says Nelson, "but it is persuasive in terms of continuity." And Nelson thinks the corporate urban planner with government experience has greater respect for "real problems" than have government officials.

Other companies prescribe group

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therapy for urban maladies. Because of its sheer size and decentralization, General Electric Co. feels that three men are needed. One handles internal urban affairs (minority employment, personnel management, and matters pertaining to the National Alliance of Businessmen), and another deals with external ones (community organizations, Urban Coalition). The third man is W. Blake Miller, who less than a year ago was manager of GE's industrial heating department in Shelbyville, Ind. Last October, GE transferred him to New York headquarters as manager of marketing consulting and urban affairs, a new component. His job is "sifting out the problems of the city and seeing what can be done to translate them into action"—with an eye to developing profit areas in urban business. "After all," says Miller, "we're not sociologists and politicians here."

Social solution. So far, GE hasn't come up with much, Miller admits. RCA, on the other hand, is going full speed ahead with at least one project. Paterson, its information systems expert, is designing a mobile, multi-test, health clinic that will make possible mass screening. It will be specially equipped to spot diseases prevalent in slum areas—cervical cancer, for one. After being set up in the ghetto, it would be manned by local residents and monitored by doctors at closed-circuit television screening stations, from which they can direct the testing and treatment of patients.

Paterson's position, the first corporate urban affairs post above the divisional level, was created shortly after RCA's annual meeting in May of last year. It was then that President Robert W. Sarnoff pledged to "do whatever we can to help remedy the conditions that are tearing at the social fabric of our nation."

Paterson's approach to urban problem-solving is based on the long view. "The problems of the 1970s need not be the problems of the 1980s," he says, "if we do our work now."

The total approach. One urban-affairs officer doing his work now is W. E. Thompson, who was city manager of Oakland, Calif. for 11 years, and is now Dayton Corp.'s vice-president for environmental sciences. Thompson, who joined the Minneapolis-based department store two years ago, sees his job as a behind-the-scenes prime mover in solving problems ranging from race relations to sewage control. He admits to enlightened self-interest. If downtown and its neighboring residential areas collapse, he reasons, so

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would much of Dayton's retail business.

Thompson, who reports directly to the Dayton family, considers not only the city's economic aspects but also its social and cultural ones as being within his province. Not surprisingly, he has stepped on some toes, including those of a local politician, who insists Minneapolis can solve its own problems.

But Thompson has ideas of his own—including an international conference center for science. Thompson sees a very good reason why Minneapolis, already a cultural leader with its Tyrone Guthrie Theater and the prestigious University of Minnesota, should also be a scientific magnet—"so all the datelines in the paper read 'Minneapolis' and people will be impressed that this is where the intellectual action is."

Help at the top. But most companies are confining their urban affairs undertakings to more traditional areas—particularly minority group employment and training and work with self-help groups. Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., for one, has moved former FBI agent Thomas N. Bowdle to director of equal opportunities affairs. He reports directly to president T. J. Ready, Jr., who refers to the year-old position as a "catalyst." Aided by a staff of three—two Negroes, one white—Bowdle coordinates all Kaiser activities that involve minorities.

Bank of America's Cardoza is another urban affairs director who reports directly to the top—that is, to President Rudolph A. Peterson and the managing committee. And because he is a member of the bank's "president's office," his programs cannot be diluted by intermediates.

Special assistance. As a one-man staff, Cardoza must draw heavily on various departments for the specialized talents that can get his programs off the ground. His own special status helps—as in the case of two training officers conducting classes for nonwhites; they bypass their direct superior and report directly to him. William R. Layfield, human relations coordinator, is another major supporting arm. He acts as Cardoza's liaison with minority group organizations.

The new urban affairs men, though their approaches frequently differ, point to a common interest on the part of senior management. Kaiser's Ready reflects that rising interest when he says: "Equal employment opportunity is a responsibility to be discharged with the same aggressiveness and creativity we invoke in the normal conduct of all our other management functions." **End**

Urban Problems - Unions 9-13-69

IBEW Analysis Shows:

Land Costs and Interest Rates Chief Factors in Housing Costs

The following material appears in the September 1969 issue of The Electrical Workers World, monthly publication of the IBEW. The article, entitled "Balderdash," appears in the magazine's Dept. of Research & Education section.

CRITICS of construction unions, with their ease of access to mass communication media, have been extremely successful in conditioning the general public to believe that construction unions, through restrictive work practices, monopoly control of the work force, and high wages, are the primary cause of soaring housing costs.

Time and time again, these accusations have been refuted by knowledgeable and responsible persons from all areas of the society, but because of limited exposure, the truth has had little impact on the general public.

A recent study, prepared by McGraw-Hill for the President's Committee on Urban Housing, is the basis for an enlightening analysis of the relationships between the various components of monthly occupancy costs of a development-built, single-family house. The following presentation differs from the original McGraw-Hill presentation in that it is a more detailed analysis of the debt retirement and the assumed rate of interest is 8 percent instead of 6 percent, which was in effect at the time the study was originally prepared.

The unit analyzed in the McGraw-Hill study was chosen according to specifications of the President's Committee on Urban Housing. The costs shown in this study are the actual costs for a single location. Thus, such cost factors as land and taxes, in particular, may be significantly different in other locations.

The analysis was based on the construction of a one-story, wood-frame, ranch-style house built on a slab with a partial basement. Three bedrooms, a living room and dining room, plus a kitchen and bath account for 1,000 square feet of living area. This house is built on one-third of an acre and has city water, gas heat, and a septic system.

The McGraw-Hill analysts first studied the initial cost of construction and development and then prepared a second study, which included it with other costs essential to the occupancy of a house.

Initial construction costs are related to monthly occupancy costs in other ways, besides being a portion of debt retirement. For example, high-quality thermal insulation will increase initial costs but result in reduced heating and air-conditioning costs in the long run. Time and time again, this type of decision occurs in the design of a house. In each case, there is a trade-off of higher initial costs versus lower occupancy costs. The analysts, aware of this relationship, emphasized the broader and much more important monthly occupancy cost, which includes such absolutely essential factors as debt retirement, taxes, utilities, maintenance, and repairs.

Unfortunately, the McGraw-Hill study obscured the actual cost attributable to on-site labor by including it with the other four elements of development and construction costs, plus the cost of financing in a broad, general category of debt retirement. The principal objection to this method is that the addition of the financing costs imputes to labor a responsibility for the terms of financing, which is completely beyond its control.

The actual fact is that a 20 percent increase in labor costs is responsible, at the most, for about 4 percent in the increase of construction and development costs and less than 1 percent in the increase of monthly occupancy costs.

Conversely, a 20 percent reduction in wages or a 20 percent increase in productivity will decrease the cost of housing by only those same relatively-small amounts. Therefore, the critics are concentrating their efforts on an area which, at best, will produce only minimum efficiencies.

In fact if labor costs were entirely free, the monthly occupancy costs would still be $186.40, or only $7.60 less than the original $194.00.

The outstanding fact of this analysis is that the borrower will repay $40,320 on a $15,276 mortgage at 8 percent interest for 30 years. This is almost three times the cost of the house. The interest alone comes out to $25,044, or over one and one-half times the original cost of the house.

NEXT TO INTEREST RATES, local realty taxes are the largest single cost item. This area involves the complex political relationships and responsibilities of the local, state and federal government. Any effort to disturb the present balance, or more accurately imbalance, triggers a wide variety of hostile responses. The fact remains that realty taxes place an inequitable burden for the operation of local government on the home owner. The surest way to extend the opportunity of home ownership to a greater number of families is to decrease realty taxes.

Land represents the fastest-rising element of all major housing costs. In 1950, the average price for the site of a new, FHA-insured, one-family home was $1,035, or 12 percent of the total house price. By 1967, the average site value had increased to $3,766 and represented 20 percent of the total house price.

Ever-increasing upward pressure on land prices in the future is predictable, because land is a diminishing commodity; each year, the availability of the supply of usable land decreases. However, creative and imaginative public policy can conserve and effectively utilize this diminishing supply. These facts are not reflected in the McGraw-Hill analysis since, in order to comply with the specifications of the President's Committee on Urban Housing, the land costs were limited to $3,000 an acre.

This is a non-realistic restriction, because the only land available at this cost is located a considerable distance from the urban centers. Consequently, the land cost component in this study is not representative of the real market.

In summary, the unreasonable persistence of the intensive attack on construction labor costs defies explanation, when compared to the impact of the other cost components on monthly occupancy costs, unless ulterior motives are involved.

Accordingly, if ignorance is excluded, it can be safely assumed that these attacks are a direct attempt to influence public opinion and, thus, create conditions which weaken all of organized labor's bargaining position by limiting the effectiveness of construction unions.

Urban Problems

William Gorham, a youthful alumus of HEW, heads the new Urban Institute, a super think-tank concerned with city problems.

CITIES

Urban programs face a sharper scrutiny

Federally-sponsored institute will keep close tabs on programs conducted by both business and government. The goal: better answers

Executives of companies actively involved in programs aimed at urban problems will soon have a hand-picked group of experts looking over their shoulders. At the same time, the same eyes will be scrutinizing big city mayors, school boards, police chiefs, and Washington bureaucrats who spend billions of dollars on expanding health, housing, education, and welfare programs.

Applying the microscope to these often divergent groups will be the federally-financed Urban Institute, a new super think-tank in Washington, established with a $6-million funding that it will use to dig into the explosive problems of the cities. By posing what it picks as the "right questions" on such issues as poor schooling, poor housing, vast unemployment, the rising crime rate, and bureaucratic failures, the new group hopes to come up with better answers than those produced by other urban experts.

Last week, William Gorham, 37, the Urban Institute's president and a former Assistant Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare, spelled out his plans to a blue-chip board. Among the board members: Arjav Miller, vice-chairman of Ford Motor Co.; Edgar F. Kaiser of Kaiser Industries; Stanley Marcus of Neiman-Marcus; J. I. Miller, chairman of Cummins Engine Co.; Whitney M. Young, executive director of the National Urban League; and Cyrus R. Vance, President Johnson's top trouble-shooter.

Casting wide net. Although dozens of private and public agencies and foundations dig into such urban ills as unemployment and poor education, the institute also intends to explore areas that have received less attention. For instance, it will look into federal, state, and local governments, as well as civilian institutions, to determine how decision-making really works on urban issues, and whether participation in solutions can be increased without losing efficiency.

Institute President Gorham is one of the systems whiz kids of former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. Gorham moved on to other federal agencies and now he is more concerned with building his staff—now at 27, but to be bolstered to 80 or 90 within one year—than listing specific projects. However, one major effort already being planned is an attempt to determine precisely why Negro unemployment and underemployment run as high as 40% in some cities—at a time when the nation is near full employment and spending for job training and unemployment compensation is $4.5-billion.

Real meanings. The usual answers—discrimination, lack of skills, poor transportation facilities—will not be good enough, Gorham stresses. "It isn't enough to have a list of these things," he says. "The question is which are really the major barriers to Negro employment." Quarterbacking this program will be Harvey A. Garn, 37, an econometrician hired away from the Commerce Dept.'s Economic Development Administration.

Another project that will be a quick starter is a study of overlapping and duplication in scores of federal programs dealing with cities. Gorham expects to have a comprehensive report "very useful to the next Administration" ready by next June or July. Eventually, the institute will expand into program design—helping federal agency heads shape different and better programs, and perhaps killing off old ones.

First targets. The major thrust of the institute, at least in the early stages, will be aimed at present urban programs and problems. To Gorham, "a program is a hypothesis." His reasoning is that when a particular program is created, the hypothesis is that the problem will be eliminated. Unfortunately, he adds, most program makers and managers think of their plans not as a hypothesis which remains to be proved, but as "the answer."

Gorham cites two examples. The recently-enacted housing bill, greeted as a great advance, "is not based on a profound understanding of the housing market and how it can be changed," he says. And the politically-sensitive crime issue raises the question of why—when the U. S. spends so much money for public safety—crime indexes keep rising. A systems man at heart, Gorham proposes that the institute consider crime as a "negative output"

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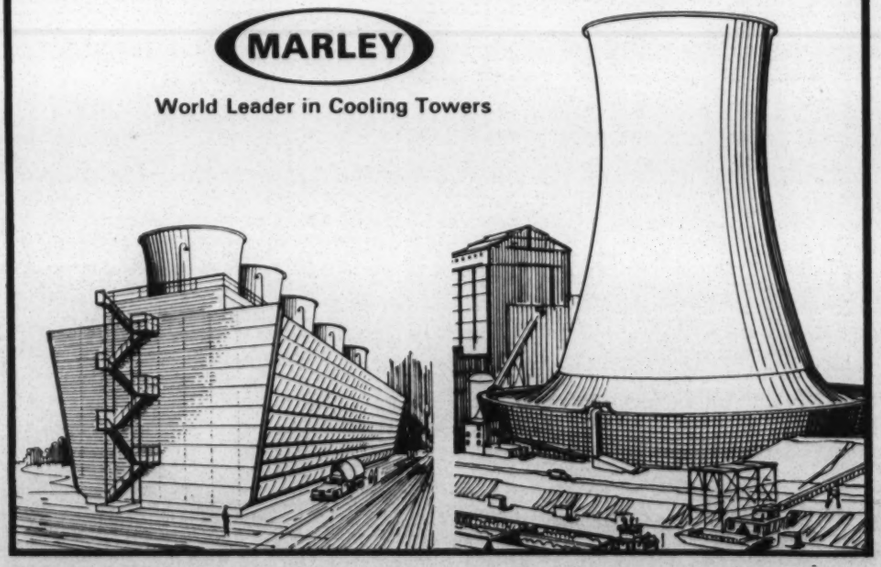

Why—when the U. S. spends so much for public safety—do crime indexes keep rising?

Story on page 88

and see where more money might be spent along the police-court-jail system with the most return on the dollar.

In addition to reports on these and other subjects, the institute will be assigned specific research tasks by the Housing & Urban Development Dept. and other federal agencies that contributed heavily to its findings. Gorham also wants to open what the institute calls "cooperative urban centers" to provide a miniature think-tank to six to eight mayors. The city agency would be staffed by the mayor's own professionals and by outsiders.

Gorham and his aides, however, are unsure at this point how the cooperative urban centers will work. But in a move designed to test their acceptance, the Institute president this week began visiting mayors in large cities, starting with Cleveland, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Getting a staff. The Institute's resident staff thus far is highly-rated and fairly young. Those on the job include: Joseph Lewis, 52, an engineer-systems analyst from the Institute of Defense Analysis; Joseph S. Wholey, 33, a "mathematician-philosopher" hired from HEW, and an expert in evaluating federal programs; Dr. William Kaufmann, 50, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a political scientist and Pentagon consultant on military strategy questions; Don Kummerfeld, 34, a policital scientist from the Bureau of the Budget who has been evaluating urban programs there; Dr. Selma Mushkin of George Washington University, an expert on state and local financing problems; and Dan Cordtz, 41, a journalist whose major concentration lately has been urban problems.

Gorham has also brought in several black professionals, including Tony Perot, an organizer for the Congress on Racial Equality for eight years.

Despite such heavy reliance on government workers, institute sources claim that Gorham is not raiding the federal establishment for his hired help, and not paying a man more to come on board than he earned on his prior job. Gorham himself, however, receives $55,000, a considerable hike from his $28,700 salary at HEW. **End**

Urban Problem

VOL. CLXXII NO. 94 ★ 1

Wall St. Jnl 11-11-68

Black Cities

Negroes in Dixie Form Separate Municipalities In Bid to Improve Lot

They Seek Federal Urban Aid; Alabamians Get Smoother Streets, Friendlier Cops

White Attitudes Are Mixed

By NEIL MAXWELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ROOSEVELT CITY, Ala.—Willie Rankin's jobs may not seem like much—substitute policeman on a one-car police force and chief of a fire department equipped only with a garden hose—but he and the city he serves are symbols of a new era here in the South.

For Mr. Rankin is a Negro, and so is everyone else in this city, which lies in the shadow of Birmingham. Until last January, this community of 5,000 people was just an unwanted, unincorporated and unimposing neighborhood with junk in the yards and potholes in the streets. The whites who ruled the surrounding communities wanted nothing to do with the area. Among other things, they didn't want to be stuck providing services to people who could contribute little to the tax take.

But then the residents decided to incorporate, electing a mayor and a five-man city council that took over the rule-making from the county. The council elected a judge, who holds court twice a month, and appointed police and other workers. The transition was smooth, and residents now say it was the smartest thing they ever did.

The result hasn't been instant utopia, but there have been many gains and there is a new feeling of community solidarity. Waving to a pair of overalled Negroes as he patrols the streets in car 307, Willie Rankin remarks: "Before, the only time you saw a patrol car was when somebody was in trouble and the law was after him. Now, they see us, and the message is that if they need help, we're around."

The Mayor's Book

The changes here in Roosevelt City will soon be copied in at least a dozen other Southern areas as black citizens seize on the tool of incorporation to better their lot. Across the South, Negro communities are discovering that incorporation brings not only such niceties as a friendly police force but also something more important: Money.

"There are millions available for cities that you can't touch without being incorporated," says Orzell Billingsley, a Negro attorney in Birmingham who was a leader in the move to incorporate Roosevelt City and who now serves as town judge. Mayor Freddie C. Rogers, operator of a nearby nightclub called The Flame until it burned last month, shows a visitor a

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"There are millions available for cities that you can't touch without being incorporated," says Orzell Billingsley, a Negro attorney in Birmingham who was a leader in the move to incorporate Roosevelt City and who now serves as town judge. Mayor Freddie C. Rogers, operator of a nearby nightclub called The Flame until it burned last month, shows a visitor a 701-page tome entitled Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement. Put out by the Government, it lists more than 300 Federal aid projects, most tailored specially for cities, and most aimed directly at poor ones.

The mayor figures Roosevelt City qualifies on both counts. It now is a city, and the average family income is $2,500. Roosevelt City residents work mainly in Birmingham, as filling station attendants, laborers, maids and the like.

Incorporation hasn't meant much of a bonanza yet for Roosevelt City, which was so named because the residents figured their plight when they incorporated was about the same as the nation's when Franklin Roosevelt came to power. At the moment, the city is operating on a pinch-penny, $2,300-a-month budget. But that will triple in January, when the city's share of county and state revenue starts coming in.

It Takes a While

But even the January money will be peanuts compared with what Roosevelt City's leaders say is available from the Federal Government. Right now, the city is awaiting approval of a Federal study to determine just what Roosevelt City does need. Then it will enter specific requests for projects that the study presumably will show the city to need, such as a water system, fire hydrants and sewers.

Already, though, the city is finding out that requests don't bring the money by return mail. City officials have asked the Government for help with a garbage removal system, but the project is stagnating. "They haven't approved it because that program is to finance unique systems of doing away with garbage," Mayor Rogers explains. "The only thing unique about ours was that we didn't have one."

Whites' reactions to the new Negro cities are mixed. When plans to form Roosevelt City were disclosed last year, the Alabama legislature hurriedly passed a bill banning new cities within three miles of old ones. It applies only to the county where Roosevelt City is. Roosevelt City's incorporators rushed their papers through state offices before the bill became law, however.

On the other hand, there are signs of goodwill from whites. The Birmingham Ford dealer who sold Roosevelt City its police car, a 1968 Ford sedan, donated a not-too-battered 1962 dump truck, which makes up the city's sanitation and street-repair fleet. It keeps busy hauling away junk and filling potholes. (The city has been dickering for a second-hand fire engine, but all the deals have fallen through so far. Its current fire-fighting equipment—the garden hose—has been enough to put out a few brush fires.)

Mr. Hayes Plans to Move

Critics, including some civil rights activists, say the cities amount to black separatism, which they view as bad for the nation. Although one of the first laws passed in Roosevelt City was an open-housing ordinance, it's true that all the residents are black. And some Negroes concede they are moving to the all-black towns simply because they are fed up with the white world.

"I can't make it in the white man's society, so I'm getting out," says Isaiah Hayes, a 42-year-old steelworker who plans to move from Attala, Ala., to Ridgedale, a Negro town being formed nearby. "I can't be elected to anything. I can't serve on the white man's boards, and I'm sick of it. I'm going to where I can do anything I'm capable of doing."

The group forming Ridgedale, which will be

Please Turn to Page 8, Column 2

Black Cities: Negroes in the South Organize Their Own Municipalities

Continued From Page One

made up largely of farms, hopes to set up a food-processing plant for local produce as a first step toward economic progress. Later it hopes to attract a more substantial industry. Mr. Hayes would like to see the community build, of all things, a munitions plant. "Explosives are a necessity in the violent world we live in," he says. "And if that's what the white man wants, I say we should be the ones to give it to him."

At Gees Bend, Ala., where incorporation is pending, backers hope for economic gains from a soul-food processing plant. They hope to market the food in the North to Negroes with a longing for Southern-style home-cooking. They also plan to change the name of their town to King City, in memory of Martin Luther King Jr.

Gees Bend, or King City, leaders also see incorporation as a means of capitalizing on a big new lake being built near the town. Whites have been buying up lakefront land from Negro farmers, but town backers hope to stop the trend by showing the value of waiting for an orderly plan of development once Gees Bend becomes a city. They even hope to reclaim some land already sold by condemning it for public use.

Legal aspects of forming cities can be tricky. Quotas of voter signatures must be obtained, and an election must be held. Gees Bend tried incorporating once before a few weeks ago, but the application was thrown out on a technicality. Other communities seeking cityhood include Mason City near Birmingham, Harlem Heights near Hueytown, Ala., a South Alabama town named Bellamy, which is owned by American Can Co., and Juanita, Ala., named for the late wife of a civil rights worker. Residents there have recently finished a Federally financed self-help home-building project and are seeking Federal aid for water and sewer systems.

It takes time for new cities to get on their feet fiscally, but where residents are poor anyway scrimping comes easy. Roosevelt City's seven policemen, all of whom hold other jobs, get $80 a month. At first they served six months without pay. The street department consists of four Neighborhood Youth Corps members, paid by the Federal Government. The biggest item in the street department budget this year: $250 for slag to fill potholes.

Next year will be different for all city departments. The biggest single income source will be the city's share of state gasoline taxes, expected to run $35,000 to $50,000, which must be used for roads. State whisky and cigaret taxes will also provide large shares of next year's income. So far the gasoline, whisky and cigaret taxes haven't been any help, because a city must be in existence a year to share in the take.

Current operating funds come from fines (the police car has more than paid its $2,700 cost in fines and court costs) and fees for doing business in the city. The fees have totaled $9,831.39 so far. Many businesses, like the fortune teller next door to city hall, pay at an annual rate of $1,000. Biggest contributor to date has been Alabama Power Co., which has paid $3,432.74.

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Urban Problems — Housing

Top Priority Urged For Urban Housing

Critical Lag Spelled Out In Report

By John M. Barry

The President's National Commission on Urban Problems called on the nation to "put housing on the front burner" with an immediate five-fold increase in homes for low-and moderate-income families to at least 500,000 units a year.

The Commission urged an increase in "the total housing inventory" to 2 to 2.25 million units a year as against the current rate of about 1.5 million.

It noted that not even the goals of the Housing Act of 1949 have so far been met by the nation and that the federal government, for example, had torn down more housing units than it had built over the past ten years.

The 14-member panel on urban problems was headed by former Sen. Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and included Pres. John H. Lyons of the Iron Workers.

Its sweeping report to the President, totalling some 325,000 words in 1,500 typewritten pages, dealt with a wide range of urban problems affecting the nation's ability to meet its housing needs. It produced more than 100 specific recommendations in such areas as the need for uniform standards for local building codes, zoning and land use, restructuring of local government, construction industry practices, taxation and financing.

The overall report, based on the testimony of 347 witnesses at hearings in 22 cities since January 1967, had the endorsement of all members

(Continued on Page 6)

Five-Fold Increase for Poor:

Urban Problems Panel Asks Top U.S. Priority for Housing

(Continued from Page 1)

of the commission. But nearly all of the specific proposals provoked disagreement from at least some of the members in the course of the panel's discussions.

"If there is a sense of urgency and alarm in our report and our recommendation," the comission said in a summary, "it is because the commission saw the cities of our country first hand and listened to the voices of the people.

"The commission members certainly were not less concerned or knowledgeable than the average citizen, but after our inspections, hearings and research studies, we found conditions much worse, more widespread and more explosive than any of us had thought."

The urgent tone of the report was expressed in its finding that "about a third of the families in the nation cannot buy or rent decent housing at market rates by paying a reasonable proportion of their income."

"We must put housing on the front burner," the panel declared. "We must focus our housing programs on housing for poor people."

It called for giving local authorities "the tools and the money" to get the job done, urged an expanded role for the states, asked simpler federal programs and speedier processing by federal agencies, and urged "the utmost cooperation" from private industry.

"If all of these fail to bring an abundance of housing for poor people, then we believe that the government must become the builder of last resort," the commission said.

We hope this is not necessary but past neglect, unfulfilled promises, misplaced priorities and the consequences of failing to act give us compelling moral and practical reasons for proposing no less."

The commission summarized its major proposals as follows:

- "We urge a program for producing at least five times the present annual rate of low-income housing To do this we urge the removal of a number of barriers so that the housing industry can meet a larger share of the market.
- "We call for a mechanism that will provide regional and state uniformity in building codes and a system to develop standards that will be more hospitable to the research, testing and application of new building material and methods.
- "We cite many paths to reduce housing costs, these to include greater use of industrialized building methods, reduction of restrictive practices, methods for lowering land costs, and ways to reduce the expense of title search and other closing costs.
- "We urge incentives to encourage larger units of local government so effective and efficient home rule becomes possible. We do not believe the federal government can or should solve all urban problems.
- "New sources of revenue must be raised to meet our urban housing and related community needs.
- "We propose (1) a revenue sharing plan that gives credit to state-local tax effort and that provides for larger urban governments to obtain their share of this revenue directly from the federal government without state intercession; (2) streamlined property tax systems; and (3) new efforts to siphon off more community created land values for public purposes.
- "Finally, we urge numerous zoning proposals and land-use techniques designed to encourage more orderly urban growth."

The commission's report seemed clearly designed to stimulate extensive discussion of ways to solve the housing crisis, and many of its proposals were certain to provoke controversy.

Its plan for revenue sharing through block federal grants to states and cities, for example, already has brought a sharp dissent from Sec. Wilbur J. Cohen of the Depart. of Health, Education & Welfare.

Cohen, interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press," said any such system was not "sound government," "sound economics" or "sound fiscal policy."

Cohen said it would be unsound for the federal government to "bear the burden" of tax collecting and then turn the funds over to the states "to spend as they wish without a definition of national priorities."

The Urban Problems panel itself took strong issue with proposals such as those put forth by Pres.-elect Richard M. Nixon to use tax incentives to spur greater participation by private industry in the task of rejuvenating the cities.

Such an approach, the commission said, "would be inefficient and ineffective" and could cause "a drain on the Treasury as great or greater than direct subsidies."

NSC vice president for labor.

Craft Unions Stress Record On 'Prefabs'

Union craftsmen "will build and man any project that American industry can design," a representative of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. told the annual Building Products Executives Conference in Washington.

Speaking to more than 500 manufacturing executives in attendance, William J. McSorley, assistant to the president of the BCTD, also exploded "myths" that construction workers oppose progress in the building industry.

He cited a recent study, financed by the department, on prefabrication in the building industry, which found that in the long run prefabrication will open new opportunities to building trades unions.

"We have never resisted prefabrication per se," McSorley said, pointing to the fact that union members currently are building structures in Washington that are more than 70 percent comprised of prefabricated parts.

Elsewhere, McSorley told how union members handle the machinery that makes possible the movement of prefabrications, and how they use and welcome many other new techniques, tools and materials in construction.

AFL-CIO News 11-9-68

Urban Problems

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR DEC 10 1968

U.S. builders struggle with costs

By Ed Townsend

Labor correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The construction industry is digging in for more labor problems in 1969. The reasons:

- Wage bargaining with a majority of the industry's 3.7 million craft workers could push building labor costs even higher.
- Labor shortages are developing in New York City and elsewhere. These could delay projects and add to construction costs.
- Government may move more into construction labor problems through a wage-price restraint policy directed particularly at the industry, whose prices and costs are considered a major threat to efforts against inflation.

No industry is doing more self-analysis now, and none is under closer scrutiny from government. Changes are likely in relations with unions, in bargaining policies, and in building practices and work scheduling. They may come too late for 1969, but they are considered inevitable in the industry.

During 1968, wage rates for industry generally rose an average 18 cents an hour in the first nine months—but those in construction rose almost 50 cents an hour.

Wages climb

According to the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., a private reporting service, construction wages climbed 8.3 percent in the year ending Oct. 1 to an average $5.17 an hour for all building trades. The rate of increase ranged from 6.1 percent (to $5.40 an hour) for plasterers to 9.5 percent ($5.77) for plumbers.

(Of seven principal crafts, the plasterers' 6.1 percent was followed by 7.3 and 7.5 percent for painters and laborers, 8.1 percent for bricklayers and electricians, 8.9 percent for carpenters, and the 9.5 percent for plumbers.)

At a recent United States Chamber of Commerce conference in Washington, Arron Sabghir of the Commerce Department noted that in 1967 and 1968 construction wage rates went up two or three times faster than in the early 1960's, while "construction output (productivity) continued to lag . . . in relation to overall economic growth." Mr. Sabghir cited figures to show that between 1958 and 1965 the gross national product rose 38 percent but construction productivity went up at a slower 25 percent rate.

Prices rise

"Even more unpleasant to report," Mr. Sabghir said, "is the fact that in the past three years construction prices . . . seem to have risen about twice as fast as prices in the economy as a whole."

During the meeting, industry and federal officials agreed that something should be done—quickly—to hold down contract settlements and price increases in construction. There was far less agreement on what might be done.

Joseph C. Garvin, an industry labor-relations specialist, and others urged new bargaining machinery (Mr. Garvin said "a genuinely coordinated operation") that would form a solid front of contractors to counter the unions' negotiating power. Mr. Garvin urged establishment of "a national federation of employers," perhaps similar to the bargaining organization set up by trucking employers nationally, that would have 12 regional conferences.

Argument countered

This argument was countered by a warning by Prof. Herbert Northrup of the University of California, who told the conference: "The wider the bargaining unit, the greater is likely to be the union power. . . . Widespread bargaining tends to bring all wages and benfits to top figures, adding to any inflationary impact."

For more than a year, many major contractors have advocated a new system of national or regional bargaining—but some at the conference in Washington said that such a change in bargaining policy is unlikely because of divisions within the industry itself. One contractor commented, "You can't get our people together in one big city, so how would you do it on a broader basis?"

Others had suggestions, including one for a "human-resources center," to handle manpower recruiting, training, and a list of craftsmen available for projects anywhere at a given time — to eliminate labor-force pressures likely to push wage costs up.

Conferees agree

The conferees agreed, however, on a chamber eight-point program calling for it to be "a catalyst . . . to draft positive programs" on industry problems. It is intended to improve "chaotic at best" relations with craft unions and to halt "spiraling inflation" in the industry while preserving the free collective-bargaining process.

Winton M. Blount, C of C president, warned that "unless the various segments of our industry unite in a common effort, we will soon find ourselves in a position which is, perhaps, irreparable." Mr. Blount, a contractor, said, "Labor costs in the industry are skyrocketing and, even as wage settlements are unbelievably high, productivity is declining at an alarming rate."

The chamber-of-commerce program includes efforts to attack manpower problems in the industry, to give the work force more mobility; to strengthen bargaining through more coordination and "full support of customers," particularly large industrial clients who press contractors to settle at any price; to eliminate restrictive building practices; to strengthen dispute-settling machinery; and, among other points, to reduce seasonal employment and "provide for more realistic scheduling of work."

Government interested

This last point is one in which the government has a strong interest. Craft unions often cite the seasonal nature of work as a reason hourly wages must be high. Unemployment in the industry ordinarily ranges nationally from 4 percent in summer to 12 percent in winter. In part, and in some areas, cold weather shutdowns of work may be necessary, but new building methods and materials make that less true year to year. There is wide agreement now that "seasonality" can be minimized—and work spread out over the year.

The Associated General Contractors, a national employer group, recently pledged to work toward this objective and to negotiate building contracts that would minimize costs of winter work.

Meanwhile, in a more significant action, President Johnson recently directed all federal agencies—as "major purchasers of construction," he said—to alter their method of awarding federal contracts in order

(cont'd on p. 6)

THE WASHINGTON POST
Friday, Dec. 13, 1968

New Pledge Readied on Job Rights

From News Dispatches

The Virginia Highway Department is planning to submit a revised equal-employment assurance pledge to the Federal Highway Administration.

State Highway Commissioner Douglas B. Fugate made the statement in Richmond after receiving the report of Paul D. Stotts, assistant State attorney general, who conferred for 2½ hours Wednesday with Federal agency representatives in Washington.

Meanwhile, Federal and State authorities met yesterday with representatives of the Virginia Road Builders Association in hopes of ironing out differences over pledges that also are required of road contractors.

More than 50 company pledges that have been rejected as insufficient by Federal officials will be revised and resubmitted, a State official said.

As to the State's pledge, Fugate said he hoped the new form would satisfy Washington but added that he still feels some of the Federal requirements "go beyond the statute and intent of Congress."

The new form, he said, will be "in language which we hope will be acceptable but which will still maintain Virginia's position."

The pledges are required before Federal highway funds can be released to the states.

MIGRANTS' PLIGHT IN TEXAS DECRIED

Rights Panel Head Suggests Peonage Law Violation

Special to The New York Times

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., Dec. 12—The acting chairman of United States Commission on Civil Rights said today that many of the migrant farm workers in the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas were living under conditions close to peonage or slavery.

The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University and commission head, told the commission staff to consider the testimony of the day to determine if the Federal antipeonage law might have been violated.

His comment came as the commission, in the fourth day of testimony on the ways of life of the 3.5-million Mexican-American people in the Southwest, turned from education to economics.

His remark was spurred in past by the testimony of Arnulfo Guerra, a Roma, Tex., attorney, that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was interpreting the law in such a way that between 44,000 and 150,000 "commuters" from Mexico cross the Rio Grande to take jobs while United States citizens are unemployed.

Mr. Guerra said also that the Texas Rangers and local officers in courts in Starr County had helped the growers break the 1967 farm strike.

Pastor Scores Rangers

The Rev. Edward Krueger, who was sent to the area by the Texas Council of Churches to be an observer, testified about being arrested and slapped. He had taken pictures of Captain Ay Allee and other Texas Rangers directing the movement of a train of produce past what had been a picket line before the Rangers arrested the pickets.

Father Hesburgh said he asked for a lawyer's opinion on the peonage law "because if they [the migrants] try to organize, they get thrown in jail and have to put up $500 bond, a third of a year's income, to get out."

Today's story before the commission was of 180 rural slum villages in this farming area, with no roads or utilities. The migrants live in the villages except when they travel north for four months of higher paid work in the fields of the upper Midwest.

The migrants, according to testimony, pay school fees and high interest rates on loans while earning $1.15 an hour or less. Their problems are further complicated by the fact that across the river await those who are willing to work for even less.

Long Patience Cited

Manuel Ramirez, a member of Volunteers in Service to America at Laredo, Tex., said that the march of 2,500 Texas workers to the International Bridge last Aug. 16 protesting the commuter system showed that the patient Mexican-American poor believed they had been quiet too long.

Some 2,500 Mexican nationals cross the border daily to work in stores and plants in Laredo, which has about that many unemployed at the same time.

Staff reports found that the border area was lagging behind the rest of the nation in industrial development and therefore in income growth.

Sam Lattimore, state coordinator of the Economic Development Administration, told of efforts to bring in industries to make better paying jobs in the region.

Joseph B. Andrasko, director of industrial relations, of the Vought Aeronautics Division of L.T.V. Aerospace Corporation at Grand Prairie, Tex., told of his company's program.

It enrolled 800 men from the lower Rio Grande Valley unemployment list for jobs paying $5,000 to $6,000 a year in Grand Prairie. The 500 mile movement of former farm and common labor workers and their four weeks of training called for the moving of 2,132 people, including 262 children of school age.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE
Wednesday, December 4, 1968

Ag Teacher Says Program Is Slighted

BY NELSON ANTOSH
Agriculture Editor

The president of the Vocational Agriculture Teachers Assn. of Texas feels there is a deemphasis of agriculture within the U.S. Office of Education.

Herbert Schumann of Needville doesn't believe it is a major problem, but rather a step in the wrong direction.

"We don't approve of this sort of thing," says Schumann. He expects a resolution to that effect to be presented before the national convention of agriculture teachers in Dallas Saturday through next Friday.

Upper Echelons

Schumann blames a reorganization movement within the upper echelons of the U.S. Office of Education. For example, within the past few months the office of the executive secretary of the Future Farmers of America has been changed from a full-time to a part-time status, as has the office of vocational agriculture education.

Also, convention members will be looking at the problem of a national shortage of agriculture teachers. Some Voc-Ag departments in Midwest high schools have been forced to shut down, says Schumann.

Texas at Brink

In Texas there are just enough teachers to fill needs. "We're at the brink now," says Wilbert Meischen of Austin, executive secretary of the Texas organization.

Part of the problem is that agribusiness is hiring college graduates with degrees in agriculture education.

This state has approximately 1153 vocational agriculture teachers, who are instructing some 54,000 high school boys and a few girls.

The girls can take voc-ag, but are not members of the FFA. The all-male organization refused a proposal at its recent national convention to admit girls.

Changing Times

The agriculture teachers are concerned with keeping up with changing times. One of their newest innovations has been training youngsters in agriculture - related industries — for jobs like veterinary assistants, greenhouse workers, and seed salesmen.

This new program has been the only significant area of growth in this state's voc-ag departments.

A current Texas problem is that some of the older voc-ag departments need funds to replace equipment that is either wearing out or becoming outdated, says Meischen.

Equipment is financed with matching state and federal funds, plus local contributions.

More Chapters

The agriculture teachers would like to establish more Young Farmer chapters in Texas. Currently there are 25[illegible]

This organization bridges the gap between high school graduation and mature - oriented organizations like the Farm Bureau, says Meischen.

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C.
Friday, December 6, 1968

Spend Less on Luxury, Cohen Urges Americans

By the Associated Press

Health Education and Welfare Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen says Americans should spend less money on third and fourth cars, yachts, cigarettes and liquor and more on social welfare.

He said this yesterday as he praised statistics showing that America's spending for health, education and welfare has doubled since 1960.

Charts and graphs Cohen explained at a news conference showed that total spending for these purposes by the private sector together with that of federal, state and local governments has gone from $79 billion in 1960 to $163 billion in 1968. The public portion was $112 billion.

Cohen said that during this period of Democratic administration the number of poor people in the country has declined from 40 million to 22 million, the high school dropout rate since 1963 has declined by 27 percent and infant mortality, death and disease rates have declined in many areas.

But he renewed previous pleas for massive increase in spending to improve education, combat poverty and generally improve the lives of Americans.

He agreed his proposals—such as doubling federal aid to education, raising Social Security benefits by 50 percent and equalizing state welfare payments—"would cost a lot of money" and require big tax increases.

He said he would like to see higher taxes on cigarettes, on third and fourth cars and on yachts. He wouldn't recommend much higher taxes on liquor, he said, "because then you get into rum-running," illegal liquor sales.

U.S. BUILDERS
(Continued)

to spread work out through each year.

Worries about more government action stem from the growing public clamor for something to be done about building costs (labor contends that soaring land costs and higher interest and money costs are more to blame than wage increases).

Congress has under way an investigation of construction-industry problems that could lead to legislative proposals by 1970. Before that, perhaps early in 1969, the incoming Nixon administration may receive labor-management advisory - committee recommendations of specific steps that it can take. A subcommittee has been studying alternatives—with sometimes sharp debate.

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No. 2

URBAN Problems — Labor

Labor Helps Finance Plan To Rebuild Ghetto Homes

Program to Train, Hire Area Poor

St. Louis — Labor, management, a neighborhood group and the government have joined in a ghetto-rebuilding program financed in part by the AFL-CIO and designed to be a pace-setter for cities across the nation.

The goal is to rehabilitate 300 dilapidated houses in a 200-square block slum area over a 2-year period at a cost of about $4 million, with area residents doing most the rebuilding. Many of them now are unemployed.

Under contracts involving 14 building trades organizations and five contractors' associations, the residents will be trained to the extent necessary and given an opportunity to become members of the unions.

Dir. John E. Evans of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Urban Affairs was among representatives of government, labor and management on hand to announce the project at a press conference here.

He reported that the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust Fund has agreed to furnish interim construction mortgage financing to the amount of $650,000 to Jeff-Vander Lou, Inc., a neighborhood non-profit organization that initiated the project.

The Dept. of Urban Affairs oversees the operations of the fund, which was created by the AFL-CIO in 1964 to help finance the construction of necessary and socially desirable housing.

Jeff-Vander Lou gets its name from the fact that the area involved is bounded by Jefferson, Vandeventer, St. Louis and Delmar streets. Most of the residents of the area are Negroes.

Evans said his office has been working with Jeff-Vander Lou and other agencies here since June to set up the program. He indicated that the organization's close ties

(Continued on Page 8)

Labor Supplies Funds:

Ghetto Renewal Plan Keyed to New Jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

with the neighborhood were instrumental in making the project possible.

Evans also praised the St. Louis Building Trades Council and the contractors' associations for their work and cooperation in helping to plan the project.

He reported that building trades unions and contractors' associations in Boston have also signed agreements to train ghetto residents in rebuilding slum houses, and are expected to launch specific projects here soon.

Similar agreements are under discussion in Baltimore, Chicago and Gary, Ind., Evans said.

The principal enabling contracts in the project involve locals of the Operating Engineers, Plasterers, Cement Masons, Carpenters, Stone Workers, Sheet Metal Workers, Plumbers, Painters, Bricklayers, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Laborers and Teamsters, and district councils of the Laborers and Carpenters.

The St. Louis employer groups involved are Associated General Contractors, Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors, Plumbing Contractors, Mason Contractors, the National Electrical Contractors Association, and Sharks General Contractors.

Labor Grant

The training of at least 150 workers is covered by a $176,500 grant from the Labor Dept. to Construction Job Opportunities, Inc., formed by general contractors in the St. Louis area.

A craft selection committee with equal representation from labor and management will review job applications and classify workers for the project.

Workers hired will be classified as qualified workmen, advanced trainees or trainees, according to previous experience.

Qualified workers will receive the current negotiated pay rate for their particular crafts. Advanced trainees will receive from 60 to 90 percent of journeyman pay, depending upon degrees of skill. The starting rate for trainees will be $3 per hour.

Trainees will be allowed to work across jurisdictional lines as helpers for six months after which they will be assigned to a trade as an advanced trainee. Union membership will be made available not later than the completion of the advanced trainee training period.

Area Ratio

The craft selection committee will determine the ratio of nonresidents to residents of the area to be hired, except that in no case will the ratio in the advanced trainee or trainee classifications be less than 1 resident to 3 skilled journeymen.

Michael L. Galli, director of the St. Louis Federal Housing Administration office, described the project as one that "we hope will be adopted in other neighborhoods and urban areas throughout the nation."

He said rehabilitated homes will be sold to residents of the area, using FHA below-market-rate interest programs. Most completed homes will be of the three- or four-bedroom size, selling at an average price of $13,000, with down payments as low as $200 and monthly payments as low as $60.

Wall Street Journal

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Urban Problems

What's the Status of Urban Uplift?

By MONROE W. KARMIN

WASHINGTON—No one knows for certain what President Nixon intends for two of the erstwhile Great Society's boldest experiments in urban development: The Model Cities and New Communities programs. But prospects for both now seem brighter than many Democrats feared during the election campaign.

George Romney, the new Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, has told Congress he regards the comprehensive Model Cities approach to slum uplift as "a great opportunity." A Nixon task force has recommended that Model Cities become the chosen instrument for aiding the urban poor. The Nixon Administration, particularly Vice President Agnew, has shown interest in furthering the movement to establish planned new communities as satellites to major urban centers. A spokesman for Mr. Romney now says that, despite the Nixon desire to find budget economies, "there's no disposition to chop (either program) down automatically."

The Republicans, in reviewing Model Cities and New Communities, will find that the departed Democrats have pushed both from the theoretical to the action stage. Just before they left, the Democrats at HUD pledged Federal support to nine Model Cities projects and one New Community, with lots more applications soon to be ready for decision. As it analyzes progress, Romney & Co. will make these discoveries about the two programs.

Some Problems and Plans

First, Model Cities.

—Most cities, which at first rushed forward with ambitious plans, now have appreciably scaled back their ideas, largely because of Federal budget restrictions. Seattle, for example, originally contemplated a $58 million combined Federal-state-private uplift project; now it is settling for a $19 million start. "Sure we're disappointed," says Walter Hundley, the Seattle Model Cities administrator, "but maybe it's better that we didn't get it all because we're going to have a hard time handling the $19 million."

—Though the 150 selected Model Cities have diverse problems, most have zeroed in on unemployment as their chief concern, with housing, educational and recreational improvements trailing behind. Most have delayed or abandoned the more adventurous social experiments with such goals as racial integration. "We're stuck on the basics, for comments Mr. Taylor, "but it must be tied into the larger, white system."

—The Model Cities program's most acute problem, however, is at the Federal level. Despite intensive Democratic effort, the coordination among Federal departments that is required for a comprehensive attack on slum blight is rickety at best.

Second, New Communities.

—Response to the new Federal loan guarantee for New Community developers, which came into being last August, is stronger than was expected, More than 70 inquiries from would-be developers have been received at HUD; about a dozen of these have been placed in the "serious" category and one in Illinois has been approved. "I've been pleasantly surprised," says Charles M. Haar, the assistant secretary who has been in charge of the program and is still on the job.

—Most of the applications, however, come from real estate developers, operators and investors who are already in the land business. HUD has not yet attracted major corporations normally not concerned with community development into the field, but there are indications that some corporate newcomers may get in.

—Most of the projects have been proposed for location near major urban growth centers (to HUD's gratification) and not stuck out in the prairies away from existing population. Too, officials have discovered that large tracts of land are already in the hands of developers and companies.

—The New-Community designs are more traditional than avant garde. There is more emphasis on giving value per dollar than on fancy architecture. Most of the plans feature recreation. "We may have some difficulty getting low-income housing built at the beginning," says Robert Paul, an aide to Mr. Haar. "The image everybody wants is housing around a golf course."

To Robert C. Wood, the departed HUD Secretary, the Model Cities and New Communities programs will serve as proving grounds by which to judge Nixon intentions either to build upon the Great Society's urban initiatives or to change course.

The Model Cities program, particularly, is poised for takeoff. Though it was first proposed in 1965, the Government is just now committing funds to permit chosen cities to begin slum-uplift projects. So far, nine communities have been given the go-ahead: Seattle; Atlanta; Baltimore; Boston; Denver; Huntsville, Ala.; Portland, Maine; Waco

ety of aid programs into a comprehensive attack on a selected neighborhood's problems. Federal supervisors point to features of the Seattle plan as illustrative of what they are seeking.

Citizen participation: The Seattle project is the product of 10 citizen planning task forces working with volunteers from public and private agencies at the local, state and national levels. During seven months of meetings, more than 1,700 neighborhood residents participated in task force planning. Proposals approved by the task forces went to the Seattle Model City Advisory Council, composed of 86 representatives from neighborhood organizations, and then on to the mayor and city council for approval.

New neighborhood institutions: The Seattle project creates a variety of neighborhood institutions to aid the community. One is the United Inner-City Development Foundation, an organization of some 30 neighborhood groups, which seeks to develop new resident-owned businesses by acting as a middleman between residents and lenders. It hopes to get money from the Washington State Development Corp., from private sources and from Federal agencies such as the Small Business Administration.

Increasing Home Ownership

Similarly, a non-profit Housing Development Corp. is being formed to increase the supply of housing and the degree of homeownership in the neighborhood. The corporation hopes to bring in $6 million to build or rehabilitate 5,400 housing units in the next five years. The corporation will be owned by stockholders including business executives, public officials and local residents: Neighborhood shareholders will elect the directors.

Innovation: As a first step toward socioeconomic integration of the city's school system, Seattle plans to use Model Cities funds to plan a Middle School Education Park for grades five through nine, to be built, hopefully for a racially balanced student population, on the edge of the University of Washington campus. "In most cities integration is an uptight process that they didn't want to face," says Mr. Hundley. "We decided to face it."

Other approved Model Cities plans are using other approaches. Some examples:

Atlanta is assigning top priority to reducing unemployment in the target neighborhood from 15% to the city-wide level of 2.8%. Among other things, the Georgia State Employment Service will operate stations scat-

Model Cities approach to slum uplift as "a great opportunity." A Nixon task force has recommended that Model Cities become the chosen instrument for aiding the urban poor. The Nixon Administration, particularly Vice President Agnew, has shown interest in furthering the movement to establish planned new communities as satellites to major urban centers. A spokesman for Mr. Romney now says that, despite the Nixon desire to find budget economies, "there's no disposition to chop (either program) down automatically."

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—Though the 150 selected Model Cities have diverse problems, most have zeroed in on unemployment as their chief concern, with housing, educational and recreational improvements trailing behind. Most have delayed or abandoned the more adventurous social experiments with such goals as racial integration. "They've stuck to the basics, for the most part," says Ralph Taylor, the assistant HUD secretary who shepherded the program from its birth to the Republican takeover and is staying on temporarily.

—The major impact of Model Cities planning, so far, has been to create new neighborhood institutions such as housing and job development corporations that are involving slum residents more than ever in community affairs. A major problem now is the advent of the "community control" movement that, in many cases, seeks "black separatism" as a goal. "I'm not against black participation," came into being last August, is stronger than was expected. More than 70 inquiries from would-be developers have been received at HUD; about a dozen of these have been placed in the "serious" category and one in Illinois has been approved. "I've been pleasantly surprised," says Charles M. Haar, the assistant secretary who has been in charge of the program and is still on the job.

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But other plans are progressing through the pipeline, and Mr. Taylor predicts the Nixon Administration could approve as many as 65 by June 30. New York City has been assured of $65 million for its three Model Cities projects if it completes necessary procedures by the end of June. Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and St. Louis all are expected to qualify.

The Model Cities program gives bonus Federal money to cities that pull together a variparticipated in task force planning. Proposals approved by the task forces went to the Seattle Model City Advisory Council, composed of 86 representatives from neighborhood organizations, and then on to the mayor and city council for approval.

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Other approved Model Cities plans are using other approaches. Some examples:

Atlanta is assigning top priority to reducing unemployment in the target neighborhood from 15% to the city-wide level of 2.8%. Among other things, the Georgia State Employment Service will operate stations scattered throughout the target neighborhood to relay job information rapidly to residents. A job-mobile would transport residents to interviews: They would get funds for clothing, eyeglasses, dental work and anything else thought necessary to help them land jobs.

Residents of Waco's chosen neighborhood want to improve physical conditions in their community as their first priority. New streets, sewers and drainage systems are planned, along with stricter building-code enforcement to improve housing. A Resident Homebuilder Project would build new homes and train Negro residents to manage their own homebuilding firms. A Neighborhood Development Program would seek public and private funds to build 400 units of low-cost housing. An urban design center would help residents plan general community improvements, including parks.

The Smithville-Dekalb County program identifies poor educational opportunity (nearly half the county's students don't finish high school) as the root-cause of its problems. The county proposes extensive revamping of its school system, including higher teacher salaries, a strengthened curriculum, and emphasis on vocational education and remedial reading.

Denver's Projects

Denver's program contemplates 119 projects in 12 problem areas and includes such efforts as a rehabilitation center for hippies, expanded public defender services for the poor, a Metropolitan State College that would be oriented to serving the poor and minority groups, a recreation program to enable families to participate in activities as a unit, and a Youth Coalition to involve 16 to 21-year-olds in self-help projects.

The New Communities program, signed into law last August, seeks to stimulate the development of satellite cities, such as Reston, Va., and Columbia, Md., by easing the financial strain on sponsors. Officials figure that Government guarantee of debentures issued by the developers will enable them to borrow from private lenders at a cheaper rate and for longer terms.

Though it has not yet been announced, HUD has granted conditional approval for a $30 million guarantee to enable a group of sponsors, headed by the Illinois Central Railroad and developer Will Manilow, to begin a new community in Illinois. The planned city, expected to occupy 17,000 acres and house 100,000 people by 1980, will be built around a university center. Sponsors hope to attract substantial industry and a diversified citizenry. To qualify for the Government guarantee, says HUD's Mr. Haar, the sponsors had to expand their plans from what he describes as "mainly a smaller-scale residential subdivision."

When the Nixon Administration reviews Model Cities and New Communities, then, it obviously will be dealing not only with ideas but with projects well under way.

1-24-69 Urban Problems - Unemp

TIME AND SOUND

Union-Employer-Community Accord On Jobs

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

A breath of fresh air seeped into one of the tightest employment vacuums in the local economy with the recent tri-partite agreement among the building construction unions, the construction employers association and a neighborhood association operating in the Negro slums of north St. Louis. The memorandum deals with construction employment in the rehabilitation of 300 dilapidated houses in 200 square blocks of the northside ghetto.

The socially incongruous sight of highly paid, substantially all-white craftsmen on building projects in a poverty-stricken community with high incidence of employment has perhaps been one of the greatest sources of tension and despair in the black community. It is taken, and rightly so, as open contempt and visual proof of the hopeless inequities of the slum environment.

The prime value of the unique memorandum, despite its obvious weakness in scope and content, is the belated recognition of construction unions and employers that the winds of change are surrounding us, and survival can only be maintained by facing up to change instead of seeking to subvert it. Consequently, the real value of this initial accord is perhaps more psychological and educational than economic in any substantive degree. We can only hope that its value will increase both educationally and economically as experience gathers. In this connection future agreements could expand the area of employment and training as well as the nature of construction.

The essence of the three-way agreement relates to the rehabilitation of 300 residential units in the model cities area covered by the Jeff-Vander-Lou association. The construction work will be carried on over a two-year period at a cost of approximately $4 million of which the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust Fund has agreed to furnish $650,000 in interim construction mortgage financing. The rehabilitated homes will be sold to residents of the area.

The agreement provides for the hiring and training of area residents at a ratio of not less than one resident to three skilled journeymen. The plan creates three classes of workers: (a) qualified workers or those with the necessary skills, (b) advanced trainees or those with some construction experience, but who do not have full qualifications, (c) trainees or those without any previous experience. Qualified workers in the area will be paid the existing union rates of the particular craft. Advanced trainees are placed into groups having a range between 60 to 90 percent of the applicable journeyman's rate. Trainees will be paid $3.00 per hour. They will work across jurisdictional lines as helpers for a six month period.

The agreement creates a Local Joint Administrative Committee, composed of the various groupings, to handle recruitment of workers.

St. Louis unions involved in the project are: Carpenters, Brick-layers, Plasterers, Operating Engineers, Cement Masons, Sheet Metal Workers, Teamsters, Plumbers, Electrical Workers, Painters, and Laborers. Employers Associations include Associated General Contractors, Sheet Metal and Air Conditioning Contractors, Plumbing Contractors, Mason Contractors, Electrical Contractors and Sharks General Contractors. The U. S. Department of Labor is granting $176,500 to train at least 150 workers.

While it makes some significant advances in labor-management-community communications, the basic weakness of the agreement is in its scope: it excludes new construction in the same area, and over-tilts the scale in behalf of outside journeyman skills. Experience could possibly improve these defects.

Like any union contract, no agreement is worth the paper it is written upon unless the elements affected put life and vitality into it.

We believe a proper step has been made in a most complex industry. The agreement is unique and as a first step it can lead to a most fruitful development in job opportunities in the local building construction industry. Let us hope so. The unions, the employers and the Jeff-Vander-Lou Neighborhood association should be commended for this important first step.

Urban Problems — Unions

Supervisors' Patience Needed for Successful On-the-Job Training

In a recent speech to the National Petroleum Refiners Assn., OCAW Pres. A. F. Grospiron called on both labor and management to assume new responsibilities in an effort to solve the nation's social problems.

Another enlightened view on this subject is held by Detroit businessman Joseph L. Hudson Jr., presented in a lecture at the University of Michigan. Although he did not mention the union's role in finding solutions, maybe because his audience consisted of other businessmen, he does show some understanding of the problem.

"Many Americans receive a sort of education in reverse — an education for failure," he declared. "These people, whether hard-core unemployed or high school dropouts — and it makes little difference whether they are black or white — know that they are failures."

"When they are given a job they know that sooner or later they are going to be fired. So, the first time they are criticized, or the first time they make a mistake, they just quit and don't come back — and until recently nobody cared. Why should they? In the American tradition they had been given an opportunity, and they had failed. The business society had done its part."

Hudson noted that our production-oriented economy has difficulty accommodating the undertrained or marginal employe. "When a first-line supervisor is saddled with a potential problem employe, or a marginal producer, or an employe who is going to require a disproportionate amount of supervision," he explained, "the supervisor's own success is threatened by jeopardizing the production of his unit. As a result he views these people as albatrosses hung around his neck and may be more interested in their failure than their success."

The success of employment programs, he said, depends on something far deeper than merely educating or training the unemployed. "It requires the education of the trainers. It requires the education of the supervisors. And it requires a new set of management standards which will permit some sort of recognition or reward to the supervisor who does a successful job of integrating these people into his work force."

In facing the urban crisis, Hudson said, business corporations can play their most significant part in providing both jobs and training to the unemployed, the drop out, the ADC mothers, and others who cannot find or hold good jobs. But he emphasized such involvement must have effective follow-through.

Such an effort, while necessary, is also costly, Hudson admitted. But, he added, "It just makes good sense, common sense and business sense, to see that those elements of society which are a drain on our economy today become self-sufficient, positive contributors to our society and our economy tomorrow."

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Emergency Action Urged To Meet Housing Crisis

Labor Cites Interest Rate, Land Costs

The AFL-CIO called for a top-priority, emergency program to meet the nation's "unpostponable housing needs."

Wage-earners have been priced out of the homebuying market by the soaring cost of money and land, the federation testified at Senate hearings.

John Evans, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Urban Affairs, said the interest rate on mortgage money "has moved from being a serious problem to that of a national disaster."

He told a Senate Banking subcommittee:

"We have watched interest rates skyrocket . . . and we have watched much-needed housing slip further and further from the grasp of those who need it most.

"We have watched government programs of assistance, so hopefully conceived, become badly eroded. We have watched wage-earners abandon their aspiration to escape substandard dwellings and, concurrently, we have seen a halt in the traditional upward mobility from renter to small home owner to bigger home owner.

"A terrible stagnation is settling over America, blighting the housing hopes of all but a fortunate few."

Evans urged the Senate panel to write into its extension of the federal housing legislation two provisions to ease the mortgage money squeeze.

One would authorize $5 billion of GI insurance funds to be used for veterans' mortgages at a 6 percent interest rate. This, he noted, would both help meet housing needs of returning veterans and bring a greater return to the insurance fund than it presently receives.

(Continued on Page 8)

Labor Urges Steps to Meet Housing Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

In addition, Evans urged that the Federal Reserve Board be directed to purchase up to $5 billion in government-insured mortgages—thus freeing an additional amount for new home mortgages.

Evans charged that the accelerated tax depreciation loophole for real estate has forced up land costs by encouraging speculation.

"It should be ended forthwith except for low and moderate income rental housing," he urged. "Here, a tax break can direct the construction industry toward great national purpose."

Because of the limited supply of urban land, Evans said, the federal government should develop a national land reserve, with provisions for acquiring land and earmarking portions for low and moderate income housing similar to that in the urban renewal program.

"The best overall job of answering the needs of low income families is public housing," Evans said.

He praised provisions in an Administration bill to continue and improve the public housing program and urged that serious thought be given to public transportation subsidies to open up new areas for low-cost housing.

Evans told the subcommittee that volume production is the only means of bringing down the cost of housing.

He said that the AFL-CIO and its building trades unions "have readily accepted and adapted to hundreds of changes . . . aimed at faster, more economical methods."

There is, he said, no opposition on the part of AFL-CIO unions to innovations in the housing industry.

Wall Street Journal 9-5-69

At HUD, a New Respect for History

By JOANN LUBLIN

***FOR SALE:** A decaying six-story building in New Haven, Conn., doomed to be demolished and replaced by a parking garage in a $29 million Federally funded urban renewal project.*

For three months in 1878 a lady telephone operator sat on a soapbox in a ground-floor room in this building and ran the nation's first commercial switchboard. Southern New England Telephone Co. long ago lost track of the original equipment; it has a replica exhibit downtown. The room is empty now, and a passerby sniffs: "The air in there must be historic."

Chances are the old building will come down, its significance memorialized with a plaque on the front of the parking garage. But the effort to preserve it, even for a little while, has a significance of its own: A departure from custom at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, popularly recognized as Washington's prime advocate of the wrecking ball.

It was HUD that postponed the New Haven building's demolition while historians from the Interior Department hunted for local preservationists who might buy the structure from the city and either relocate or restore it. In contrast, the usual HUD approach has been to tear down everything in a deteriorated urban area and rebuild in modern style—the bulldozer technique of renewal-through-removal that often gave HUD a black eye among architects and preservationists fighting to keep a city's distinctive character.

By no means does the New Haven reprieve signal a complete change of heart at HUD. Historic restoration still ranks comparatively low next to low-cost housing and downtown economic rejuvenation. And, despite the New Haven instance of cooperation with the Interior Department, a rivalry persists—HUD having renewal money (a $750 million Congressional authorization) and few historical experts, while Interior has trained historians and relatively little preservation money (a $32 million authorization, of which Congress has appropriated a scant $400,000).

HUD people shrug off Interior's fiscal frustrations. "They talk," says a HUD man, "and we put in the money."

Out of HUD's money, the 2,000-plus cities with urban renewal projects may seek up to $90,000 per building for historic restoration. The rest of the restoration cost is up to the city, but often it can write off this outlay as part of its required one-third share of the total bill for the renewal project.

HUD, in judging the authenticity of a prospective restoration, relies on the standards the Interior Department employs in compiling its National Register of Federally protected sites and buildings. The states nominate candidates for this list; currently it numbers more than 1,000. Paradoxically, preservationists rely on this very list in defending their treasures from HUD-financed bulldozers. When a listed building is threatened by the urban renewers or other Federal perils (superhighways, for instance), a 17-member Advisory Council on Historic Preservation steps in to help find ways of saving it.

Inclusion of the New Haven telephone building on the National Register has reddened some faces at Interior. But other choices need no apology: Henry Thoreau's Walden Pond in Concord,, Mass., the Brooklyn Bridge, and Robert Goddard's first rocket-launching site (on the ninth fairway of the Pakachoag golf course in Worcester County, Mass.).

HUD now refuses to okay urban renewal funds until the local government justifies its intended handling of sites and buildings on the National Register. But as recently as last spring—two years after historic-preservation legislation took effect—many regional HUD officers remained unaware they could turn down renewal plans which did not take these structures into account. And some local historical groups have lodged their aged schoolhouse or armory on the Register—then defied oncoming bulldozers from behind the Register's protection.

Thus in Grand Rapids, Mich., where $3,267,141 in HUD money has poured into a downtown renewal project begun in 1961, the only non-new building left in Vandenberg Center is the 81-year-old city hall, which boasts a six-story clock tower and the first concrete roof poured in the U.S. The city fathers want their old hall torn down, but the Kent County council on historic preservation secured National Register recognition for it from the Interior Department last June.

Too late, say HUD's officials. Explains George Karas, an urban renewal expert, referring to the Government's loans: "To suddenly change signals on the developers, telling them we are going to save an old building, means you've sold money to them on false premises—and sabotaged the whole urban renewal plan."

So HUD begged off blocking the Grand Rapids city hall demolition, arguing that the 1966 preservation law can't retroactively affect renewal plans approved five years earlier. (The local preservationists, who filed suit Tuesday against HUD and the city, will be in court next week arguing for a delay in the demolition while the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation hears their case.)

The Nixon-tuned HUD administrators, mindful of hometown cries of "Federal interference," also remark that if Grand Rapids residents cannot persuade their own city government to cancel destruction of the old city hall, "It raises the question of whether it should be saved."

A counter-argument, often expressed by Interior Department architects and historians, is that HUD should consider not the local but the national significance of a historic building—especially since renewal dollars are Federal tax money.

The new HUD policy of cooperating with the Interior Department's National Register has aggravated renewal-preservation woes in another way. While HUD maintains tenuous alliances with city planners, National Register people avoid them, relying instead on historian-architect teams or state liaison officers.

This infuriated local renewal planners in Derby, Conn., because they were not consulted when the city-owned Sterling Opera House, scheduled for demolition on a renewal site, was placed on the Register last March by the state. ("That's one of the strengths," says William Murtagh, keeper of the National Register. "The owner does not have to give his consent for a building to be put on the Register.")

HUD approved Derby's urban renewal contract in June, on the condition that planners justify demolition of the 80-year-old opera house before the Advisory Council in Washington in November. Now the city threatens to redraw its renewal plans and leave out the building, then tear it down and sell the land to an eager local bank. If no Federal assistance is involved, neither HUD nor the National Register could prevent the demolition of the opera house, where Lionel Barrymore performed and John L. Sullivan boxed—and the air is historic.

E Vio

F/ Housing Resources Committee

R. Mad.

Special report

Is a breakthrough near in housing?

Broad spectrum of companies will bid to participate in HUD's plan to mass-produce low-cost homes

The real hurdle now is not technology, labor, land, or even mortgage money—but public acceptance

109 Washington St. is an unpainted, ramshackle frame house that lies directly in the path of a new highway in Stamford, Conn. Since January, it has been home to John and Daisy Scott, their six children and two grandchildren. Scott, an odd-jobs laborer for a homebuilder, pays $160 a month for a dilapidated, six-room apartment (one of several in the house) in a blighted, mainly black neighborhood. The screens are broken or missing, the foundation is crumbling, and a mere trickle of hot water runs in the tub. But John Scott is lucky; many blacks pay much more for less.

Multiply the plight of the Scott family several million times and you can almost hear the ticking of the bomb that could blow America's cities to bits. A major component of the nation's explosive social problem is housing; improve the environment in which millions of poor Americans live and you might defuse the bomb.

In fact, you could do much more. It's virtually certain that the Nixon Administration will make a thorough upgrading of the nation's housing stock a prime goal of policy for the years ahead. Given this intention, housing will be transformed from a stagnating industry into one of the most dynamic elements in the economy—comparable in economic impact to the train in the 19th Century and the automobile in the years after World War I.

Hitting a goal of 3-million units by 1975—the target announced by Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers—would unquestionably make housing the nation's premier growth industry. In contrast to the current $30-billion, spending for homebuilding would have to rise to at least $60-billion in five years, a growth rate of almost 20% a year.

Persuasion. This helps to explain some of the excitement over Operation Breakthrough, which has kept the lights burning late in many offices this week while companies rush to get bids ready for it before the Sept. 19 deadline. Breakthrough is Housing & Urban Development Secretary George Romney's bid to enlist U. S. industrial knowhow and capital in the effort to house families of low and moderate income under various federal subsidy programs. Companies will submit plans for various types of housing that can be mass-produced using assembly-line methods. The 10 to 20 winners will share $15-million in research and development grants from HUD, and win the right to place their prototypes in HUD's eight regional showcases.

An implicit goal of Breakthrough is to provide decent housing for the urban poor that would let them get out of the inner city and live closer to job opportunities as plants and offices spring up in outlying areas. Romney expects to "persuade" state and local governments to cooperate on zoning and codes, and to find sites for factory-built housing by promising top priority on their bids for other HUD goodies—grants for urban renewal, planning, sewers, roads, historic preservation. With this bait, Romney hopes to aggregate a big enough market for mass-produced housing to justify major capital outlays by industry.

Industry, for its part, seems eager to try. Some 1,300 representatives from more than 600 companies attended the HUD briefing on Operation Breakthrough in June. HUD officials say almost 900 companies have expressed interest in the program. Major corporations from the entire spectrum of U. S. industry are either readying bids or counseling bidders. Just about every big name in construction is in the competition, and scores of companies or consortiums have emerged primarily to bid on Breakthrough.

This much is clear: Breakthrough has drawn many companies into housing a lot earlier than might otherwise have happened—at least two years earlier, say some company spokesmen. Moreover, it's a long-term commitment. Nearly every company queried by Business Week insisted it was in housing to stay—whether or not it won the HUD contract. The housing industry will never be the same.

Critics. Despite all the bushy-tailed enthusiasm, there are pockets of cynicism, especially among traditional homebuilders. Many feel Romney has not yet faced the political realities of local zoning and union resistance, or the economic facts of financing, local taxes and land costs, and the expense of transporting factory-built housing from plant to site. Other critics insist that technology is not the problem, that precious time is a-wasting in Romney's prototype program.

There is general acknowledgement, however, that Breakthrough is at least forcing the nation to take a hard look at its spreading crisis in housing, and at the constraints that contribute to it.

Losing ground

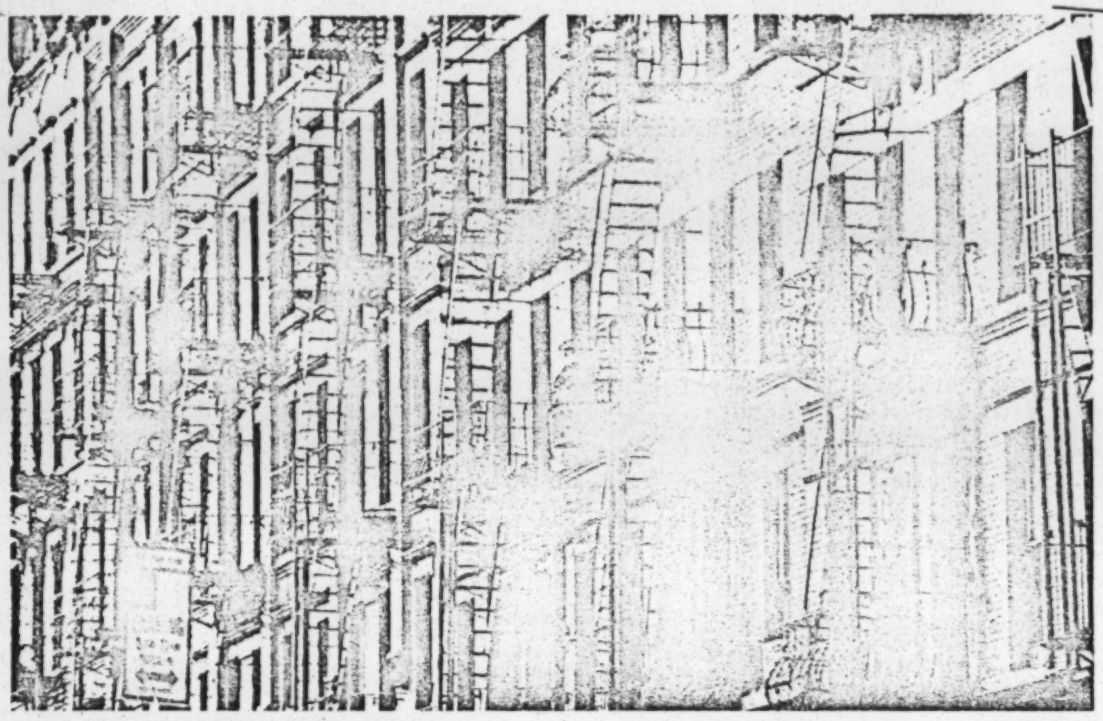
The housing industry, which never fully recovered from the 1966 credit crunch, failed in each of the past three years to build enough housing to meet demand. This year, when the market easily could absorb 3-million units, less than half that number will be built.

There is little debate that the demand is there. Nearly every housing official can tell you how much low- and moderate-income housing is needed: Chicago wants 300,000 units; Atlanta needs 16,000; Dallas, 46,000; Denver, 37,000 by 1975; Los Angeles, 14,000 in the next two years; Miami, 10,000 now, plus another 20,000 over the next five years; Minneapolis-St. Paul, 40,000; Boston, 10,000, Philadelphia, 47,000 units over the next five years; and Pittsburgh wants replacements for 8,500 dilapidated homes and 35,000 deteriorated units. Even a small city like Stamford, Conn., needs 3,000 units over the next few years.

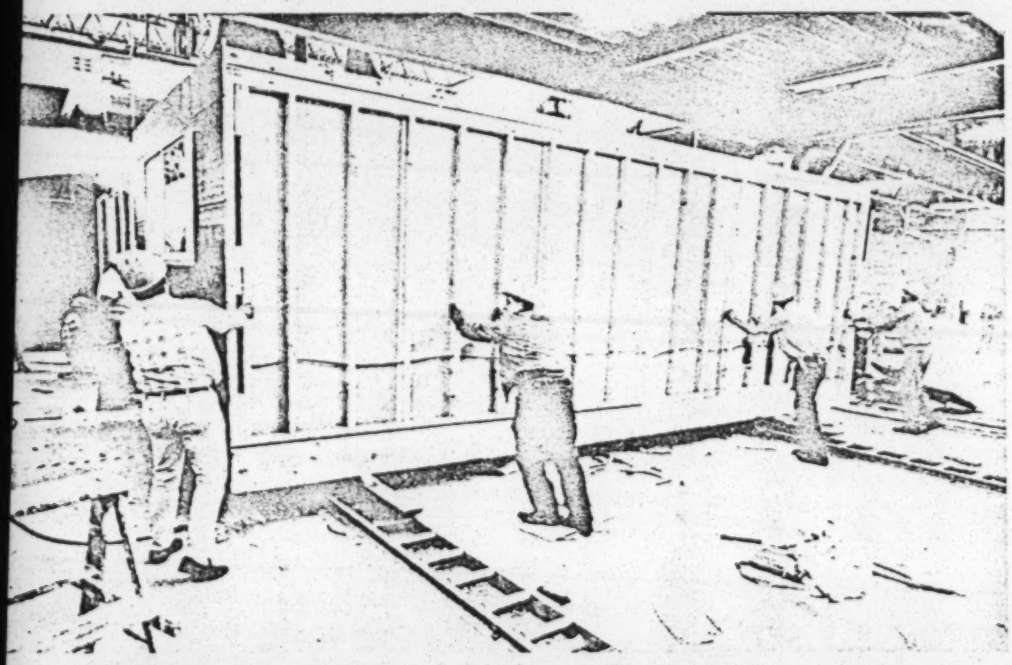
In New York City, Housing Administrator Jason R. Nathan spots his needs at 30,000 to 40,000 a year for the next decade. "Romney's proposal is the most important new direction . . . in the housing field today," declares Nathan. "The field of housing production is drowning in its own juices . . . You have simply got to find a radically different method of producing housing that will increase speed and reduce costs."

Squeeze. The resulting shortages—acute in many areas—have pushed prices on new homes and apartments beyond the reach of many middle-income families. Costs of land, labor, materials, and local taxes are soaring. Mortgage money is scarce, rates are high (some over 9% in California) and downpayments substantial. And only the cost of money has any chance of easing within the next year.

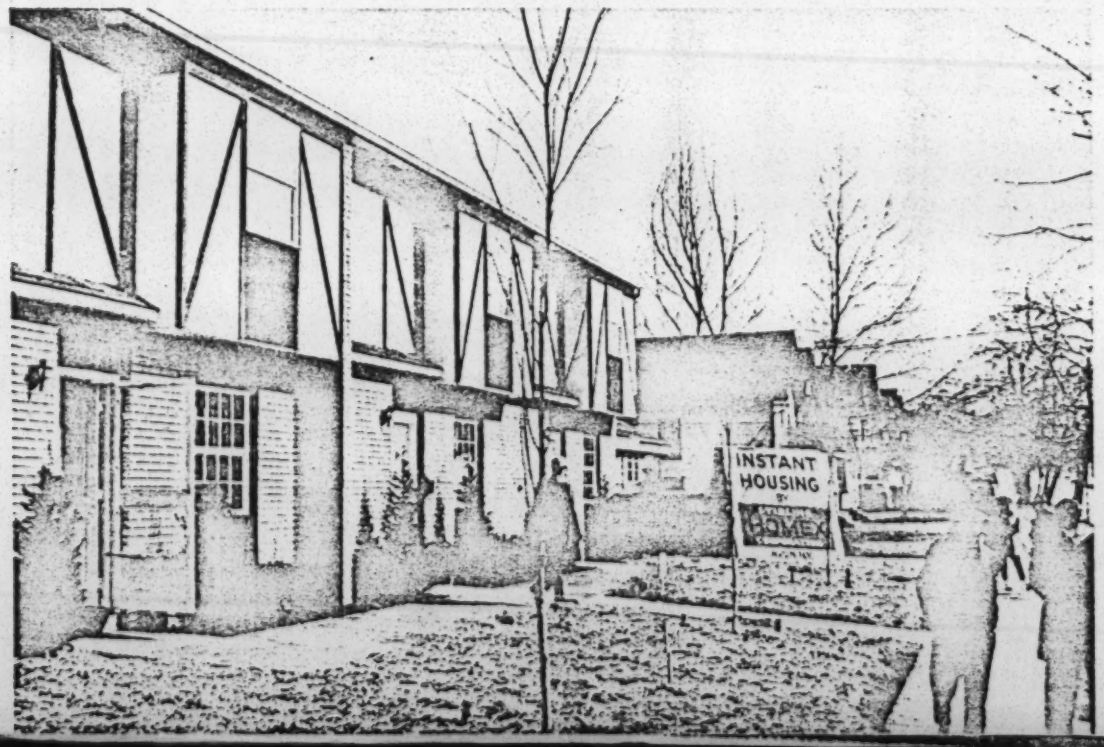
Families have begun to double up as they did after World War II. Rent controls, or demand for them, have cropped up again in many cities. New York City extended its wartime controls to postwar housing. Stamford, Conn., will get rent control this fall. In Passaic, N. J., a week



Slum housing is a major element in the frustration that makes powderkegs of U. S. cities.



Mass-produced housing, such as these units being assembled at a factory near Rochester, N. Y., is a principal ingredient of the prescription that HUD's George Romney is writing to cure America's critically ill urban complexes.



Prefab houses that are stacked and connected in 40 hours rent as public housing in Akron at $54 a month.

of rioting followed an exorbitant rent hike by one landlord.

Romney sums up: "We've been losing ground in housing, and the shortages will grow. The existing housing supply is deteriorating faster than we are rehabilitating or building new units. It will get somewhat worse before it gets better."

Inventory. The President's Committee on Urban Housing (the Kaiser committee) put it plainly enough in its report last year: "About 7.8-million American families—one in every eight—cannot afford to pay market price for standard housing. About half these 7.8-million families are surviving on less than $3,000 a year."

The state of the nation's housing inventory is equally distressing. Of a total supply of some 65-million units, an estimated 6.7-million occupied units are substandard—4-million lacking indoor plumbing, and 2.7-million in dilapidated condition. Some 6.1-million units are defined as overcrowded (more than one person per room). And only about 2-million of the 6-million vacant units are in standard condition and available for occupancy—the nation's lowest available vacancy rate since 1958.

Against this background, the Kaiser committee recommended "a goal of producing at least 26-million new and rehabilitated units by 1978, including 6-million to 8-million federally subsidized dwellings for families in need of housing assistance." This goal calls for the industry to produce over 1-million more units annually than it is now doing. Romney believes that Breakthrough will give the na-

Romney soups up his new vehicle

Van Dusen

Jackson

Unger

As the first Republican Secretary of Housing & Urban Development, George Romney, now 62, has set himself two tough goals: One is to gather more of the power a HUD Secretary is supposed to have over the once-independent agencies that were stapled together to make up his department. The other is to make a success of Operation Breakthrough.

Breakthrough is closest to Romney's heart. While the program was conceived and delivered by the Democrats in Congress against the wishes of Robert Weaver and the Johnson Administration, Romney took in the foundling, gave it a name, and adopted it as his own.

Romney is most at home with the language of promotion, production, and the hard sell. Marketing the Breakthrough concept takes him right back to his days of glory in Detroit, those years that made him a millionaire, made his name a household word, helped put him in the Michigan governor's mansion and—for a short time—made him a real Presidential possibility for the GOP.

But Breakthrough is a new kind of vehicle, and enthusiasm a rare quality in Washington. Skeptics among industry lobbyists and bureaucrats, who have seen dozens of housing programs come and go, remember only one—the original FHA insurance program, which backed suburban housing for millions of families—that turned out really well. Still, it is Romney's "thing," and his zeal in "doing it" has been rendered more effective by the tempering process of life in the capital.

As a new man in Washington, Romney had some minor run-ins with the senior Democrats who still run Congress. Now he is smoother, exuding the same missionary fervor but with less of the preachiness that irked many during his early months.

Romney contrasts sharply with his predecessor, Democrat Robert Weaver. The first Negro Cabinet official, Weaver was a veteran bureaucratic survivor who rose to the top—aloof, no boat-rocker, and a master of jargon who kept his neck tucked in. Weaver left HUD about as it was handed to him—a federation of fiefdoms retaining most of their autonomy, despite being part of HUD.

Romney's goal of actually taking command of the departments has yet to be realized: Such things are not accomplished between January and September. But he has assembled a top command group that meets almost daily, and which has been charged with making HUD work like a department. Romney gets a wide diversity of views from his three top officials:

- Under Secretary Richard C. Van Dusen, 44, is a Detroit lawyer and long-time political confidante of Romney. He focuses on internal management of the huge department.
- General Counsel Sherman Unger, 41, is a political associate of President Nixon from California who was given his pick of several top-echelon jobs. He chose HUD because he figures it is the agency that will move farthest and fastest into the problems of urban society, once the drop in Vietnam expenditures allows more to be spent on domestic programs.
- Assistant Secretary Samuel C. Jackson, 40, is a Kansan and a highly regarded black lawyer who put in many years with the NAACP. He came to HUD from the American Arbitration Center in Washington.

Time element. All three men have been working to reorganize HUD. Unger has pulled into a single "law firm" for Romney the lawyers who formerly reported to the chiefs of such agencies as FHA and Public Housing; they now report to Unger. Jackson, similarly, is assembling "most of the planning functions" from these agencies into his Office of Metropolitan Development.

Romney and his command group are working to consolidate some 13 HUD programs into five or six—hoping thereby to shrink the complexity of applications, to lump grant programs together, and otherwise cut the time it takes to get a project underway and completed.

Looking. Romney has one major top job still unfilled: Assistant Secretary for Mortgage Credit who is also Federal Housing Commissioner—head of FHA. Romney had recruited West Coast builder Ray Watt for the job, but the appointment never was announced when it became apparent that Watt's holdings were such that he couldn't eliminate the conflict-of-interest problem.

Romney has said several times that he had a man being cleared for the job. He wants a "production man" like Watt, presumably someone who knows the housing bureaucracy from having worked with it, and against it, as a private entrepreneur.

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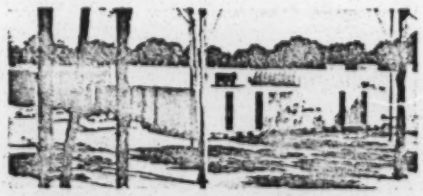

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tion a leg up on that formidable goal.

Gearing up. It's obvious that—due largely to conditions beyond its control—today's housing industry is incapable of responding to a mass market. Romney's predecessor at HUD, Robert C. Wood, now director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies, learned this much from the ill-fated In-Cities program, an earlier HUD bid for a systems approach to housing.

"We discovered that although we could get Apollo going, no single enterprise in the country could handle this sort of housing project," says Wood. "We have to produce 700,000 units of low- and medium-cost housing a year . . . It is economically feasible, but we have to gear up."

"Gearing up" for mass production would take the industry more than a year. Only a handful of conventional builders operate on a national scale, and the largest of these—Levitt & Sons, Inc., a subsidiary of ITT—last year produced only 6,800 units. Even among prefab and mobile-home producers, no single company ever turned out more than 30,000 units a year.

Cranking up the industry's capacity, patently, is no solution. The task Romney has set himself in making Breakthrough a success is nothing less than the creation of an entirely new housing industry, based on the principles which brought him his fame and fortune—mass-production and mass-marketing.

In his favorite role of proselytizer-promoter, Romney raises the hopes of many who see in his single-minded zeal the sort of force that just might trigger over the next few years a change in the way housing is made and sold. The success of Breakthrough, if it comes, will hinge on

'. . . no single enterprise can handle this project . . .'

how well Romney manages to aggregate markets, to persuade people to accept mass-produced housing.

The real breakthrough, in other words, must come in local attitudes.

Legal hurdles

The man Romney picked to ramrod Operation Breakthrough is Harold B. Finger, a systems expert recruited from the space program. To Finger, the systems approach to housing means manipulating such subsystems as management, market, land, capital, planning, design, and long-term financing to produce the best possible environment at the lowest possible cost. Several of the consortiums formed to bid on Breakthrough combine these disciplines in ways entirely new to U. S. housing.

An Assistant Secretary for Research & Technology, Finger has the tough and sensitive job of tackling state and local governments on their zoning and building codes—in many areas, designed precisely to keep out the type of low- and moderate-income families that Breakthrough is committed to helping.

It takes a foolhardy politician to buck local opposition on this delicate subject. The mayor of Stamford, Conn., was deposed not long ago over his plan to scatter, small groups of low-income housing in middle-income neighborhoods. Quips

Federal subsidies to housing

Project	Type of subsidy	Units 1968	1969 [Jan.-July]	Cumulative
Public housing	Retirement of local bonds; $120 a year for special poverty cases	71,695	47,392	783,370 [since '37]
Rental housing for elderly and handicapped	Direct loans to sponsors; payment of interest above 3%	9,736	3,093	45,875 [since '59]
Rental or co-op housing	Payment of interest above 3%	49,119	25,374	152,161 [since '61]
Home ownership	Payment of interest over 1%	33	6,209	6,242 [since '68]
	Totals	130,583	82,068	987,648

Data: Housing & Urban Development Dept.

This is the housing that Jack built

The bureaucrat who has been most successful getting factory-built housing into place is, by training and instinct, decidely no bureaucrat. He is Jack Saferstein, 44, Metropolitan Housing Authority director in Akron, a blunt, arrogant, impeccably dressed merchant who makes a hobby of cutting bureaucratic corners.

Many city officials bemoan the difficulties in finding sites and winning acceptance for factory-built housing. "Jack just goes ahead and acts, stepping on toes if necessary," says an Akronite.

Saferstein's score is impressive. Since February, he has moved 120 families of low or moderate income into new, two-story town houses that cost $17,000 each (excluding land) and they rent from $47 for a two-bedroom unit to $54 for four bedrooms. Another 300 units are in various stages of building; the goal is 1,500. In less than two years, Akron's record for fast action has drawn $25-million in federal housing subsidies.

Like merchandising. Two years ago, Saferstein was president of a chain of Akron supermarkets while serving somewhat indifferently on the board of the local housing authority. When the director retired, Saferstein accepted the post. The merchant in him soon discovered that housing is no different from merchandising. "You have to come up with a program and sell it," he insists.

The first sales job is in Washington. "The money is there for the taking," he asserts. "You have to get there firstest with the mostest, as I've learned the hard way."

Next step is the local building inspectors. Saferstein took them to the plant of the manufacturer, Stirling Homex Corp., of Avon, N. Y. "I said, 'Make a list of everything that's wrong. Be hard-nosed.' And they were. Then we corrected everything. Then I said, 'Make another list.' We conformed. We fooled them, goddammit."

The unions were next. "Our houses are made in a union plant, and all the people who complete them on the site are union men," Saferstein says.

Critics. Local resistance? There is some flak from middle-class Negroes who say that a large unit will glut their neighborhoods and cause school problems. This is not a valid issue, local observers say; most of the Negroes moving in to the units already live in the neighborhood.

A civil rights group complains that Saferstein has not integrated neighborhoods fast enough. Saferstein replies that he cannot afford to buy much land in all-white neighborhoods. Says an observer, "Saferstein has moved carefully." Where he has moved Negroes into white areas, "he has not so far caused panic selling or a lot of hard feeling."

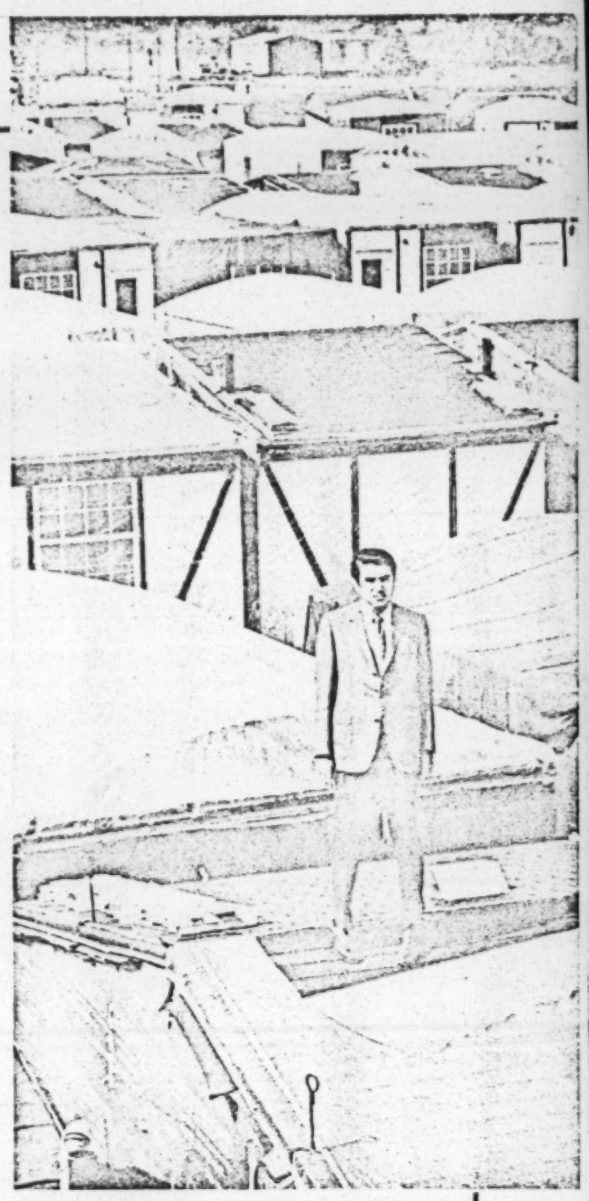
One reason for this is that there was virtually no low-income housing built in Akron until Saferstein got on the job. Thus, there has been no feeling of saturation, as yet, in any of the neighborhoods where the units have been placed. Usually he buys four to six houses and replaces them with 10 to 12 town house units.

"We build in a lot of aesthetics," says Saferstein. "Every neighborhood where we have been we have upgraded."

"I tried to lay a little more groundwork," he explains. "Maybe our public relations is better. Any flak we have received has been from people on the perimeter . . . but we've never had a project turned down."

Joseph Melchior, executive vice-president of the Builders Assn. of Greater Cleveland (where factory-built housing has yet to find a home), has his own explanation of Akron's success: "Jack Saferstein is a special case. He may not be so hot on public relations, but he gets things done, and that's what counts."

Rebuttal. Not surprisingly, Saferstein has his enemies. First, of course, are contractors, one of whom branded the instant homes "chintzy." Saferstein leads with his chin: "The contractors think the cotton gin isn't going to work—man will never get to the moon. They'd love to say, 'I told you it wouldn't work.'" Saferstein is still waiting for one to comeup with a program to match it. Says one observer: "They are not high-quality homes, but they are taking the pressure off the inner city, low-cost housing market, which most builders are not interested in anyway."



Jack Saferstein inspects 'instant' homes ready for completion at site.

Saferstein's achievements have won him a reputation in federal housing circles. "I have been invited to move into the Washington arena," he says. "I'm not interested. It is satisfying to accomplish something here."

Has Romney's Operation Breakthrough helped his program? Says Saferstein: "Our program helps Romney. After all, we're accomplishing things."

Philadelphia builder Richard Fox: "People will sell their children before they have their neighborhood rezoned."

The suburbs don't want 'cracker-boxes,'" says Edward E. Estkowsky, of Wisconsin's Dept. of Industry, Labor & Human Relations. "Then you explain 'They're not cracker-boxes, they're cheapie Taj Mahals,' but they still won't go."

Missionary. To sell the concept to local officials, Finger has signed up John Betz, former housing expert for the Urban Coalition, and onetime aide to Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wis.), a power on the House Banking Committee. Betz is doing missionary work around the country. The level of cooperation has been mixed, but a number of statewide conferences have been held in California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Washington, and other states. Moreover, state officials report requests from many cities that want to be considered for one of the eight prototype show case sites.

Many states have enacted new laws on statewide zoning or building codes that will help ease the way for Breakthrough. New York's Urban Development Corp. has authority to override local zoning and

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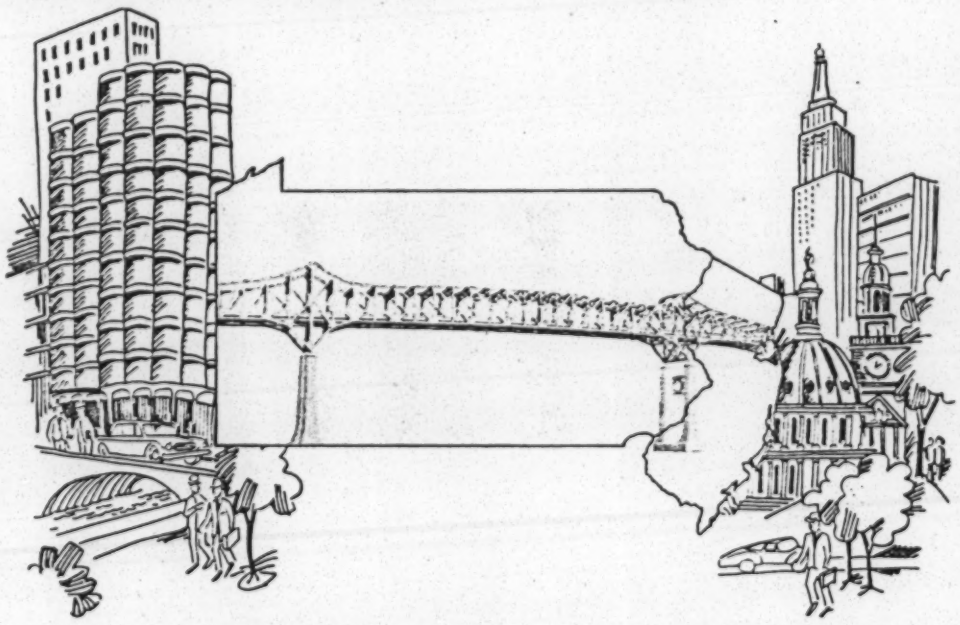

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building codes, and to raise money. Connecticut's new statewide general building code becomes effective Oct. 1. California's new law on factory-built housing breezed unopposed through the last session of the legislature. And Ohio's new model building code provides a procedure under which a manufactured-housing unit may be certified under the state law, thereby bypassing local building codes. Statewide codes—usually based on performance rather than specifications—are being weighed in Massachusetts, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and other states.

There is some support for a national building code, but such a code would need teeth. In Canada, where there is a national code but local option, Alcan Design Homes, Ltd., has not been able to place its factory-built housing within 20 mi. of any major city.

Hope. Resistance and skepticism aren't hard to find at state and local levels. "It's opening up every can of worms there is," says Howard Landers, director of planning for Metro Denver Fair Housing Center. And many officials share the worry of Pittsburgh's director of planning and development, John Mauro, that "there is still no commitment from the federal government to provide a smooth flow of funds on a long-term basis."

But here and there, Romney sees rays of hope for Breakthrough. For example, two weeks ago the Los Angeles City Council voted to kill a recommendation by its Building & Safety Committee that criticized Romney and refused to lower building-code standards, which are among the nation's toughest. In rejecting the report, Councilman Marvin Braude explained: "There's an implication that we can't improve and don't want to innovate, and we don't want to convey that impression."

Adds John Tolan, deputy for development in the San Francisco mayor's office: "The basic feeling here is that the Breakthrough approach is going to come, and why not now."

Land and money

Many officials share the feeling of Pittsburgh's Mauro that HUD has overlooked "the main problem of older urban areas—it's difficult to assemble land." Finger has said HUD will consider use of "available" federal land if it is proposed by the locality. But the only HUD aids for acquiring and improving land come through urban renewal or public works. And soaring land prices have placed many urban tracts beyond practical use for even high-density low-income housing.

Despite this handicap, several states have been able to identify enough land for a meaningful attack on low- and moderate-income housing problems. Some states provide financial tools of their own. Connecticut, for example, pays two-thirds of

'. . . Bypassing codes and zoning ordinances is opening up every can of worms there is . . .'

Continued from page 90

the cost of acquiring and improving sites for this type of housing. In the two years since this law was passed, the state has identified and started planning on 90 sites.

Similarly, a recent study by the Regional Plan Assn. for New York's Urban Development Corp. identified 210 sq. mi. of vacant land within a 30-mi. radius of midtown Manhattan that could take 470,000 residents under current zoning, and 1,360,000 if rezoned for higher densities. "We can provide ready-made markets for what Mr. Romney can produce with subsidies," says Robert McCabe, general manager of UDC.

Better market. But Romney can only produce what Congress appropriates, and so far this year, his requests have not fared too well on Capitol Hill. He sought funds to start 425,000 units under various federal programs in the current fiscal year, but the House of Representatives cut 20% each out of home ownership and rental project interest subsidies, and it cut the rent supplement program in half. Romney hopes the Senate will restore some of that.

Government can't escape some blame for the present tight money crisis, but it also deserves some credit for the orderly state of the mortgage market. Bad as it is, 1969 is no repeat of 1966, when the money well ran dry.

New policies at the Federal Home Loan Bank Board have brought greater stability and liquidity to member savings-and-loan associations, while permitting S&Ls to expand both their lending and borrowing powers. One result: S&Ls actually increased mortgage lending in July, despite a net loss in deposits.

Similarly, the Federal National Mortgage Assn. (Fannie Mae), now a "private" organization whose borrowing no longer affects the federal budget, has been pouring much more money into the mortgage market than ever before. (It does this by buying existing loans, thereby permitting lenders to make new loans at today's higher rates. Fannie Mae is expected to feed $6-billion to $8-billion into the mortgage market in 1969, versus $2-billion in 1966.

Response. Romney hopes to tap new sources of mortgage money with HUD's new securities, which he expects to market in $100,000 denominations in a few weeks, on a "pass-through" or private-placement basis. (In this way, they won't compete with other government-backed securities in the open market.) These new securities, participations in pools of government-insured mortgages held by either Fannie Mae or private investors, are a response to the clamor for new credit instruments to attract institutional and corporate investments to the mortgage market. At present, mortgage funds come mainly from savings of individuals.

Last month, a Presidential Commission on Mortgage Interest Rates, headed by Harvard economist James S. Dusenberry, called for federal measures to insure that "the share of the output required to meet the nation's housing needs is shifted away from other sectors and into homebuilding."

The union gap

Money, or the lack of it, is a principal reason why Romney's mass market could not be served now, even if it were wrapped up and tied with a ribbon. Another is organized labor, which has little patience with Operation Breakthrough—or with Romney.

Systems expert Harold B. Finger is ramrod on Operation Breakthrough.

"We're wasting a helluva lot of time in all sorts of experiments and investigations," says C. J. Haggerty, president of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. Haggerty asserts that Romney's major efforts so far have been with "graphs and flip charts," and he adds: "We're sick and tired of these smart boys with their damned pointers."

Haggerty's words reflect the general attitude in the building trades, that government hasn't yet demonstrated it has a plan for low-cost housing that it is determined to carry out—and that it can. The unions also are annoyed at what they consider Romney's lack of expertise. Says Haggerty: "Romney doesn't know the first thing about construction, and he shows it. Worse, he doesn't have a single construction man at the top, advising him."

Raising questions. It's no new experience for Romney to be slighted by organized labor. When he campaigned for governor of Michigan, he showed up at the Labor Day parade, even though the unions had asked him not to. He walked along the route shaking hands and greeting participants.

In the case of the building trades, however, it's easy to see why there might be hard feelings, after the all-out attack Romney launched on craft unions, which he blamed for the critical shortage of housing, and for which he was loudly booed.

But, deliberately, he has honed fine some questions on the part building-trades unions may be playing in slowing progress in home construction. For example, have unions forced wages so high that housing is priced out of the low and even moderately priced markets? Are Americans being denied cheaper, better housing because of the unions' restrictive practices? Is a shortage of skilled labor—planned to protect workers' seniority and the long-term availability of building jobs—contributing to construction inflation, and to the problems of cities?

Such questions—by no means new—are even more widely debated now as a result of Romney's attack.

Slow door. The building trades certainly are vulnerable to criticism. Construction industry settlements so far this year have been at a rate of 14.2% a year over two or three years, with an average increase in pay alone of 15.2% this year. This is more than twice the rate of wage hikes in manufacturing, 6.6%. And for many crafts it means around $6,500 added to annual pay by the time contracts are next renegotiated in 1972. The Nixon Administration is deeply concerned.

Moreover, many of the crafts have been criticized as the slowest to throw doors wide open to job-hungry minorities. But perhaps it is an exaggeration to blame this entirely on race: There isn't a big increase in white apprentices, either.

Contractors say there are 3.8-million building trades workers now, many of them of advanced age and due to leave the work force in the next few years. The National Assn. of Home Builders estimates that there will be a need for 400,000 new workers annually in the building trades between now and 1975 to fill new job requirements and replace those leaving the work force. But contractors say only about 16,000 are entering apprenticeship programs each year.

The AFL-CIO's director of urban affairs, John Evans, told Congress in July that "we have the manpower available to do the jobs we are called on to do."

Making up. Building craftsmen defend their high wages and perennially big set-

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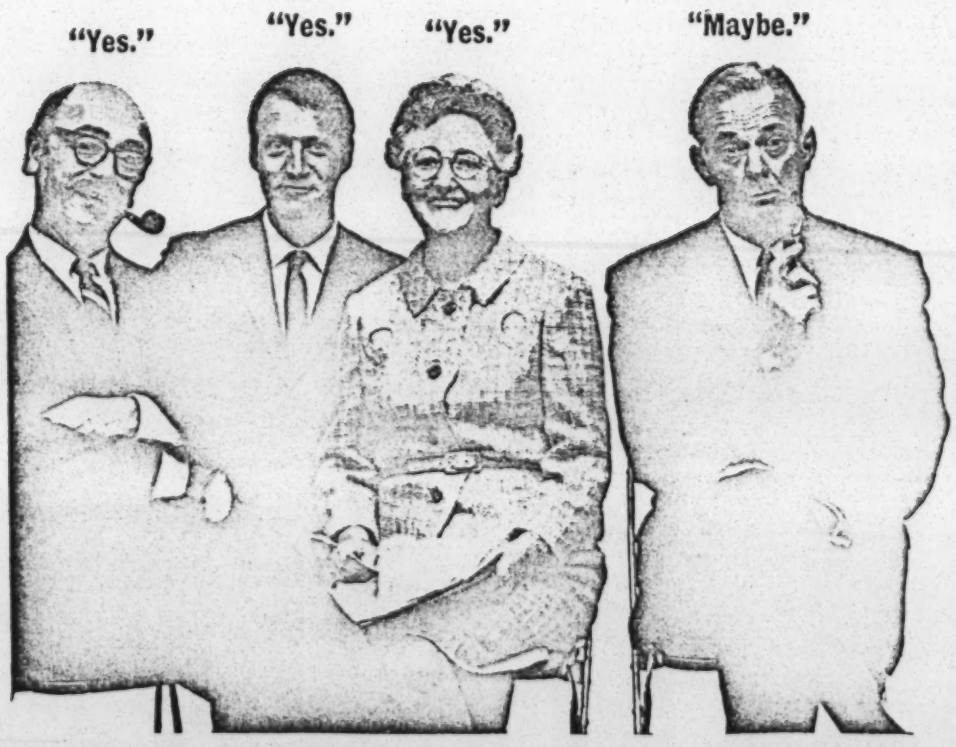

'. . . Romney doesn't know construction, and shows it.'

tlements on two grounds: the long time spent in apprenticeship, three to five years; and the time lost due to the seasonal nature of construction work in many areas. A New Jersey union leader said: "We need the same amount to live on whether the job's down because of weather or wide open; we've got to get insurance for rainy days in our pay for the good ones." If construction workers have to be off 600 hours a year (unions say that's the average time lost), they must earn $4.95 an hour to get the same annual pay that workers with stabilized employment—2,080 hours a year—receive at a $3.50 an hour rate.

There are fallacies in this union argument, of course. Many of the lost hours are recouped through overtime work at time-and-a-half or double time. In fact, heavy overtime is standard for many construction workers: They expect, demand, and get it. And a craft worker whose rate is $6.50 an hour actually may average $8 to $9 or more, because of overtime, thus boosting building costs.

AFL-CIO contends that if low- or moderate-income housing is being priced out of the market, it is because today at least half the cost of a new house is for land and for mortgage costs. The federation's Evans told Congress that money costs must be brought down and a housing land reserve established—for a writedown of land for low- and moderate-income housing—to meet "unpostponable housing needs."

Safety valve. Unions reject the suggestion that it is they who are delaying industrialization. "There is no opposition on the part of AFL-CIO unions to material innovations, new sizes of equipment, new methods of installation, or new tools," insists Andrew J. Biemiller, the federation's legislative director in Washington.

As "but one example of the great degree of prefabrication already achieved in the homebuilding industry," Biemiller cites "dwellings totally union-made by the Stirling Homex Corp. under contract with the Carpenters," erected in Akron, Ohio, to cost $17,000 to $18,000 (including the site) for three-bedroom townhouses. They are "assembled on site in a matter of hours . . . with factory-assembled wiring, plumbing, kitchens, bathrooms, and central heating," he says.

To Biemiller, this new type of housing is preferable to the "amazing growth in manufacturing and sale of mobile homes." Biemiller comments that the rise in mobile homes "represents . . . a safety valve which tens of thousands of families have turned to because of their inability to obtain adequate conventional housing."

Perhaps the "amazing growth" is a factor in the building trades' willingness to "fully support new concepts and new modes of housing" and "revolutionary*

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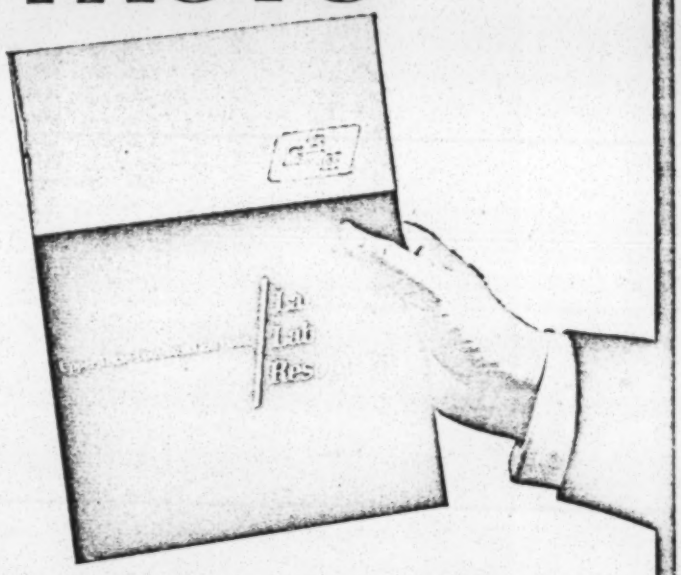

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'. . . We've got to get insurance for rainy days . . .'

Continued from page 96

techniques." These unions get few jobs when a mobile home is wheeled to its site; but they can count on foundation work and at least 200 manhours of erection and connection work for every Stirling Homex or similar modular home that is erected.

Right time. Another factor could be involved in the building trades' more expansive policy toward factory-built housing, though the craft unions play it down: When Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers quit AFL-CIO and developed an alliance with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, both UAW and IBT talked about backing "massive" low- and moderate income housing programs. Reuther suggested the answer might be more mobile homes (UAW has plant contracts where mobile homes are manufactured). The two unions, in their Alliance for Labor Action, say pretty flatly that if the building trades did not put up more and cheaper homes, ALA would do it.

The building trades want no war with the truckers' union—IBT can shut off supplies to contractors. They are even less interested in having Reuther in the industry.

But probably more crucial than any other factor, the craft unions are starting to realize that the time is right for a revolution in building techniques, and that the unions must accept change.

Before Stirling Homex, or the lively public interest in prefabrication to help with urban crises, or even the threat of Reuther and the ALA, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners was quietly signing plant contracts to manufacture housing units on an assembly-line basis, using lower-skilled workers (many are women) at lower wage rates.

One other consideration: The union is under outside pressure to open its rolls to minority workers and, from its members, to maintain job stability (that is, to keep down the number of carpenters). It can take in minority people for unskilled or semiskilled industrial-type jobs. But Carpenters membership for these workers won't qualify them for carpenter jobs on building sites. Maurice Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters, says such workers won't be any nearer journeyman (craft) status than "someone just off the street."

The Carpenters is the biggest union in AFL-CIO's building-trades bloc; its 800,000-plus membership is about 30% of the department's strength. When it moved into the housing factory, and stamped its union-made label on Stirling Homex units, it was in a powerful position to insist that other unions collaborate in putting the homes together on the site, to make them 100% union-built housing.

Two crafts became critical—the plumb-

'. . . There's no opposition on the part of unions to new methods of installation . . .'

ers and the electricians. In Akron, these crafts dragged their feet for a time. The Carpenters sent persuaders from Washington, and the work started moving briskly.

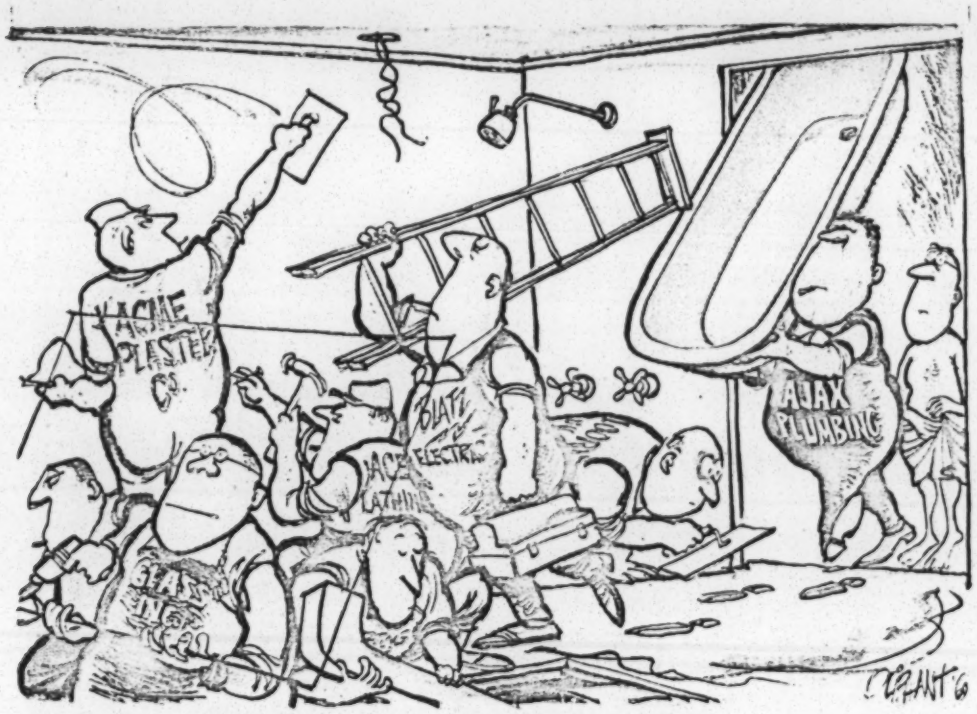
Exceptions. Whatever the reasons, major breakthroughs have now been made in craft acceptance of and cooperation with prefabrication and modular construction methods. As long as there is work enough for all craftsmen, the acceptance and cooperation will grow. But it must be emphasized: This is now just in houses and low-rise apartments.

Contractors still contend that various craft unions require work to be done on-site in commercial or industrial construction or on high-rise apartments, although factory cut or prefabbed products might be both better and cheaper. Generally, such restrictions are local. But reasons for restrictions often tend to be forgotten in labor cost disputes, just as the significance of restrictive practices often is exaggerated to include other kinds of housing.

This applies, too, where tight craft lines are concerned. For example, under New York City building contracts, practices, and codes, members of no fewer than seven or eight and perhaps as many as 11 different crafts are required to install a single, simple bathroom in an office, hotel, or high-rise apartment. And disputes occur: One a few years ago erupted between the carpenters, with jurisdiction for hanging doors, and the plumbers, with jurisdiction over bathroom fixtures. The question was over which union should screw in a robe hook on the side of a door; it was a small thing—but there were some 4,000 doors involved.

A factory-assembled bathroom could be installed with half the cost and bother—but not in big New York projects. It might be another matter if prefabricated or modular housing, for low-and-moderate-income families on a public housing basis, entered New York with a "rise" limit of two, three, or four floors. Nobody will say for sure, but there's some understanding that the unions would sanction the installation.

Einar O. Mohn, director of the Western Conference of Teamsters in California and one of the top vice-presidents of IBT, sees prefabrication as the best route to lower housing costs, but recognizes its problems. "To accomplish anything like that means having to poke a lot of sacred cows on both sides, labor and business," Mohn concedes.



"As many as 11 different crafts are needed to install a bathroom. . . ."

Matter of taste

After all the sacred cows and other cattle have been prodded to the waterhole, getting them to drink may prove even more troublesome. In other words, it's one thing to build a better low-cost prefab, quite another to sell it—especially to low- to moderate-income families.

Aggregation of markets, as HUD is trying to do, will give some housing entrepreneurs the numbers they need to justify the risk of tooling up. But mostly they won't tool up for radically new approaches to housing. "People are not ready to accept a revolutionary product," says David Stirling, Jr., president of Stirling Homex Corp.

Resistance. Not surprisingly, a major boast of factory home builders is the blend-ability of their product. "We scattered two of them in Toledo," a Wisconsin builder says of his modular houses, "and they couldn't be picked out of other homes in the area." Donald Merriman, president of U. S. Affiliates in Tustin, Calif., says: "We want our homes to look just like the more expensive, conventionally-built homes. New materials bring too much resistance from buyers and from building codes."

Conformity in appearance, housing officials and builders hope, will overcome any hesitation due to use of unconventional building techniques. Unfortunately, it is already clear that the result in many cases will perpetuate what, to a cultivated taste, is appalling mediocrity, if not outright vulgarity. In Detroit, for example, the most tasteful exterior of several modular housing demonstrations belongs to the project built by Dallas-based Redman Industries, Inc. But, says a local housing official, it's not very popular—it doesn't use brick.

Cost and output. The question of construction cost, then, comes down to the question of how much cost can be squeezed out of fairly conventional, box-like living spaces, esthetically acceptable inside and out. "There is just no major cost breakthrough left in housing unless you form them out of some new material and they come out looking like igloos," insists Robert Smith, marketing director of Boise Cascade's Kingsberry Homes Div.

On one point, there is general agreement: "There is no such thing as low-cost housing," says Stirling. HUD's Finger agrees. Rising costs of materials and labor make it impossible, even with more efficient methods, to produce acceptable housing that low-income people could afford on their own. The goal of the "low-cost" exponents is actually producing housing as economically as feasible that will qualify for government subsidy programs.

Thus, the main rationale for assembly-line building methods—over the near term, at least—is not lower cost, but simply higher output. The national supply of trained, building-trades labor is nowhere near large enough to cope with the demand for housing, and there is not time enough to train more workers adequately. It's imperative that the skilled trades be used more effectively.

"Labor is hard put to keep up with the demands of building now," says James

Rockefeller OK's new tax credit

Offers business-tax deductions for production facilities in New York.

Governor Rockefeller of New York has signed into law the latest in a series of tax benefit measures to encourage more manufacturing in the state.

The bill provides a one-percent business-tax credit for manufacturers who build new plants, or modernize or expand existing facilities in New York. This tax credit on new construction and equipment can be deducted from either the corporate franchise tax or the unincorporated business tax.

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Gilbert, who heads a new consortium of concrete companies. "If building doubles, there won't be enough men to go around."

The arithmetic is compelling: "A builder we know can count on rounding up 10 men for a job; in a year he can put up 20 houses;" says Anson McAdams, a National Homes vice-president. "With our modules, he can put up 200."

Speed is key. This is a major argument for industrialization. Complex jobs can be broken into simple steps, and divided up among unskilled or semi-skilled workers. People capable of such work can be quickly trained. A lot of houses can be built in a hurry.

Building houses faster also can reduce one of housing's big cost items—the cost of money. "You get in earlier . . . the return comes earlier," says Richard Nalbercker, business development manager for Walter Kidde & Co., Inc. "That's important for construction loans, especially state loans."

Building a lot of houses faster may, in the long run, be the route to what can truly be called low-cost housing. Now the huge excess of demand for housing keeps prices spiraling up. "Industrialized housing will stabilize the housing market," says Stirling. Normal, competitive pressures, coupled with national economic growth, will reduce the relative cost of housing. "Then—in five or ten years," says Stirling, "we may have low-cost housing."

Tools for the housing revolution

The concrete box and the pipe-frame module may never entirely replace the old stick-built house, but the shelter revolution is under way. Techniques are being developed—and increasingly applied—to provide mass housing quickly for millions of low-income and moderate-income families. Ultimately, these methods may dominate the entire housing industry.

Despite the problems of economics, politics, labor, and esthetics, the technology of assembly-line homebuilding is emerging so rapidly that it is attracting many of the country's biggest companies—and not just builders. A shakeout is inevitable, but the ideas will survive. Those most likely to succeed generally fall into two categories:

- Wood or steel-framed modules, manufactured like postgraduate mobile homes, transported on flatbed trucks, then stacked and connected on site.
- Precast concrete systems—usually prefinished walls and floors or complete modules—made in remote or on-site plants.

The bulk of factory-built housing already in place today in the U. S. has been made by the wood-stud method. Stirling Homex Corp. of Avon, N. Y., for example, has 1,150 units in place in Akron, Syracuse, Rochester, and West Henrietta, N. Y., plus an order backlog of 3,000 units in six cities. It is negotiating other contracts in 24 cities.

Similarly, Modular Structures, Inc., of Bethesda, Md., has completed over 300 units in Amherst, Mass., and is now developing a 148-unit cooperative complex, designed by architect Paul Rudolph, in New Haven, Conn. MSI, too, is in a Breakthrough bid with Hercules, Inc., architect Tiffany Armstrong, and investment bankers Harlan, Betke & Myers, Inc.

And don't forget the ubiquitous mobile home; some 400,000 will be sold this year.

Other methods are getting a smaller but promising play. A growing number of module builders are turning to steel and aluminum for framing and floor joists, and others are pushing ahead with plastics for structural components.

Concrete's edge. But the big thrust in research and development is in concrete systems—especially for high-density urban housing. These concrete techniques can not match frame box systems for on-site construction speed, but backers say they are more durable and, in the long run, will prove much less expensive. Concrete's advantage: It is the cheapest building material, a good insulator, and fire-resistant.

Concrete high-rise apartments have long been factory-built in the Soviet Union, France, Britain, and Sweden to fill the post-World War II housing gap. In the U. S., one of the few concrete building systems to achieve wide acceptance to date is one devised by Boston architect Carl Koch and structural engineer Sepp Firnkas. Called Techcrete, it was first used in 1965 for a 200-unit project in Boston's Roxbury section. Since then, 1,000 more units have been finished, and Koch is readying two more major projects—one in Detroit and the other near Coney Island in New York. Techcrete uses precast wall panels and prestressed concrete beams that permit spans of 32 ft. Steel rods under tension lock the elements together.

Koch has put together a consortium to bid on Breakthrough, and he expects to win. "I think we have the only American urban-type housing that is really off the ground," he says.

Competitors. Several European concrete systems—Sectra, Balency, de Pondt, Jespersen, and Bison—are making inroads through U. S. licensees, and also figure in the Breakthrough competition. Concrete, Ltd., producer of the British Bison system, is consulting with Aluminum Co. of America, and some version of the Bison system will be in Alcoa's bid. The de Pondt system will be used on a 500-unit apartment project in South Chicago.

C. W. Blakeslee & Sons, Inc., of New Haven, Conn., a Bison licensee, is part of a

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new consortium—Precast Systems, Inc.—organized in June to bid on Breakthrough. It was formed by 41 prestressed concrete companies, sponsored by Martin Marietta Corp., and others, and is headed by Blakeslee President James Gilbert.

Both Balency and Bison are based on factory-cast concrete panels that are completely prefinished, inside and out, including windows and wiring. Precast Systems, like Koch, will do most finishing on the site, while U. S. Gypsum will prefabricate the nonbearing walls.

Cutting weight. Several U. S.-developed systems aim at overcoming concrete's biggest handicap—weight. One developed by the National Assn. of Homebuilders reduces panels from the usual 145 lb. to 90 lb., and has been demonstrated in a townhouse cluster in Washington.

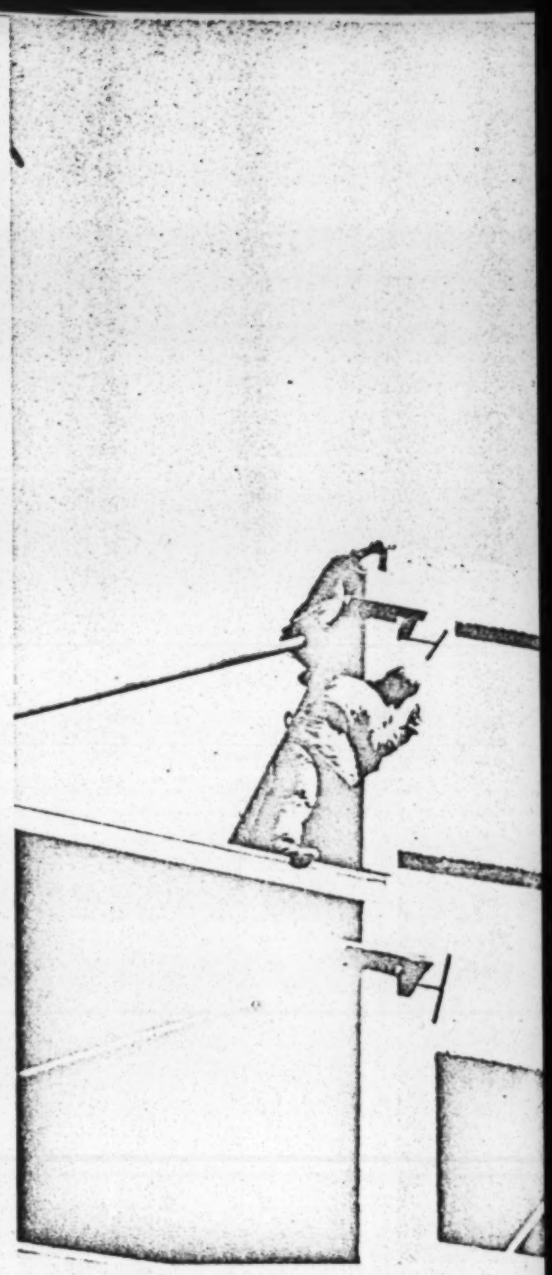
Stressed Structures, Inc., uses a module system and a new cement, Chem-Stress, which expands as it dries, building in stresses that help it withstand compressive loads. This allows the company to reduce wall thickness from the normal 6 in. to 2 in. According to Executive Vice-President John Lowell, the modules can be stacked 45 high. But critics contend the cement is still experimental, and they dispute the company's cost claims.

A different approach to slicing weight is a three-dimensional checkerboard arrangement being tried by Building Block Modules, Inc. The Oakland (Calif.) company casts four-sided, open-ended modules with 4-in.-thick walls, and stacks them so that the roof of one module becomes the floor of another that is formed by the space between modules. This eliminates double floors and walls, but requires a lot more on-site work for finishing the units formed by the free spaces. So far, the young company has built a small project in Oakland and started another nearby.

Objections. Elsewhere in Oakland, an 11-story apartment building has been erected using a system called Foldcrete that combines the ease of casting panels with the speed of installing modules. Wall panels are cast flat, at the site and adjacent to the roof panel. They are joined to a roof by steel hinges linked to reinforcing bars. When a crane lifts the roof, the walls fold down and are bolted at the corners to form the module.

For all the innovation, concrete's detractors argue that its simplicity and low cost start to disappear when interiors and exteriors are dressed up to appeal to the American consumer. Koch, a leading concrete advocate, answers that "we have reached the last economies we can in wood construction. But concrete "still is in its rudimentary stage," he adds, and "any further organization in its manufacture will make a tremendous difference in cost."

Factory pluses. Concrete or wood, the advantages of building in a factory, on or off the site, are enormous. Rainy days do not stop production, and work can go on

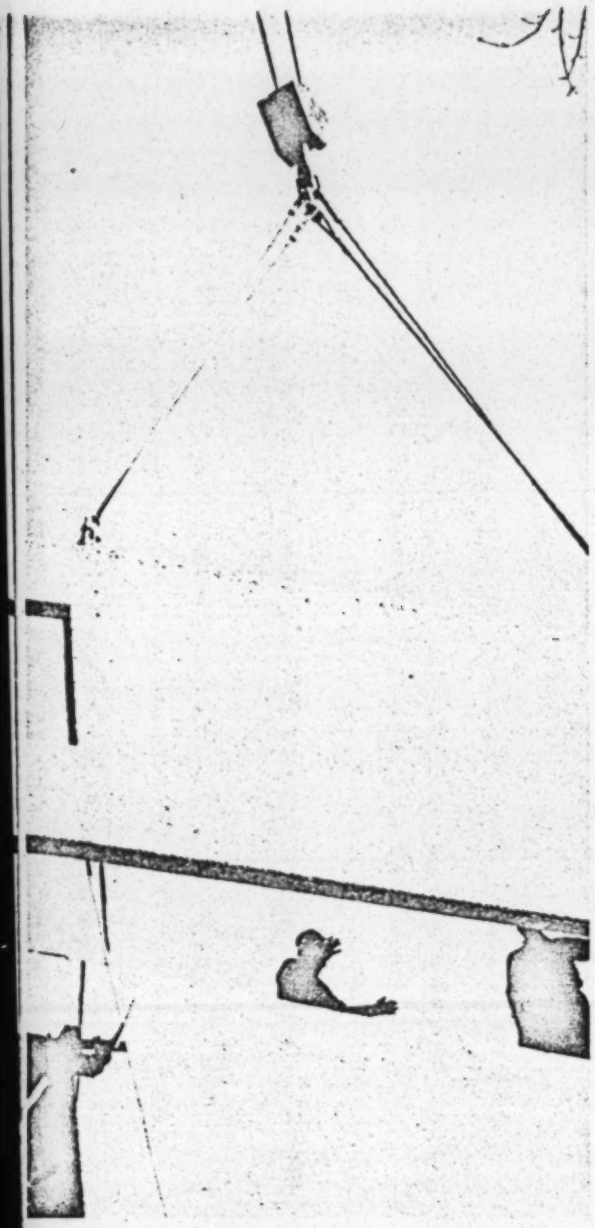


Precast panels form walls in a 1,200-unit project in Boston. Concrete system devised by

year-round. Temperatures can be controlled so that tricky materials, such as epoxy, can be used safely. And things such as compressed air or glue become centralized services, like electricity. Equally important, losses of materials through carelessness or theft can almost be eliminated. Such losses, says one builder, are "usually around 15% of the gross."

Putting a wood module together in a factory is much like building a house the on-site way—only a lot faster. As the floors roll down the production line, prefab walls and ceilings are nailed in place, prehung windows and doors inserted, preassembled plumbing "trees" installed, cabinets hung, and appliances added. Increasingly, kitchen, bathroom, and heating "packages" are simply dropped into place. Even carpeting or linoleum goes down in the factory.

All lumber and facing is precut. Jigs and fixtures are used in assembling wall frames. At the Lafayette (Ind.) plant of National Homes Corp., a set of wheels 16 in. apart rolls over a wall frame to spread glue on studs, waits for the wallboard to be laid on, then rolls back spitting nails.



Carl Koch and Sepp Firnkas is a leader among new factory-built housing techniques.

Members of a roof truss are set in position, then knocked together in one clout by power hammers at each joint.

Not all module builders have taken the production-line approach. Northwest Homes, in Chehalis, Wash., prefers to keep each module in one place, moving its specialized work crews from station to station, much as Levitt does on site.

And General Electric's bid for a big military housing contract is based on a portable factory and 10 basic sub-assemblies put together onsite. GE eschews the role of builder, however, and hopes to market its system to others.

Cutting maintenance. Module builders appear to be acutely conscious of the need for quality work. And buyers of public housing are willing to pay extra for dwellings that offer low maintenance cost. In Stirling Homex's Tudor design, for example, a white exterior of tough Tedlar film laminated to plywood is easy to sponge clean. Interior walls are wallboard laminated with a heavy, textured vinyl. And exterior doors are metal skins filled with dense urethane foam.

There are signs that wood may give way to metal more and more. The wood module of Prebuilt Homes already uses quite a bit of steel—all of it carefully hidden. Chairman Paul Corp does not think an all-steel house would be popular today, but plans to head in that direction as fast as public taste will allow. After 20 years in the auto industry, Corp leans to steel for dimensional control and ease of mechanization. Prebuilt has won a contract to build 800 modular units for Detroit's housing authority.

Switch to steel. National Homes is studying a possible switch to steel studs to improve its fire rating. But the first builder of wood modules to convert entirely will probably be Stirling Homex, whose new Akron plant, due to open this fall, will use all-steel stud construction. The company's Avon plant also will go to steel. Stirling's reason for the switch: it has designed a high-rise system based on steel-frame, stackable modules, and does not want to support two different systems. Stirling will soon expand to about a dozen factories if a planned stock offering is successful.

Other companies are starting out with steel frame construction. In Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., Behring Properties, Inc., has come up with a flexible, three-module design it calls Modiflex. The modules can be arranged to form a variety of one-story houses priced under $17,000, or can be stacked as two-story garden apartments.

U. S. Steel, Jones & Laughlin, and other steel companies have also developed new concepts for steel-framed housing. Interest also is running high over a new system of welded construction called "plastic design." Structural engineers Allison & Meyers of Rockville, Md., who now have a second welded steel high-rise near completion, figure the cost at 10% less than conventional concrete poured in place. Economies in steel high-rise building also are coming from newer, stronger steels and from a "staggered truss" system developed by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Pipes to Pipestone. A number of small companies are starting to use an unusual steel technique devised by Ruble Langston, a former professor. Langston's frame consists of welded steel pipe; wall, floor, and roof panels are made with special glued-on snap fasteners that grip the pipe. Langston's Hanover Modular Homes International, Inc., in Bryan, Tex., has licensed Modular Structures of Pipestone, Minn., to build a group of 10 duplex apartments under a HUD contract.

One of the earliest experimenters in steel frame housing, Rohr Corp., plans to try again with a Breakthrough bid. Rohr produced several modular houses in 1964 and 1965 before trouble with codes and unions ended the project. Says Burt F. Raynes, Rohr president: "Had we stayed with the homes, we'd be the most successful guy in the business today."

Aluminum also has its proponents. Fruehauf Corp. announced earlier this year that it would build an aluminum module. And Modular Mfg. Co. of San Francisco has a panelized prefab house based on aluminum framing. Kaiser Aluminum helped design its metal extrusions, with built-in raceways for wiring.

Synergy. While concrete, wood, and metal impose different design and production disciplines, they come together in many advanced building concepts. The Panel Lock system developed 10 years ago by Lockheed Aircraft Service Co., Ontario, Calif., uses concrete precast in steel frames to form roof and wall panels that are clipped together on site.

Combination systems are especially suited for high-rise housing. Wood modules cannot be stacked more than two or three high. But it is possible to visualize a concrete or steel frame into which prebuilt wood modules could be inserted. Such an installation is being planned for the Twin Cities area, where SkyeRise Terrace, a division of Wick Building Systems, Inc., will build a circular tower to hold 98 mobile-home modules.

Mortar of purpose

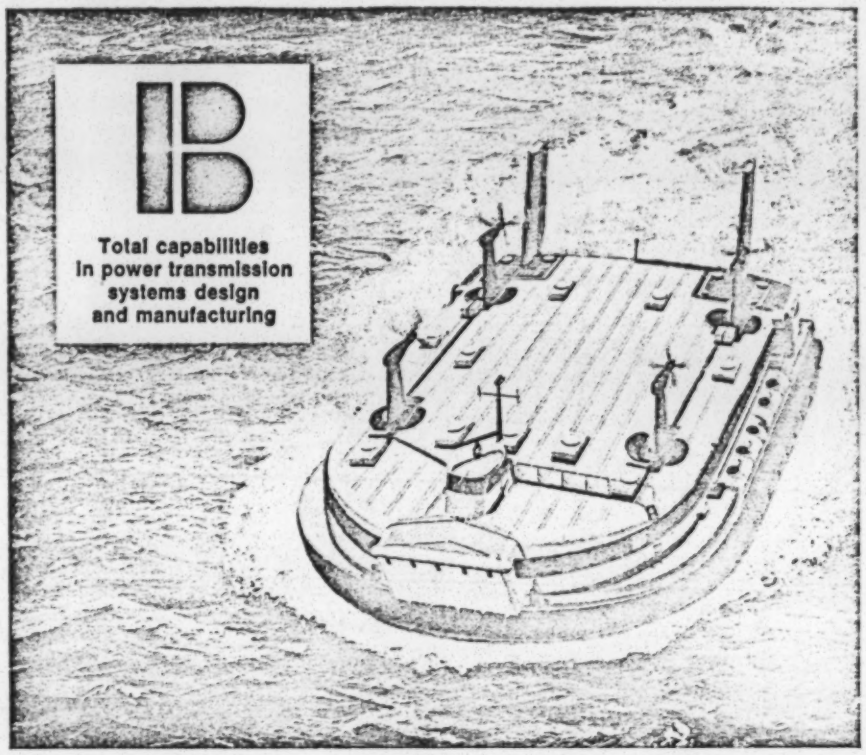
All of these systems rely on conventional building materials, but a number of companies have turned to structural concepts based on plastics. One involves a filament-wound module—80% glass, 20% resin—developed by engineers at the University of Michigan and at Aerojet-General Corp., which uses the method for making rocket motor cases.

A proposal to use such modules for low-cost housing on military bases was unsuccessful, but the idea is not dead. Some of the Michigan people formed a small company, Spun-Tech Housing Corp. in Ann Arbor, which hopes, through Breakthrough, to get enough money to build a module. Aerojet-General may be going the same route, but won't disclose any details.

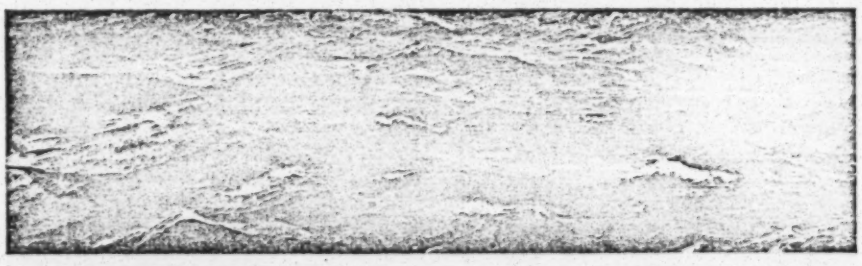
Plastic sandwiches. Another system would use foam plastic in load-bearing walls. Modular Concepts, Inc., of Gardena, Calif., has come up with a panel consisting of rigid polyurethane foam sandwiched between two thin sheets of plywood. The 2-in.-thick panel needs no studs.

Many companies have been working on foam sandwich panels, but generally not for load bearing. Uniroyal Chemical Co., Naugatuck, Conn., for one, hopes to submit a Breakthrough proposal for various types of polymeric wall panels, including rigid urethane foam. And Borg-Warner Corp. has been experimenting with urethane foam between sheets of high-impact thermoplastics.

Plastics are not the ultimate in far-out materials. One house developed by Certain-Teed Products Corp. for an experimental HUD showcase last year at



Faster Ferry



The cross-channel ferry trip from Great Britain to France is being cut to 40 minutes by the British Hovercraft SR. N4. This Mountbatten class air cushion vehicle skims the water at speeds up to 65 knots while carrying 254 passengers and 30 automobiles.

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Austin, Tex., was made of a new kind of asbestos cement—used for both wall panels and connecting posts. The same showcase unveiled the Stack-Sack house, made of concrete-filled, water-dipped burlap sacks, reinforced by steel rods. The wall is finished off with a sprayed cement coating. The method, which costs less than $5,000 a unit, has since been used to build an apartment complex in Galveston, Tex., and is now being used in Winston-Salem, N. C.

The builders do, indeed, "have technology coming out of our ears," says James Mitchell, of Arthur D. Little, Inc. "We just haven't found successful ways of assimilating it."

This does not mean that all the technical problems of housing have been solved or that all desirable innovations have been conceived. But most industry and government experts now wrestling with the housing crisis agree that the solutions will not be found in technological breakthroughs.

"We have innovations in plenty," says Boston architect Koch, "but there is no indication that we as a nation are ready to pull in our belts to the extent that is necessary to make the country fit to live in."

Key ingredient. It used to be a common assumption that if the building trades would be reasonable, and if communities would update their building codes, construction men could use new materials and techniques to slash the cost of housing. Only gradually has the federal government awakened to the reality that the industry did not have the financial muscle to retool, cut prices, and thus create a mass market. The mass market would have to be created for it through subsidy, HUD concluded.

Many companies have begun to move on their own, but not on the scale that would produce the kind of savings—estimates run from 10% to 50%—that assembly-line building has produced in other countries. HUD's blend of exhortation, publicity, and money is designed to foster creation of that mass market by winning wide-scale acceptance of industrialized housing.

If Romney can achieve this "breakthrough," the nation may be on its way to forging the commitment needed to solve its explosive housing problems. The rewards could be, at least, a new life for the housing industry and, at best, new hope for millions of Americans.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Single copies of this special report will be available in about three weeks at a cost of 50¢ per copy up to 20 copies prepaid. Prices on quantity orders on request. Address orders for reprints to Reprint Dept., Business Week, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.—10036.

9-17-69 Wall Street Journal

Union Prodlus copy to ACH 10-9

Ford to Try Housing Field, Buys 30% Interest in Firm

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

DETROIT—Ford Motor Co. has dipped a toe into the experimental modular-home construction business by purchasing 30% of the stock of Concept Environment Inc. of Laguna Beach, Calif. Price of the transaction wasn't disclosed.

Under the agreement, Ford has the option of buying up to 80% of the stock over a seven-year period, and has agreed to lend the company up to $1.1 million over the next three years.

Ford termed its venture as a modest "research and investment" project designed to see whether Ford's special talents and capabilities are adaptable to housing. Concept Environment eventually expects to have a capacity of 1,500 factory-built living units a month. Each complete housing module is 12 feet wide and up to 70 feet long, with heating, air conditioning, kitchen appliances and carpeting.

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Urban

The Bookshelf

Planning and Debunking

Ten years ago, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, professor of architectural history at Pratt Institute, widow of renowned Constructivist artist and Bauhaus teacher Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, one of the architectural profession's sharp-witted critics, wrote a delightful book called "Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture." With text and her own photographs, she showed, for the first time in many cases, abstractly painted Canadian barn doors, a cylindrical shingled barn in Pennsylvania, a Vermont mill "like the profile of a distinctive and determined face." Her chosen buildings and building fragments were all expressive, not of tradition but of usage. And her point of view—a humanist one valuing the individual and eschewing the extreme restraints of science, of religion or of "l'art pour l'art" came as a refreshing antidote to the willful artificialities of prevailing "schools" of architectural design.

Mme. Moholy-Nagy now has a new book, "Matrix of Man, An Illustrated History of Urban Environment." Although the earlier book concentrated on rural buildings and the present one is devoted to cities, the earlier attitude remains focused on a different, more urgently important, field. Her hero is still individual man and her villain now is totalitarianism in the planning of his environment. In particular she rejects the tradition of planning that has come down to us from Rome through Christopher Wren's plan for London, L'Enfant's for Washington, and Haussmann's for Paris.

* * *

She debunks the canonization of Sixtus V as "patron saint of American city planners who credit him with the first urban renewal miracle." The Sixtus broad routes that sliced through the existing maze of Roman streets were not for the purpose of providing pleasant vistas or more convenient urban life, she contends, but "were designed for a blatantly anti-urban processional ritual of piety and penitence."

There are some parts of "Matrix of Man" that will not be read without disagreement—an intemperate disapproval of the brilliant Thomas Jefferson as architect and planner, an implied but unsubstantiated linking of Chinese and Chinese city plans, such an im-

[illegible] tradition but of usage. And her point of view—a humanist one valuing the individual and eschewing the extreme restraints of science, of religion or of "l'art pour l'art" [illegible] as a refreshing antidote to the willful artificialities of prevailing "schools" of architectural design.

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There are some parts of "Matrix of Man" that will not be read without disagreement—an intemperate disapproval of the brilliant Thomas Jefferson as architect and planner, an implied but unsubstantiated linking of Chinese and China city plans, such an intense distaste for modular grid street systems that one (for Indianapolis) is described as "killing any incentive for decent residential or commercial architecture" and another (for Manhattan) as a "planned strait jacket." But there is almost nothing in the book that can be read without interest. Even in the rare cases where Mme. Moholy-Nagy seems to present her argument with more passion than reason, we can be stimulated by her argument.

The sensibility and sensitivity of her book are made even more apparent by comparison with another recently published volume on the same subject: "Ekistics, An Introduction to the Science (sic) of Human Settlement," by the Greek planner Constantinos Doxiadis, is a [illegible] disaster, packed with charts, graphs, and jargon relating man to rooms, dwellings, neighborhoods and cities, but never considering man except as a single, homogenous abstraction. This is all the more regrettable because Doxiadis is an undisputed giant in city planning. He has been widely influential both abroad and in this country, where his services have been used by the cities of Louisville and Cincinnati, the Urban Renewal Program and Detroit Edison Co., among others. One looks, however, largely in vain for some human relevance amid the jargon of his book.

* * *

In her own book, Mme. Moholy-Nagy briskly disposes of such pedantry in the can-[illegible] gallery of illustrations, [illegible] diagram illustrating his dictum, "Architecture must be co-ordinated hierarchically at all levels" is dismissed as "an age-old platitude behind a spurious scientific facade."

Such puncturing of inflated notions is one of the delights of "Matrix of Man." Also, the book in itself is very handsome. But most valuable of all is the fact that Mme. Moholy-Nagy never loses sight of individual man. She mourns "the lost art of creating memorable urban landscapes with which the citizen can identify his ambitions and affections. The zealots for social housing and Hudson Street rehabilitations will never understand," she says, "that aesthetic deprivation can be as antisocial as the worst slum," and "If, as the wailing brotherhood of social planners insists, Western cities are dying, it is not from too many automobiles or too few housing projects, but because of too little urbanity and too little opportunity for participation."

Some of the historical references in the author's sweeping survey might be considered a bit esoteric. But the subject of the book—what the nature of our cities should be—is of such importance, and the author's views so welcome, that "Matrix of Man" can be recommended for the general reader as well as for the scholars and people in the planning profession.

—STANLEY ABERCROMBIE

Matrix of Man, An Illustrated History of Urban Environment. By Sibyl Moholy-Nagy. Praeger 31[illegible] pages. $15.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

LABOR DEPARTMENT
(continued)

gerald vice-president of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Mr. Hodgson's selection for the No. 2 job in the department was received by labor with mixed feelings.

P. L. (Roy) Siemiller, president of the International Association of Machinists, the union that bargains with Lockheed, said that Mr. Hodgson is "top flight" and that if a union man couldn't get the job I was "certainly happy that Jim got it."

Other union spokesmen were perhaps a little less happy about Mr. Hodgson, who as late as last Dec. 30 said a passing "amen" to a comment that the National Labor Relations Board "usually behaves like a department of the AFL-CIO and is about as neutral as George Meany." They've noted, too, that Mr. Hodgson expressed "more than a morsel of personal conviction" about excessive union power and that in the same speech he commented, "the unique and powerful position of the American union makes the conduct of its internal affairs an appropriate subject for renewed attention."

Some management wary

Outside the aerospace industry, Mr. Hodgson is best known through his interest in and attendence at academically-oriented conferences on collective bargaining and other issues in industrial relations. He has a sound background and a record of harmonious relations with labor officials. Some management people are more wary of him than laborites seem to be, largely on a basis of some of his conference papers and other writings.

A Democrat, he says he voted for Mr. Nixon in 1964 and 1968.

Arnold R. Weber, newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, also is from the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business. Closely associated there with Dean Shultz, he was industrial relations professor and research director. And with Mr. Shultz and Mr. Hodgson, he is nationally known on the labor issues conference circuit.

Mr. Weber considers one major goal of the Nixon Labor Department to be to help the unemployed and underemployed — with the emphasis on the hard-core jobless and ghetto residents — get the basic education, training, and jobs they need. At the same time, he thinks the department must help to promote national economic growth and stability, and he believes both objectives can be achieved.

As an assistant, he has appointed Dr. Joseph A. Pichler, who studied under Mr. Schultz and Mr. Weber in Chicago, to head a team to analyze manpower programs and their relationship to labor-management relations. Dr. Pichler is an associate professor of industrial relations at the University of Kansas.

Dr. Godfrey H. Moore of New York will be the Labor Department's new commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Dr. Moore has been a vice-president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, a nonprofit organization.

Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, the first black president of the National Education Association, is the new head of the Women's Bureau in the Labor Department. Mrs. Koontz, known nationally in NEA as "Libby," is the daughter of a president of Atkinson College. After graduating from Livingstone College in Salisbury, N.C., she did graduate work at the University of Atlanta, Columbia University, and Indiana University and then began teaching in North Carolina.

Urban Problem

City, Suburb Gap Grows

By JULIAN H. LEVI
Professor of Urban Studies, University of Chicago

In Chicago Today

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Tues., Jan. 14, 1969

The disparities between city and suburb go far beyond the race and income of their population. Every available indicator of economic activity dramatizes the deteriorating competitive position of the central city.

Manufacturing volume in central cities has been increasing at less than half the other manufacturing volume nationwide. The number of retail establishments has been decreasing in the central cities but increasing elsewhere in the nation. The total number of jobs in central cities has decreased by over 10 per cent since 1950 while total city population has increased in this time by 21 per cent. In 1960 the per capita income in suburbs was over 10 per cent higher than it was in central cities. This gap appears to be widening.

In 1962 local per capita welfare expenditures in central cities were almost twice what they were in suburbs. This disparity is increasing at an even faster rate than the difference in total population. It is become painfully clear that jobs, investments and services are bypassing the central cities at a rate which seriously constrains the city's capacity for meeting problems which grow in magnitude and nastiness.

Moreover, if present trends continue, by 1983 the aggregate population of the central cities in this nation will be nearly 40 per cent Negro and 40 per cent poor. By 1983 at least 20 of our major central cities, including, among others, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and Baltimore, will be predominantly Negro. Of that population, 45 per cent will have incomes of less than $3,000 a year. These emergent Negro majorities will be inheriting the deficit areas of the American economy—business investments declining, per capita income, public revenues, conditions in housing, opportunities for employment.

What we are building in this country is the type of confrontation that neither the political nor the social system can permit. What in effect we have done is to put a deprived population into a backwater and forget about them. Job opportunities develop outside of the city. At this moment there are hundreds of people in Woodlawn (a predominately black section of Chicago) who seek employment. There are tens and more of manufacturers outside the city looking for employes, but the two don't match.

I do not regard it is a tragedy or as a cause for serious comment that the effect of this migration and change will result in the election of Negro mayors and Negro city councillors. I regard it as an extraordinarily unfortunate and catastrophic fact that this will occur at a time when the cities they then must administer will be bankrupt, defeated and desperate.

But what do you think is going to happen to the major business investments in these cities? At this point, some people are going to begin to talk about metropolitan government—not in terms of efficiency but in terms of intending to disenfranchise the central city majorities by enlarging the size of the voting unit to where they will be out-voted.

JOBLESS RATE
(continued)

outfits. The study said cooperation among contractors in holding wages in line has decreased markedly in recent years.

The study noted, but did not advocate, several proposals for change. One was for national procedures to resolve local labor disputes in construction. Another was for all contractors in a region to band together and bargain with unions collectively.

A third would stress apprentice training and developing skills in minority groups. The study noted, however, that Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans are often barred from learning construction trades.

A fourth would require all contractors in an area to shut down if one is struck. This proposal would need legislation, the study said.

A fifth would establish a board of labor, management, and public representatives to recommend settlements on labor disputes before a strike or lockout.

Cooperative Educational Service
Agency Number 19

Milwaukee Public Schools

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Extension

CENTRAL CITY TEACHER-COMMUNITY PROJECT
USOE Project Number 975

600 W. Kilbourn Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203
(414) 228-4922

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

PURPOSE: The project objectives are:

1. To upgrade the academic preparation, community sensitivity, and communications skills of 80 central city school teachers and administrators now assigned to participating schools or who will be assigned to those schools in September 1967.
2. To upgrade the desire and the ability of children of 800 families with children of participating schools to reap maximum benefits from the educational programs of the school, and other opportunities in the community.
3. To stimulate increased interest of the parents of children attending participating schools in opportunities offered by the school and other agencies for their children and also for themselves. This includes developing understanding of ways and means of parent access to school staff through parent-teacher conferences and other communications channels.
4. To design, test, and demonstrate methodology for implementation of the above objectives by utilizing specialized resources of the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Public Schools, the neighboring community, and other relevant resources.

PROGRAM: Each project participant will, in the 8 week summer phase of the program, June 19 through August 11, 1967 be expected to:

1. Participate in the academic phase of the program involving approximately 8 classroom hours per week. Those successfully completing this, and all other phases of the program will receive 6 UWM graduate credits. These credits will tentatively be listed as: "Teaching of the Disadvantaged" - 3 credits and "Community Resources Workshop" - 3 credits.
2. Participate in the field work phase of the program for a minimum of 20 hours per week. In cooperation with a community representative, work closely with a number of selected students (and their families) from the participant's school.
3. Participate in a 3 hour weekly seminar interrelating the academic and field work phases of the program.

STIPEND: Each participant in the program will receive a tuition scholarship for the six graduate UWM credits and a stipend equal to twice the participant's net pay for April 1967. One-half of the stipend will be paid on or about July 15, 1967 and one-half will be paid on or about August 13, 1967. The only cost to the participants will be a sum of about $20.00 for texts and curriculum materials plus costs and expenses incurred in the field work with students and families.

CONDITIONS: Each applicant for this project must agree to participate in all phases of the program outlined above and to:

1. Accept no other renumerative employment during the 8 week summer phase of the project: June 19 through August 11, 1967.
2. Commit themselves full-time to the project.
3. Remain at the school to which presently assigned for the 1967-68 and 1968-69 school years unless transferred by their administrative superiors. Note- This item does not apply to the 15 Robert Fulton teachers presently participating in the 1966-67 phase of the program since they made this commitment prior to their first year in the program.
4. To continue, during the academic year, to make systematic contact with the students and families assigned for the summer phase.
5. To participate themselves, and to involve non-participant faculty as much as possible, in a monthly seminar during the school year to evaluate the project itself and the academic year follow-up.
6. Assist the school principal in developing the community sensitivity of the school faculty; particularly with teachers newly assigned to the school.
7. Participate in a preliminary orientation and research session to be held on non-school time prior to June 19.

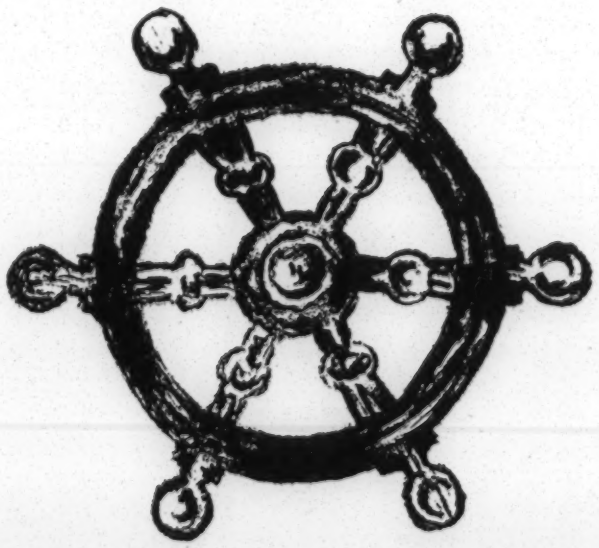
STAFF: The project will be directed by an operating committee consisting of:

Mr. Paul Baumann, Principal, Robert Fulton Junior High School and Project Co-Coordinator
Mr. Thomas Cheeks, Milwaukee Public Schools
Mr. Michael Kies, Cooperative Educational Service Agency Number 19
(Alternate: Miss Helen Olsen, CESA Number 19)
Mr. Reuben Harpole, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Extension
Dr. Belden Paulson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee Extension
Mr. Edward C. Wilkinson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee Extension, and Project Coordinator

4/10/67

PROMOTING CHANGE IN THE CENTRAL CITY

a
school
community
pilot
project



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case story no. 7

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Urban Problems

FORD FOUNDATION

Technology and Cities

A FOUNDATION VIEWPOINT

By William C. Pendleton

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Urban Problems E. file

SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAM

Civil Rights in the Urban Crisis

by DONALD SLAIMAN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

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SEP 28 1970

ANNOUNCING A NEW INFORMATION SERVICE ON MINORITY EMPLOYMENT ..... URBAN EMPLOYMENT

Dear Sir:

Those of us who are concerned with minority employment have urgently needed an information service -- one that is reliable, factual, national in scope (Detroit, Los Angeles, Atlanta and across the country -- not just in Washington) and published frequently so that information is up-to-date. There is such a publication -- Urban Employment, a twice-monthly newsletter on minority employment, training, and upgrading. It regularly reports on:

- Needs, activities and demands of minority groups.
- Black worker groups and union activities and their impact on business activity.
- Status and progress of national organizations and companies in their campaigns to employ minorities.
- Shifting government requirements.
- Sources of funds, technical assistance and other resources being made available.
- Case studies of model programs for hiring and training minority recruits.

Twice a month, Urban Employment covers news developments, trends, conferences, documents, books and articles in the field -- information gathered from 1,000 publications, newspapers, government, active groups and individuals all over the country. You may judge by the enclosed complimentary issue that no other service provides this broad spectrum of information on a current and regular basis.

Urban Employment costs $40 a year. Please fill out the enclosed form. We will start your subscription immediately and bill you later. If you are not completely satisfied, with Urban Employment, notify us within 30 days and we will cancel your billing.

Cordially,

John Naisbitt

John Naisbitt
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Urban Employment Vol. 1, No. 16 August 31, 1970

A twice-monthly newsletter on minority employment, training and upgrading

HEW Moves To Void Philadelphia Contract

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has taken the first step towards voiding a contract on grounds that the contractor has failed to live up to provisions of the Philadelphia Plan. Edgely Air Products of Levittown, Pennsylvania, was told August 19 that it had ten days to request an administrative hearing on the Department's action.

The primary contract under dispute (for sheet-metal work on a medical laboratory building at the University of Pennsylvania) provided that eight percent of the man-hours for sheet metal workers would be performed by minority group workers. HEW says that no minority workers were hired. The company however, claims that the contract was for less than the $500,000 limit beneath which the Philadelphia Plan does not apply. HEW says the contract was originally estimated at $800,000, while the contractor said it was $499,800. Five other Philadelphia contractors received notice on July 1 that similar action would begin against them if they did not give evidence of compliance.

Suit Filed Vs. UFWOC

The National Right to Work Committee filed a suit in Tulare County, California Superior Court against the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, seeking an injunction against unionization without election. The suit asks that all dues be put in escrow by the UFWOC until the case is settled. Under the terms of the recent contracts signed between the UFWOC and grape growers, all workers must join the union within seven days of employment. The union hiring halls assign jobs on the basis of union seniority.

Jonathan Gibson, attorney for the National Right to Work Committee Defense Foundation,said that the suit was filed because there was no election among the grape workers when the UFWOC and the grape growers signed contracts. According to S.D. Cadwallader, president of the Right to Work Committee, "Thousands of California grape workers are now going to be told, you join the Cesar Chavez union or you don't work."

Berry Farmer Commits Breach of Contract

Migrant workers have for the first time successfully sued an employer for breach of contract. A berry farmer, Ronald Tankersley, of Washington County, Oregon had promised, via radio broadcast, that his farm labor camp satisfied state health and labor department requirements and that it produced an average of eight tons of berries per acre, although it had never done so. Many of the workers recruited by the broadcasts were not hired by Tankersley or were hired for brief periods. United States District Court Judge Alfred T. Goodwin ruled that there was breach of contract, but he said that plaintiffs were not entitled to punitive damages because there was no proof offered that the recruiting promises were made in bad faith or that Tankersley intended to harm anyone by the advertising. Each of the 32 workers joining in the suit (residents of New Mexico and Texas) will have to individually prove claims for damages as a result of the breach of contract. Each person will have to show by specific reference to days and hours worked whether he was ready, able and willing to work and that he was damaged by the failure to provide work.

Judge Goodwin said that the grower, when he induced needy persons to travel long distances, to Oregon, had made an implied covenant not to hire more workers than can earn a reasonable wage by doing the available work. Some of the evidence brought out in the trial suggests areas for new social

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legislation, according to Judge Goodwin. He told growers and legislators that, "The testimony gives ample warning to employers that the expectations of farm laborers are keeping pace with those of their urban neighbors."

Committee On Spanish-Speaking Meets With Agnew

The Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish-Speaking was joined last month in its regular meeting by Vice-President, Spiro Agnew. The group discussed with the Vice-President the fact that most current job programs for minorities fail the Spanish-speaking individual because they are not geared to their needs. Martin G. Castillo, chairman of the committee, urged that more Spanish-speaking people be brought into the federal government at a policy-making level. He suggested that federal recruiters look to Spanish-speaking neighborhoods in the future.

Anti-poverty leaders from Mexican-American communities across the country took similar concerns with them when they met with Office of Economic Opportunity officials in Washington recently. They asked for greater, broader emphasis on anti-poverty programs for Spanish-speaking people to remedy inequities in funding which have created struggles between blacks and themselves for anti-poverty projects. Frank Carlucci, OEO Operations Director, accepted the complaints as legitimate, saying that the emphasis has been on blacks. But, he added that OEO tries to avoid aiming programs at specific ethnic groups. A petition given to OEO by the community leaders asks for Chicano community action programs, a Mexican-American Community Corporation to include a research and development firm and inclusion of Mexican-Americans in policy-making positions in OEO's regional offices.

ACLU Charges ABC News With Sex Bias

The New York City Commission on Human Rights is investigating a charge made by the American Civil Liberties Union that the American Broadcasting Company's New York News bureau practices "unlawful discrimination against women in employment." Of ABC News' 250 New York employees, about 50 are women and most of them hold low level jobs; 33 are secretaries and seven are researchers. Although women "are obviously qualified to compete with men for the more senior posts, as a matter of policy (ABC News), with rare expection, employs only men for those senior posts and neither encourages nor takes seriously applications for those jobs submitted by women," according to the ACLU.

There is concern that the women represented by the ACLU are jeopardizing their jobs by participating in the charge. The ACLU says that although many more women than they represent have been discriminated against, they remain silent for fear of losing their jobs or deopardizing what slim chances for advancement exist..

In ABC News' Washington, D.C. bureau, eleven of 36 news personnel are women, including one researcher, six secretaries, one film editor, one graphic artist, and one producer. The bureau in Washington also employs over 104 engineers and technicians, none of whom are females.

Court Rules Against Illinois Protective Law

A federal district court in Springfield, Illinois, has ruled that the Illinois Maximum Hours Act conflicts with the 1964 Civil Rights Act because it forbids employing women for more than eight hours a day. The decision upheold positions taken by the Illinois Bell Telephone Company and Caterpillar Tractor Company in two separate suits filed last March. Illinois Bell charged that the law meant only men could receive extra pay available from overtime work and that it prevented women from being promoted or assigned jobs which regularly require long working hours. Illinois Bell is the largest private employer of women in Illinois.

New Outreach Programs Will Prepare Apprentices

In addition to the collection of hiring plans similar to the Philadelphia Plan, which have been developed across the country with federal subsidies for training, the Department of Labor supports a number of other training efforts designed to get minorities into craft union apprenticeship and journeymen slots. The primary program in this area is Apprenticeship Outreach which prepares young men to be apprentices. It is often reinforced by parallel programs which prepare older men with construction experience so they can be placed as journeymen.

An Outreach contract is given to one of a number of public or private organizations which then work with local unions and contractors. Minority group trainees are then recruited through State Employment Service offices, Apprenticeship Information Centers, and various social service centers. Outreach contractors range from the Workers' Defense League in New York City to the United Auto Workers in Detroit. A number of new Outreach programs have been announced this summer. There are now 70 in operation.

On May 6, the Labor Department made public the awarding of $575,421 to the International Union of United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW) to prepare 600 minority youth for apprenticeship in metal-working trades in 22 cities in seven states over a period of two years.

An Outreach contract has been awarded to the Christ Child Settlement of Washington, D.C. to recruit, prepare and place 30 minority youths in bricklayer apprenticeship programs. The five month contract involves $54,529 in federal funds. Christ Child's program is partially residential. Trainees will stay at the Settlement House's summer camp Mondays through Fridays during their training. Christ Child has already placed 27 minority youth as carpenters' apprentices as the result of a previous Outreach program. A second grant will support preparing 20 more young men to be carpenters' apprentices.

The Building Industry Minorities Employment Program of Central New York, Inc., received an 18 month, $15,658 contract to upgrade the skills of 100 black men with construction experience to enable them to achieve full journeyman status and union recognition. Under the contract, tradesman specialists will be employed to recruit minority applicants who are over the normal apprenticeable age, but who possess backgrounds or aptitudes in mechanical skills, physical ability to perfrom the work and strong motivation to do construction work.

New Apprenticeship Outreach programs are beginning in Spokane, Washington; Indianapolis, Indiana; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; and Norfolk, Virginia. The Indianapolis Plan for Equal Employment, Inc., will prepare 80 young men for apprenticeship tests over 18 months. It will also enable 420 men with previous experience or skills to be upgraded to the journeyman level. Together the Indianapolis projects are receiving $449,982 in federal funds. The Harrisburg and Norfolk projects will each give pre-apprenticeship preparation for 30 minority youth at a cost of $481,000 in Harrisburg and $44,850 in Norfolk.

The Northeastern Washington-Northern Idaho Building and Construction Trades Council will prepare 30 minority youth for the Building trades in 12 months, with $52,523 in federal funds.

A number of national unions are funded by the federal government to recruit and train minorities for apprenticeship or journeyman positions. The National Administration Committee of the AFL-CIO's International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers joined with three contractors' associations to sponsor a program that will provide $1.2 million of training for 600 men over an 18 month period. The program will train men over 31 years of age in one of three categories as qualified mechanics who can perform at a journeyman's skill level; as advance trainees with some amount of experience; or as unexperienced trainees who do not meet apprenticeship requirements. Each worker in an advanced training program will receive a minimum of 288 hours of supplemental

instruction beyond training at the job site. Journeymen will give on-the-job instruction. The National Committee is responsible for monitoring the agreement. Wage rates will be at least 50 percent of local journeyman wages and will depend on a man's level of experience. Supplementary recruiting sources, besides the local state employment services, will include the National Urban League, the Worker's Defense League, the Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. An average of $2400 will be spent on each man for orientation, on-the-job training and classroom training, both related and supplemental.

In 1965 Congress amended the Manpower Development and Training Act to authorize occupational training of 10,000 prison inmates. Among other services, this amendment provides for paying inmates an incentive allowance for taking part in training. They receive up to $20 a week for training, part of which is banked for until they are released. As a result of this provision, federal funds have been put to use by a number of building and construction trades training programs in federal prisons. Experimental projects are underway in New York City and Washington, D.C., through which "younger and non-hardened offenders" are turned over to a training and job opportunity program before arraignment. Those who are not responsive to program efforts after 90 days are returned to normal court procedures.

There are apprenticeship programs in 15 federal prisons, all promoted by the Labor Department. A classic case of prison job training and support services is the program at the Draper Correctional Center in Elmore, Alabama, where after five years, a comprehensive program has developed. It gives counseling, job training, support services (including obtaining employment bonds, getting money for tools, relocating families), education, job development and placement, and follow-up. Bonding assistance given at Draper shows that in three years only 27 of 1738 bonded prisoners defaulted. The bonding contractor has reduced its premium by 60 percent as a result.

A Seattle program uses convicted felons on parole as assistant parole officers. They work three days a week and are enrolled in local colleges in programs leading to a bachelors degree. The Labor Department pays all training costs, all of the assistants' first year salaries and a portion of their second year salaries.

Labor Readies New Apprentice-Ship Guidelines

The Labor Department is proposing new regulations for promoting equal employment opportunity in apprenticeship programs which would require sponsors to formulate "affirmative action" plans for hiring minorities in programs registered with the Labor Department or with state agencies. They also will have detailed and stricter guidelines for the selection of apprentices. All qualifications have "to be validated by accepted standards of statistical analysis" or approved by the Labor Department. Qualified candidates would enter " a pool of eligibles" and be picked randomly for the apprenticeships, except where the Department approves the use of an alternate selection scheme. Such selection procedures, even if they have been used in the past, either through a contract or established promotion policies, must be approved by the Department of Labor as being non-discriminatory. Apprenticeship program sponsors would have nine months to develop affirmative action plans after the Department finalizes the guidelines.

These guidelines would apply to programs registered with the Labor Department or state apprenticeship councils. Registration allows employers to pay apprentices lower wages on federal projects. Like the Philadelphia Plan, the new regulations will require specific goals and timetables to be set for recruiting minorities in areas where minority representation in the craft does not approximate their proportion in the area's labor force and population.

Blacks in USW Act To Get More Voice

At the same time that a federal judge has ruled that unions cannot constitutionally maintain locals separated by race, black members of the United Steel Workers Union (USW) in Buffalo,New York are moving to establish a separate black union for better representation of black workers. In Pittsburgh,Baltimore and Cleveland, black steelworkers are organizing to protest their lack of representation in union offices and grievance procedures.

Stanley D. Murphy, a black steelworker was chairman of the Buffalo meeting. He ran for president of local No. 2603 last year and lost by three votes. 2603 with 6000 steelworkers is the biggest of the five locals at Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna, New York Plant. Altogether it is estimated that there are 5000 black production workers in Bethlehem's five locals. Murphy announced formation of a separatist black organization that would obtain proper representation for black union members while working within the general union framework. Murphy announced that blacks would construct their own union building and that the group would halt the check-off of union dues. Stopping the check-off, he said, "could prove a lever to make sure that we get proper representation." Representatives at the conference voiced the feeling that both the company and the union leadership subtly pushed a racist policy and that continuation of this could eventually lead to further separatist moves by black union members. The value of the parent union in the areas of wage and job classification agreements was acknowledged, however.

The federal court ruling rose out of a case in which there were two parallel unions of longshoremen, one black and one white, on the docks in Baltimore. Federal judge Alexander Harvey II ruled that no union has a constitutional right to maintain separate locals for black and white workers. Unions, he said, are established for economic advancement, not to further ideas and beliefs. They therefore cannot claim racial separation covered by constitutional guarantees of freedom of association. A second ruling is pending on a similar situation in Texas.

Also in Baltimore, the Ad Hoc Committee of Black Steelworkers has worked out the final wording of resolutions to be presented at the 1970 USW convention, appointment of a convention committee, plans for a fund-raising program, a membership drive and expansion of the Ad Hoc Committee. Some black members of the United Steelworkers' Civil Rights Committee are also on the Ad Hoc Committee.

Fewer Teen-Agers Enter Labor Market

Labor Department statistics and studies released this summer show that important changes have occurred in the summer youth labor force this year. In three areas — overall employment levels, the employment of teenagers for the summer, and the employment rates in minority neighborhoods — unemployment has shown greater gains than employment, despite a general growth in the size of the youth labor force (16-21 years of age).

The Labor Department's most recent report on summer youth employment shows that the rate has hit a nine year high, that unemployment in this age group is highest among black males, more youth stayed out of the labor force this year than last (although the youth labor force itself increased), and the only sector of the economy to show an increase in jobs for youth was the service sector, particularly the retail trades.

Even though the summer is almost over, large numbers of teen-agers are still jobless; many have not yet abandoned the search for a job. The overall unemployment rate for young people in the 16-21 age group is 16 percent. In mid-August, according to the Labor Department, the total number of 16-21 year olds employed was 11.2 million, down 210,000 from 1969. But, the youth labor force was larger in '70 than '69; it increased by over 200,000. The number of unemployed young people reached 2.1 million, an increase of 410,000 over last summer. This was the first year-to-year drop in summer employment of young people in the last nine years.

Service sector jobs accounted for a larger proportion of employment among 16-21 year-olds this year than last. Only 2.5 million young people were employed by goods-producing industries, a drop of 470,000 over last year. Service-producing industries employed 6.1 million young people, an increase of 340,000 over last year. All of the increased service-producing employment of youth came from the retail trades. Employment of youth in government declined by 50,000 this summer, bringing the overall level to 1.2 million. 1970 is the second consecutive year in which government summer youth employment dropped; between 1964 and 1968 the proportion of youths employed by the government rose steadily from 6.6 percent to 11.8 percent.

The reduced availability of jobs fell disproportionately upon black youths. Unemployment of black youths reached 30.2 percent, an increase over last year's 24.6 percent. The unemployment rate for white youths also rose to 13.6 percent over last year's 11.2 percent. Smaller cities absorbed most of the increase in unemployment. Unemployment rates in urban poverty neighborhoods of the nation's largest cities remained virtually unchanged this year. It is felt that the absence of change reflected the fact that many poverty area residents are employed in low-skill service-related jobs which have increased in employees this summer. It is significant that riots and civil disturbances in low-income areas have concentrated in the smaller cities this summer.

There was also an increase in the number of young people who did not bother to enter the work force this summer, in addition to the increase in those who did. The labor force participation rate this summer was 64.8 percent (.7 percent higher than last year) and some 340,000 youths did not enter the labor market this summer.

Overall, the July unemployment rate reached 5 percent. The federal government added six more cities to its list of substantial unemployment of six percent or more. There are now 24 cities on this list, the largest number in five years. The new additions are New Britain, Connecticut; South Bend Indiana; Portland,Oregon; Detroit; Spokane,Washington; New Orleans and the Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke area of Massachusetts. Among the large cities with over six percent unemployment are: Oakland, Newark,Cleveland, Seattle,Tacoma, Witchita and Muskegon. Two cities in Puerto Rico, Ponce and Mayaguez, have a 12 percent unemployment rate.

A Labor Department study released August 6 shows that the black unemployment rate in the Watts area of Los Angeles increased 61 percent between the 1965 riot and the end of 1969. Overall, the most recent Watts unemployment rate reached 16.2 percent as compared with 4.3 percent for the whole Los Angeles area. Labor experts say that the increase is partially explained by people finding jobs and then moving out of Watts, and also by a large increase in the female population. Joblessness among black women almost doubled in the 1965-69 period.

Pre-Apprenticeship Training Shows 33-36% Return

An analysis of the pre-apprenticeship training component of project BUILD, in Washington, D.C. shows that the rate of return on the economic investment in pre-apprenticeship training ranged from 33 to 36 percent. For a program completer the pay-back period in which the economic costs to the economy are paid for by his productivity ranges from 2.77 to 3.0 years. The government regains its investment in training from a program completer in 12 to 13 years.

Project Build is a training program with three components: pre-apprenticeship training for disadvantaged city youth; craftsman skill refinement training for currently employed, but inadequately trained older workers in the construction industry; and recruiting, support services and job-related training

for inner-city youth employed by the Winston A. Burnett Construction Company. BUILD is sponsored by the Greater Washington Central Labor Council AFL-CIO, and the Washington Building and Construction Trades Council. Pre-apprenticeship training is for young men, aged 17½ to 24, particularly those who are high school drop-outs from low income families living in urban renewal and Model Cities areas. The program lasts 24 weeks and pays $1.60 an hour for the first four weeks. This rate may be raised to $1.70, $1.85 or $2.00 an hour depending on a trainee's performance. Curriculum consists of job orientation, counseling, remediation in computation and communication skills, familiarization with the construction crafts and work experience.
This training leads to entry into a union apprenticeship program in the building and construction trades. BUILD involves union craftsmen and members of the trades Joint Apprenticeship Committees in curriculum planning, training, evaluation of trainees and placement of trainees in apprenticeship programs. BUILD's Craftsmen Skill Refinement Program is available to men of all ages, and qualifies them as journeymen, eligible for union membership. The study was made by Markley Roberts as part of a doctoral degree in economics at the American University,Washington,D.C.

Recommended Reading

Study Provides Guidelines for Consortia, Subcontractors

Coalition-JOBS is a combination of the National Alliance of Businessmen and the Urban Coalition in New York City. Since its primary function is to help businesses write, plan and implement Manpower Administration Development and Training contracts for the hiring and upgrading of hardcore unemployed and underemployed workers, it undertook a study of the MA-3 and -4 contracts in New York City in November of 1969. The study, The MA Contract in New York, was designed to evaluate progress made in training hardcore and to find new ways in which employers, Labor Department and Coalition-JOBS could improve the training and upgrading processes.

The study covers 92 companies participating in contracts, 40 of which had contracts of their own, and 52 of which were participants in consortia. Sixty-six of these companies trained for white collar jobs and 26 for blue collar jobs. Most of the companies surveyed (39%) employed 10,000 or more employees. The total number of trainees hired under MA-3 and -4 contracts was 7,369 and at the time of the survey, 4,008 of these hires were still on board.

The study's primary conclusion is that the contract program seems to be achieving its major goals. The MA program appears to be hiring genuinely disadvantaged persons and hiring criteria have been successfully adjusted in favor of less well-educated, less-skilled and less-experienced applicants. Jobs provided were genuinely new opportunities. Trainees' wages are comparable to those of regular entry-level employees in their industries. Two-thirds of hiring companies report retention as good as or better than for regular employees. Program directors agree that special counseling of trainees and sensitivity training for supervisors are effective in reducing employee turnover.

A number of problem areas common to those surveyed emerged from the study. While consortia are important mechanisms for involving medium-sized and smaller companies in training, they have been difficult to operate successfully, principally because participating companies lacked commitment to the goals of JOBS and to the specific consortium. To remedy this, the study suggests that participating companies be involved in planning and designing stages of the program. There must be communication between the consortium operations staff and a Board of Directors from participating companies. A set of consortium guidelines emphasizes the need for communication among the members, and the need for clear understanding among all members, of the legal, financial and program responsibilities of the Labor Department, and the subcontractor to each other. Certain program designs have been found to influence retention rates and their use is strongly recommended. They include: designing orientation to enhance employee-company orientation by having trainees interviewed and hired by the company; conducting orientation at the company site; designing the training center to resemble the company environment; and (taking into consideration the availability of transportation, seasonal and economic fluctations in the economy) developing a sound financial projection for the duration of the whole contract.

Use of subcontractors for support services apparently presented another area of difficulty for companies surveyed. To avoid disappointments and problems with these contractors, Coalition-JOBS advises that a company "choose a subcontractor as you would choose an insurance company or a jobber. Get a bid." The study includes a sample letter to "Subcontractor, Inc," inviting prospective subcontractors to bid. Once a list of potential subcontractors is formed, it is suggested that their capability and performance records be carefully investigated by interviews with past clients and administrative and program staff. A checklist of 16 important questions is offered for this stage. Planing a training program should begin only after the subcontractor is chosen. Coalition-JOBS feels that large companies should develop their own training capacity within their own staff and organizations. Not all responsibility lies with the subcontractor.

Coalition-JOBS and the Labor Department, the study suggests, should expect to develop more technical assistance for the MA contract companies and they should concentrate their efforts on developing contracts for high wage level jobs. A few of the companies surveyed were unable to provide high enough wages at the end of training to ensure retention and an improvement in trainees' economic situation. Coalition-JOBS underlines the fact that unless this is done, the objectives of the JOBS program will not be met.

To ensure that recruiting procedures are not responsible for high attrition rates, as some companies seem to think, the study recommends that formal seminars and visits be established for counsellors at agencies such as the New York State Employment Service to familiarize them with the jobs and industrial setting in which trainees will be placed. Special assistance must be given to Spanish-speaking trainees and the white-collar criteria of language ability must be evaluated to facilitate placing more Spanish-speaking personnel. An increase in the unemployment rate, it is felt, tends to decrease the effectiveness of the JOBS training. Consequently, Coalition-JOBS feels that the National Alliance of Businessmen should exercise its influence in favor of measures that will soften the impact of business slowdowns on recently hired MA contract trainees.

Results of the survey give an indication of the practices followed by most employers. While most employers changed their hiring criteria, few of them eliminated or reduced their reliance on physical examinations, reflecting a desire to screen out drug users. Nearly half of the white collar employers, but almost none of the blue collar employers, consider police records as a factor in hiring decisions. Most white collar employers who retained this criteria claim they examine each case individually rather than applying a blanket rule.

Over 90 percent of the trainees were paid less than $2.20 an hour at the beginning of training. By the end of training, one in five had potential earnings of $2.60 an hour or more, two in five got $2.20 to $2.59 an hour and 27 percent were earning about $2.20 an hour. One in seven trainees held jobs that paid less than $2.00 an hour, even after training. "In general, "the study notes the lower the post-training wage level, the higher the proportion of Spanish-speaking and women trainees. . .in the programs with average post-training wages of $2.40 an hour or more, only 22% of the jobs were held by Spanish-speaking trainess and 41 percent by women."

Coming Events

Sept. 30 – Annual Meeting of the National Business League: "Black Business and the Corporate Entity," at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Detroit.

Oct. 7-9 – Second Annual Conference on Minority Financing at the Center for Continuing Education at the University of Chicago. Information forums and workshops covering Mesbic's, financial resources, and stratgies, funding institutions and their criteria, and financial packaging according to type of business. Minority entrepreneurs and economic development centers: $175 , all others: $275. Contact: Urban Research Corporation, 5464 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois, 60615; 312-955-3050.

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CHANGES in URBAN AMERICA

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Urban Problems

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR / BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

BLS Report No. 353

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Northern Tr Chgo 2.60 88½ 90 88 3s, Jan.,

New York Times 4-15-70

Executive Changes

Alfred A. Wolff, formerly vice president and secretary in charge of agency, credit and budget departments, the Home Insurance Company, has been named executive vice president-operations.

*

Arjay Miller has been elected to the board of directors of the Cabot Corporation. He is dean and professor of management at the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University.

*

George H. Frey has been named vice president-production for the Ward Baking Company, Inc., a subsidiary of Ward Foods, Inc.

*

Alexander D. Hargrave has been elected chief executive officer of the Lincoln Rochester Trust Company, Rochester. He succeeds Wilmot R. Craig. The latter will devote full time to his post as president and chief executive officer of Lincoln First Banks, Inc., a multibank holding company, of which Lincoln Rochester is an affiliate.

*

Ralph P. Benn has been named president and chief executive officer and a member of the board of Leesona Corporation, Warwick, R. I. He formerly was with the Singer Company.

*

Harold J. Quis has been appointed director of corporate development of the Union Camp Corporation. He formerly was director of planning at Wallace and Tiernan and and before that, was director of marketing services for Celanese Chemical Company.

*

Ulrich Schweitzer has been elected vice president and associate resident counsel of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York. He formerly was general corporate counsel of the Penn Central Company.

J.L.

7/2/70 Atlanta Const.

Urban Poor Seen in Deep Poverty

By KEN HARTNETT

WASHINGTON (AP) — Almost half the nation's urban poor belong to families locked so deeply into poverty they can't escape unaided "at any time in the future," a new study says.

Economist Anthony Downs reported also that two of every five members of the urban poor population are children under 18, almost 20 per cent of the families are elderly, almost 5 per cent are headed by disabled males and almost 24 per cent are headed by females under 65.

Downs, a member of the President's National Commission on Urban Problems, said nearly one of four urban poor families is headed by a regularly employed man under 65 "whose poverty results from low earning rather than unemployment, disability or old age."

Only about one in every eight poor urban families is headed by non-disabled men under 65 who are either unemployed or underemployed.

"Since over 40 per cent of all poor persons in metropolitan areas cannot be expected to become economically self-sustaining," Downs wrote, "significantly improved and enlarged programs of public assistance, combined with expanded child-care facilities for women with dependent children, are probably the only way to remove them from poverty."

Using 1968 data, Downs puts the urban poor population under 18 at 5.4 million, 12 per cent of all children living in metropolitan areas and 42.2 per cent of all the metropolitan poor.

Fifty-four per cent of the children were white and 46 per cent none-white. Poor children were twice as likely to be living in the central cities than in the suburbs.

While the number of urban poor children declined from 6.3 million to 5.4 million between 1959 and 1968, Downs said, the number of poor children living in families headed by females rose by 38 per cent among whites and 73 per cent among non-whites.

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Psychological Dynamics of Inner-City Problems

by ROSS STAGNER

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Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Urban Problems — Local Govt.

CED

REPRINT OF CHAPTER ONE of a Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of CED. The complete publication may be obtained from the Committee for Economic Development.

A STATEMENT BY THE RESEARCH AND POLICY COMMITTEE · FEBRUARY 1970

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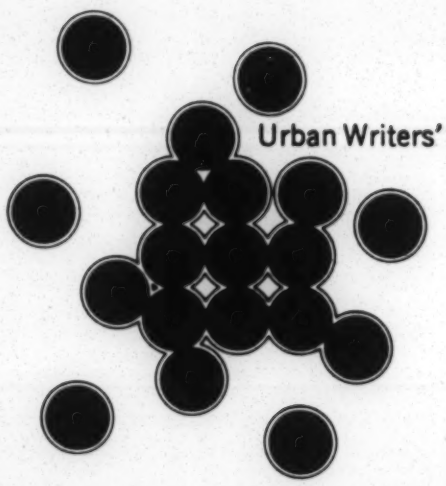

Urban Writers' Society Exchange 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Number 2 - 1969

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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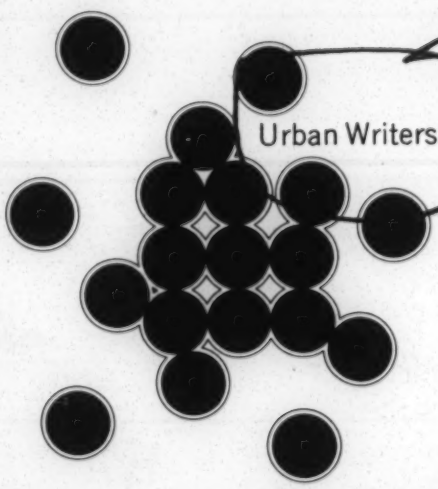

Urban Writers' Society Exchange 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Number 3 - 1969

Urban Writers' Society Exchange 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, (202) 293-7625

TO: Members of the Urban Writers' Society

FROM: Simpson F. Lawson, Acting Secretary SFL

DATE: August 18, 1970

Articles are now being accepted for the forthcoming issue of Exchange. Please submit your clips (indicating date of publication and page number) to me by August 28.

Please do not send photo copies unless it is impossible to obtain clippings.

B.A., R.C.

Anything you want to submit this time?

Ray

File Copy

March 16, 1970

Mr. Simpson F. Lawson
Acting Secretary
Urban Writers' Society
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Lawson:

Enclosed are several articles from our quarterly publication, New South, and our monthly tabloid, South Today.

We are undoubtedly too late for your March 6 dateline but perhaps these may be included in a later issue of Exchange.

We would be pleased to have our materials shared through Exchange but would you let me know if these are the kinds of materials which you would like to see.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

August 25, 1970

Mr. Simpson F. Lawson
Acting Secretary
Urban Writers Society
2100 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Mr. Lawson:

Enclosed is an article by Roger Williams which we are submitting for consideration by Exchange.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Enclosure

Urban Writers' Society Exchange 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, (202) 293-7625

File

JUL 1 1971

Mrs Andy Harvey

Dear Fellow Member:

Once again the Urban Writers' Society has passed through a staff transition. The transition, combined with a manpower shortage, resulted in the delay in getting the Urban Writers' Exchange to you.

The material before you dates back to our last issue. We have added a new section, drawn from the Coalition's "Weekly Monitor", which summarizes articles from January 1 which we were not able to include. This summary will become a regular feature of Exchange.

To regularize our operations a bit more, we have decided to compile Exchange on a bimonthly basis. The following dates are due dates for material through the end of the year. We would appreciate it if you would jot them down on your calendar and send us whatever material you have.

AUGUST 23

OCTOBER 22

DECEMBER 10

In addition to Exchange, we will be experimenting with a mailing called "Resource" which will present material centered around a given issue of interest to urban writers. The time, expense, and interest generated by such a venture will determine its continuance. Hopefully it will broaden the scope of the Urban Writers' Exchange. We would appreciate any comments you have regarding subjects of interest to you.

Included with Exchange is an issue of Public Management entitled, "Communicating with the Communicators", and The National Urban Coalition's publications list. In addition to those publications included on the list, the following are available on request:

Order from Urban Coalition

<u>Falling Down on the Job: The United States Employment Service and the Disadvantaged</u>, an examination of the history of the Department of Labor's manpower services for minorities with special emphasis on the Work Incentive Program, a forerunner to the work requirement included in the new Family Assistance Plan.

The Cost of Security: National Defense and Military Assistance Requirements for the 70's, an in depth examination of our defense spending. A back-up study to the Coalition's publication, Counterbudget, an alternative federal budget for 1971-76.

Cordially,

Andy Harney

Andy Leon Harney (Mrs.)
Publications Director

Enclosures

JUL 1 1971

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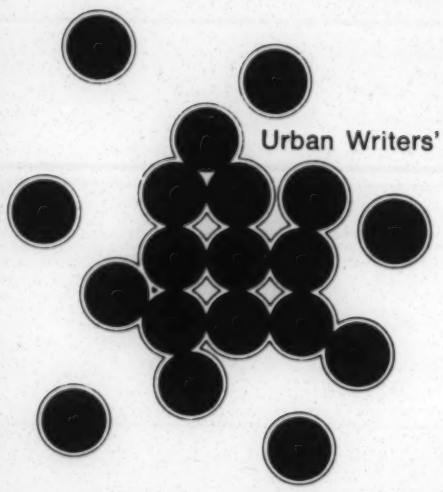

Urban Writers' Society **Exchange** 2100 M Street, N.W., Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20037, No. 1-1971

Clarence J. Squier

THE BUDGET IN BRIEF

FISCAL YEAR 1970

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The National Assembly's

report from washington

Published by the Washington Office of The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, Inc., 1701 - 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009

Volume III, Number 1 January 19, 1971

IN THIS ISSUE

COMMENT:	Revenue Sharing	P. 1	Food Stamps	P. 3
	Welfare Reform	P. 2	HEW Appropriations with Tables	P. 3

COMMENT

"Revenue sharing," "welfare reform," "full employment budget" and "national health insurance" are major concepts or phrases of which we shall hear a great deal after the 92nd Congress convenes on January 21. The first will have a decided effect on all our deliberations.

REVENUE SHARING For decades, the Congress has shared with or returned Federal revenues to the States and local communities to help meet what were presumed to be common needs. Sometimes on the recommendation of the Federal executive branch and sometimes on its own, the Congress decided which of those needs were of national importance and how best they might be met. Such categorical programs as Hill-Burton, aid for schools in Federally-impacted areas and Head Start, each with its uniformity of standards and of administration, were the result.

Revenue sharing as proposed by the Nixon Administration is a radically different concept. It envisions the return to States and local governmental units of sizable amounts of Federal revenues with no strings attached. The Congress and the Administration might assume that most such funds would be used for education or health needs or jobs or services. But the actual determination of priorities would be made by each local unit of government and, even when announced objectives might seem identical, methods of attainment would be locally determined without any master plans emanating from Washington.

Currently, there is an extremely powerful and a well-coordinated lobbying effort being made to persuade the Congress to adopt this concept. Its proponents—employees and associations of counties, of municipalities and of the States—talk not in terms of the initial $500 million and then the $1.5 billion mentioned by the Administration last year as starters but in terms of $10 to $20 billion in fiscal year 1972 (the year beginning July 1, 1971).

The Pros and Cons

Major arguments in favor of the proposal are three: (1) the fiscal emergency confronting many local units of government; (2) the broader tax base and far more effective collection mechanism available to the Federal government, and (3) the philosophical contention that the local unit of government is far better able to determine its priorities of needs and should have the decisive voice in how to spend whatever Federal funds are its due.

last version it presented to the Senate Finance Committee? Or the version represented by the Ribicoff-Bennett (Senators Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., and Wallace Bennett, R-Utah) amendments which it assured liberal groups it could support and around which a certain organizational consensus seemed to have been reached in the closing days of the 91st Congress?

All these measures are now dead and new bills must be introduced in the 92nd Congress. Yet, if President Nixon should send up the original version, he will alienate what liberal support has been recruited. If he sends up either of the last two versions, he runs the risk of antagonizing Congressmen Mills and Byrnes. Our guess is that he will not send up a bill but will hope that Ways and Means drafts its own version.

In the meantime, there are still some small voices in Washington saying that if we are to solve the welfare problem, it will not be through family assistance or welfare reform but through legislation providing housing, health, education and jobs.

FOOD STAMPS

On New Year's Eve, the Congress cleared for the White House the report of its joint House-Senate conference committee on extension of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, which expired that midnight. (See **Report**, December 21, 1970.) The measure was signed by President Nixon on January 11 and is now Public Law 91-671.

A provision in the House-passed bill requiring certain unemployed able-bodied persons to register for and accept employment as a condition of eligibility for receiving food stamps was somewhat modified by the conferees. However, as stated in the conference report (House Report 91-1793), it is stipulated that "certain able-bodied persons, including those employed and working for less than 30 hours per week, (will) be required to register for and to accept employment for jobs covered by State or Federal minimum wage laws or Federal wage regulations" to be eligible for food stamp benefits. Refusal to do so on the part of any one such person could mean loss of food stamps for the entire family, subject to a ruling from the Secretary of Agriculture.

The legislation extends the Food Stamp Act to June 30, 1973. The authorizations for funding are: $1.75 billion for the current fiscal year, ending June 30, 1971 (compared to the prior authorization of $1.42 billion), and such sums as may be necessary—that is, an "open-end" authorization—for the two following years.

Ask your Congressman for a copy of House Report (the conference report) 91-1793 and Public Law 91-671.

HEW APPROPRIATIONS

The legislation appropriating funds for the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare and of Labor and for the Office of Economic Welfare for the current fiscal year—the year that is now more than half over—was signed by the President on January 11. The two departments and OEO have been operating on contingency funds but now may make firm money commitments in the less than six months remaining of the 1971 fiscal year (ending June 30, 1971).

Selected figures in the new legislation are tabulated below. The fact is that while these are sums made available by the Congress, it is still basically the decision of the White House as to whether their full expenditure will be permitted.

AY, JANUARY 30, 1971 — Higher newsstand price in air delivery cities M 15 CENTS

NIXON, IN 'EXPANSIONARY' BUDGET, FORESEES DEFICIT OF $11.6-BILLION; STRONG ECONOMIC GAIN PREDICTED

United Press International

dent Nixon as he signed his budget for fiscal 1972 yesterday at the White House

Fed't Budget

Highlights of the Budget

1/30/71

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—Following are highlights of President Nixon's new budget:

DEFENSE—After two years of decline, the Pentagon budget is up $1.5-billion, to $76-billion, reflecting inflation, the pay increases by which the Administration hopes to move toward a volunteer army and new-weapon procurement that had been deferred during costlier phases of the Vietnam war. The budget banks on a continuing decline in the number of troops, planes and ships in the nation's arsenal.

ENVIRONMENT—President Nixon wants $2.5-billion, or nearly double what he asked last year, for antipollution programs, mostly for the construction of new sewage plants, with relatively minor amounts for clean air and solid-waste disposal programs. Appropriations for urban parks would go from $75-million to $200-million.

POVERTY—While the 5-year-old Office of Economic Opportunity is being reshaped as essentially a research organization, the budget declares that over-all spending on antipoverty projects is still growing, to an estimated $31-billion in 1972.

SCIENCE—For the first time in five years, the budget for research and development is up, to $16.7-billion. The space budget, while continuing its decline, is down only about $20-million.

HEALTH—There are hints—but no plans or figures—about basic insurance reforms. Three-quarters of the $16-billion health budget, and nearly all of the $1-billion growth, go to the Medicare and Medicaid programs, but there are also increases for birth control and medical training.

TRANSPORTATION—Highway construction still dominates the transport budget but as airport programs rapidly expand, highways get a smaller portion — 60 per cent — of the total than before. The Administration will renew its fight for the supersonic transport.

AGRICULTURE — Farm subsidies and price supports will cost $4.2-billion, little change from recent years. Food stamps for more than 10 million Americans will cost $2-billion.

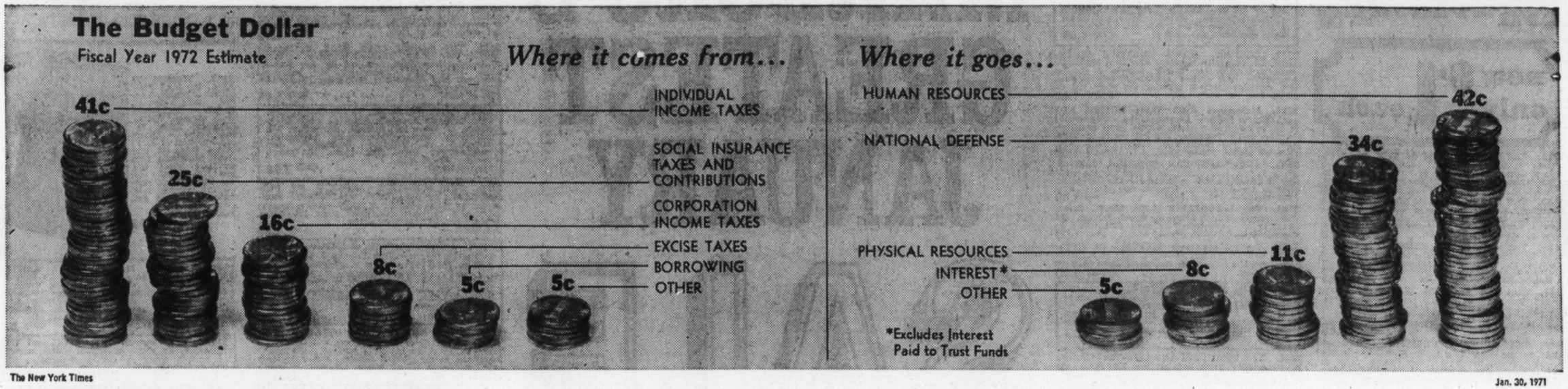
CIVIL RIGHTS — The total of minority programs in about 75 agencies will cost nearly half a billion dollars, the budget declares, or half again as much as this year, with $100-million going to help school districts desegregate.

EDUCATION—Expenditures by the Office of Education will rise about $250-million, to $4.7-billion. The Administration will ask Congress next year for $1-billion more in loans for college students.

REVENUE—The first, incomplete details of the President's revenue-sharing plan include new categories of assistance and proposed funding levels. For example, $3-billion for education, $2.6-billion for transportation and $500-million for law enforcement.

CRIME — Law enforcement assistance appropriations will rise $166-million, to nearly $700-million, with a new emphasis on correctional programs. The Administration's expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation will continue.

Budget Asks More for Defense and Environment, With Shift of Poverty Programs



The New York Times Jan. 30, 1971

Following are reports on President Nixon's plans for the major areas of Government activity as proposed in his $229.2-billion budget, and on the implications of those plans.

Defense

Following 2 Years of Decline, Pentagon Aims Budget Upward

By WILLIAM BEECHER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The defense budget, after two years of decline, is once more headed upward. The Nixon Administration's new budget proposal of $76-billion is $1.5-billion above expected spending for the current fiscal year ending June 30.

Reacting to predictable objections in Congress, Pentagon officials argued that, priced in fiscal 1972 dollars, the new budget represents a drop of $3.6-billion from the current budget year and only a $200-million increase over the last pre-Vietnam budget, in fiscal 1964.

Unaddressed by this assertion, however, is the fact that, beyond the admittedly sizable increases in military pay and matériel costs that are tracable to inflation, the 1972 budget includes major pay rises arising not only from inflation but also from a desire to make service careers more attractive as the Administration tries to move toward an all-volunteer armed force.

The new budget contemplates continuing decreases in the number of troops, planes and ships in the nation's arsenal. But it seeks to move in a substantial way to buy modern weapons long deferred during the height of the Vietnam war and to step up the development of strategic weapons against the possibility of failure [illegible]

more for such planes as the Navy's F-14 air superiority fighter and S-3A and P-3C antisubmarine aircraft; $739-million more for destroyers, nuclear attack submarines and support ships, and $450-million more for such Air Force weapons as the nuclear-tipped short range attack missile and the Maverick air-to-ground tactical missile.

In the strategic weapons field, the Pentagon proposes spending $370-million, up from $75-million this year, to continue the program to design and build seven prototypes of the B-1 bomber, a possible successor to the B-52.

Several times since the start of the strategic arms limitation talks, Mr. Laird has warned that, unless progress toward an agreement can be achieved soon, the Administration cannot continue to delay indefinitely decisions to produce advanced weapons systems.

Pentagon officials said, however, that a procurement decision could not be made until next year, at the earliest, on whether to build the new missile submarine, and not until 1975 on the B-1 bomber.

But a sizable portion of the $926-million requested for the Minuteman-3 [illegible]

plans and fit in the various components—model cities, urban renewal and so on—as they wished.

George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, was asked at a news conference what the department would do to see that the money continud to go into areas of need. He said that was one of the details of the plan to be worked out later.

But all commitments that have been made will be fulfilled, including some $4-billion in urban renewal, even after the new plan takes effect, Mr. Romney said. And in the meantime, model city and other grants will continue under existing law, he added.

The new division in the department has already been informed under Floyd H. Hyde, Assistant Secretary for model cities, and will move as far toward the broad grant approcah as it can without new legislation. With money previously appropriated for model cities, the department will put into effect its plan for "planned variations" announced last year.

Programs to be consolidated here include the Appalachian Regional Commission, which assists depressed areas of Appalachia, economic development assistance under the Commerce Department and several categorical aids under the Agriculture Department—extension services, environmental assistance, water and sewer grants, forestry assistance, water bank program, conservation and tree planting.

"Under this new program," the budget message said, "funds will be distributed to states for use in rural areas. The development projects appropriate for each community will be determined by state and local governments according to the needs of that community."

Officials were vague on how rural development would be administered from Washington.

The proposed consolidation here includes those sections of the 1965 Secondary and Elementary Education Act dealing with special assistance for the disadvantaged (Title I), library services and supplementary services; vocational education, school lunch program, education for the handicapped and assistance to state departments of education.

"This program will provide support for educational activities in broad areas where the Federal Government has developed strong interests in strengthening school programs over the years," the budget message said. "The states would have discretion as to how they would accomplish each of the major purposes" contained in present programs.

Urban mass transit, airport grants, highway-related safety grants, state and communityt safety grants, Federal aided highways outside the interstate system and highway beautification would go into general transportation grants.

State and local governments, the message said, would determine how the funds would be spent to achieve "balanced transportation systems." "A pass-through provision in the sharing formula will assure that local governments receive an equitable share of this fund. Federal funding for the interstate highway system will be maintained separately until the completion of that program."

Federal law enforcement assistance to state and local governments is now being provided under the broad grant approach as prescribed under the Safe Streets Act of 1968. This is the only program listed under the revenue-sharing plan and presumably grants will continue to be distributed under the present system by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Under all six categories, no matching funds will be required. Under programs that would be replaced under the Nixon plan, state and local governments are now putting up about $4.25-billion in matching funds.

Transportation

Environment

5 Programs Under New Agency Listed for Double the '71 Funds

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 — President Nixon asked Congress in his Budget Message today to appropriate roughly twice as much in the next fiscal year for environmental protection as it did in the current year.

For the programs gathered into the new Environmental Protection Agency—water quality, air pollution, solid waste disposal, pesticide regulation, and radiation standards—the President's budget calls for appropriations totaling $2.5-billion. Last year, Congress appropriated $1.3-billion. (The 1971 total includes $13-million, and the 1972 figure $85-million in supplemental requests to be made later to finance requirements of the clean air and solid waste bills passed last year.)

Mr. Nixon's budget also provides for enlarging the environmental agency's staff over the next 18 months from 6,223 to 8,863—an increase of 2,640. Congressional committees dealing with the environment have been complaining that the air and water pollution offices are badly understaffed.

With the environment an increasingly popular issue, Congress is expected to meet the President's appropriations request as it did last year. If the request is approved, Mr. Nixon also plans a doubling of expenditures.

For the 1972 fiscal year, beginning next July 1, Mr. Nixon projected outlays totaling $1.4-billion as against $679-million in the current, or 1971, fiscal year. Expenditures run behind appropriations because funds for some projects such as sewage plants are paid out in [illegible]

ranging from 30 to 55 per cent, depending on whether the states also bear part of the cost.

For 1971, the authorization under this program was $1.25-billion. Last January, Mr. Nixon proposed to supplant this program with a four-year, $10-billion program, with the Federal Government putting up $4-billion and the states and cities $6-billion. While the Federal Government would authorize contracts at $1-billion a year, appropriations would be scaled to payments for work completed and would be stretched out over nine years, beginning with $50-million in 1971.

Congress rejected the program as inadequate and appropriated $1-billion of the $1.25-billion authorized under the old statute.

Mr. Ruckelshaus, it is reported, persuaded Mr. Nixon to undertake a much larger program, and in legislation that will go to Congress in a few days, Mr. Nixon will propose a three-year, $12-billion program, with the states and cities putting up $6-billion, and the Federal Government $6-billion. Congress would appropriate $2-billion each year.

However, not all the Federal money would be for new projects. Twenty-five per cent would be set aside to pay for what are called "reimbursibles." This is money owed to states and cities for the Federal share of plants already finished, under construction or approved, which has not been paid because in the past the President has not asked, and Congress has not appropriated, enough money.

As of last Sept. 30, the amount of

that, priced in fiscal 1972 dollars, the new budget represents a drop of $3.6-billion from the current budget year and only a $200-million increase over the last pre-Vietnam budget, in fiscal 1964.

Unaddressed by this assertion, however, is the fact that, beyond the admittedly sizable increases in military pay and matériel costs that are tracable to inflation, the 1972 budget includes major pay rises arising not only from inflation but also from a desire to make service careers more attractive as the Administration tries to move toward an all-volunteer armed force.

The new budget contemplates continuing decreases in the number of troops, planes and ships in the nation's arsenal. But it seeks to move in a substantial way to buy modern weapons long deferred during the height of the Vietnam war and to step up the development of strategic weapons against the possibility of failure in the current arms limitation talks.

Force Levels to Drop

Force levels are slated to drop 194,000, to 2.5 million men, lower by almost 200,000 from the pre-Vietnam force. The new budgetary assumption, officials said, is that roughly 100,000 more men would be withdrawn from Vietnam in the 12-month period starting July 1.

There are now about 335,000 military personnel in Vietnam. Under announced policy, this figure is scheduled to drop to 284,000 by May 1. Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird has reportedly informed President Nixon that, on the basis of his recent tour of the war zone, this withdrawal target could be increased, and a new goal established for May and June, the last two months in this fiscal year.

So, barring unforeseen reverses in Indochina, the total American force by mid-summer of 1972 might well be between 100,000 and 150,000 men. Pentagon officials said, however, that, if the Administration should decide to maintain a larger force in Vietnam than is being budgeted for, the additional cost would be financed from other military programs.

The weapons-modernization program calls for authority to obligate increased funds for Navy aircraft and ships, Air Force missiles, and Army tanks, trucks and other equipment.

Among the increases are $807-million

air-to-ground tactical missile.

In the strategic weapons field, the Pentagon proposes spending $370-million, up from $75-million this year, to continue the program to design and build seven prototypes of the B-1 bomber, a possible successor to the B-52.

Several times since the start of the strategic arms limitation talks, Mr. Laird has warned that, unless progress toward an agreement can be achieved soon, the Administration cannot continue to delay indefinitely decisions to produce advanced weapons systems.

Pentagon officials said, however, that a procurement decision could not be made until next year, at the earliest, on whether to build the new missile submarine, and not until 1975 on the B-1 bomber.

But a sizable portion of the $926-million requested for the Minuteman-3 missile deployment, officials said, will be devoted to increasing the hardness of the Minuteman silos against possible nuclear attack.

The strategic portion of the budget also calls for $409-million to continue converting Polaris submarines to carry Poseidon missiles, each of which can carry up to 14 warheads, and $1.3-billion to continue deploying the Safeguard antimissile missile defense.

Highly placed officials said that President Nixon had not yet decided on the precise shape of his next Safeguard request to Congress. The Pentagon has recommended continued work on defenses around Minuteman complexes in Montana, North Dakota, Missouri, and Wyoming, and preliminary survey and engineering on a new deployment on the outskirts of the District of Columbia

In addition to $1.5-million in pay increases at the lower enlisted ranks, aimed at increasing enlistments, the Pentagon plans to spend $2.4-billion across the board in military and civilian pay increases.

Officials noted that this budget marks the first time when proposed future pay supplements were included in the defense spending estimate, rather than showing up separately as part of a Governmentwide pay increase. The effect is to show more nearly, at the time of budget submission, what total defense spending is expected to be for the year.

Revenue Sharing

Big Urban-Poverty Programs Would Be Shifted to Localities

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—President Nixon proposed today that several of the largest and most controversial Federal urban and poverty programs be turned over to state and local governments in a special form of revenue sharing.

Included were programs for model cities, community action agencies, compensatory education, Appalachian aid, vocational education and manpower training.

The President's budget gave details not heretofore made public concerning the amounts of money that would be allocated to each of the six major program areas to be set up under the $11-billion special revenue-sharing program. An additional $5-billion has been budgeted for revenue sharing but in a separate program that will impose no restrictions on state and local governments on how the money is spent.

The categories and the amount of money that would be allotted for each during the first full year are urban development, $2-billion; rural development, $1-billion; education, $3-billion; manpower training, $2-billion; law enforcement, $.5-billion, and transportation, $2.6-billion.

However, Administration officials, from White House aides to department heads, said today it had not been decided precisely how these broad grants would work and how much Federal control might remain. Details are to be contained in legislation that Mr. Nixon will submit later to Congress.

State and local governments, the President said in his message, "would have far greater freedom of action in deciding how money is to be spent within each of the six areas." "For example," he said, "although the Federal Government would designate the total amount of special revenue sharing for education, the state or local area would decide how much is to be spent on new textbooks, new schools, equipment, and other matters of priority to it in the field of education."

A breakdown of the present programs that would be lumped under each category and how they would work under the proposed plan, insofar as the officials involved know at this time, follows:

Urban renewal, model cities, rehabilitation loans and grants for water and sewer facilities would be lumped under an urban development division in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The community action agencies, the largest component of the Office of Economic Opportunity, would be moved into this division by Jan. 1, 1973.

The plan is for this division to make grants for community development directly to the cities, and also the states. The cities could then draw up their own

of Appalachia, economic development assistance under the Commerce Department and several categorical aids under the Agriculture Department—extension services, environmental assistance, water and sewer grants, forestry assistance, water bank program, conservation and tree planting.

"Under this new program," the budget message said, "funds will be distributed to states for use in rural areas. The development projects appropriate for each community will be determined by state and local governments according to the needs of that community."

Officials were vague on how rural development would be administered from Washington.

The proposed consolidation here includes those sections of the 1965 Sec-

Federal funding for the interstate highway system will be maintained separately until the completion of that program."

Federal law enforcement assistance to state and local governments is now being provided under the broad grant approach as prescribed under the Safe Streets Act of 1968. This is the only program listed under the revenue-sharing plan and presumably grants will continue to be distributed under the present system by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Under all six categories, no matching funds will be required. Under programs that would be replaced under the Nixon plan, state and local governments are now putting up about $4.25-billion in matching funds.

Transportation

Administration Shows Optimism On Saving Supersonic Airliner

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The Nixon Administration's new budget reevals an optimistic commitment to reviving the supersonic transport airplane, despite the political and practical problems that nearly killed the program last year.

In calling for an appropriation of $235-million for 1972 for further work on two test models, the budget assumes that Congress, when it takes up again in March the still unappropriated SST fund for 1971, will grant the full $290-million the Administration requested. Action in that item was delayed because Senate seemed determined to block it.

If Congress trims the $290-million sought for the current fiscal year, the appropriation for the next year would have to be comparably larger, or else the delivery date for operating aircraft, already stretched to late 1978, would face still further delays.

The budget also declares that "Federal funds will not be required after the flight testing" of the prototype craft in 1973, but few knowledgeable people in Congress or the aviation industry accept that prediction.

Over-all transportation spending for 1972, including maritime programs, is estimated at $8.26-billion, nearly one-fourth more than in President Johnson's last budget two years ago.

The Nixon Administration says that nonhighway programs account for a larger-than-ever fraction of the total. Yet highways still absorb 60 per cent of all Federal transport money, and highway spending, pegged at $4.79-billion for 1972, is still growing in terms of absolute dollars.

SUMMARY OF ACTIVE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FORCES

Description	Actual June 30, 1964	Actual June 30, 1970	Estimated June 30, 1971	Estimated June 30, 1972
Military personnel (in thousands):				
End strength:				
Army	972	1,322	1,107	942
Navy	667	692	623	604
Marine Corps	190	260	212	206
Air Force	856	791	757	753
Total, Department of Defense	2,685	3,066	2,699	2,505
Average strength: [1]				
Army	968	1,431	1,228	1,024
Navy	665	732	656	617
Marine Corps	190	295	237	210
Air Force	868	835	767	759
Total, Department of Defense	2,691	3,294	2,888	2,609
Strategic forces:				
Intercontinental ballistic missiles:				
Minuteman	600	1,000	1,000	1,000
Titan II	54	54	54	54
Polaris-Poseidon missiles	336	656	656	656
Strategic bombers (AAI)	1,277	516	552	510
Manned fighter interceptor squadrons	40	14	11	11
Army air defense firing batteries	107	40	21	21
General purpose forces:				
Land forces:				
Army divisions	16⅓	17⅓	13⅓	13⅓
Marine Corps divisions	3	3	3	3
Tactical air forces:				
Air Force wings	22	23	21	21
Navy attack wings	15	13	12	11
Marine Corps wings	3	3	3	3
Naval forces:				
Attack and antisubmarine carriers	24	19	18	16
Nuclear attack submarines	19	46	53	56
Escort ships	265	231	226	227
Amphibious assault ships	139	99	82	76
Airlift and sealift forces:				
Aircraft squadrons: [2]				
C-5A	--------	1	2	4
C-133, C-141, C-118, C-124, C-130, C-135	32	17	15	13
Troopships, cargoships, and tankers	100	113	105	98

[1] The information shown above, together with other information in this part, constitutes the report required pursuant to subsection (d)(2) of section 412 of Public Law 86-149, 73 Stat. 322, as amended by section 509 of Public Law 91-441, 84 Stat. 913.
[2] The number of aircraft per squadron may vary.

made later to finance requirements of the clean air and solid waste bills passed last year.)

Mr. Nixon's budget also provides for enlarging the environmental agency's staff over the next 18 months from 6,223 to 8,863—an increase of 2,640. Congressional committees dealing with the environment have been complaining that the air and water pollution offices are badly understaffed.

With the environment an increasingly popular issue, Congress is expected to meet the President's appropriations request as it did last year. If the request is approved, Mr. Nixon also plans a doubling of expenditures.

For the 1972 fiscal year, beginning next July 1, Mr. Nixon projected outlays totaling $1.4-billion as against $679-million in the current, or 1971, fiscal year. Expenditures run behind appropriations because funds for some projects such as sewage plants are paid out in stages as production proceeds.

The increase in total appropriations—about 88 per cent—is largely a result of one item: a doubling, from $1-billion to $2-billion, for Federal grants for municipal sewage plants.

The funds requested for the clean air and solid waste programs, although somewhat above last year's appropriations, fall far short of the authorizations in the bills passed last session, even when the "supplemental" $85-million is added to them.

However, William D. Ruckelshaus, environmental agency administrator, said yesterday that he believed the requests adequately reflected what could be efficiently spent.

There is certain to be Congressional criticism of the requests for air and solid waste programs, especially in the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, headed by Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine. But there will be also satisfaction over the requests made to finance the President's "parks for the people" program. He has asked full funding of the authorization under the law—$380 million—for national parks, and an increase in appropriations for "open spaces" in cities from $75-million to $200-million, with a rise in expenditures from $72-million to $100-million.

This is the breakdown for the programs in the Environmental Protection Agency:

Water Quality

OPERATIONS, RESEARCH AND FACILITIES. For these functions last year, Congress appropriated $116-million, slightly more than Mr. Nixon requested. This year he is asking $138-million. Most of it will be expended in the fiscal year.

WASTE TREATMENT GRANTS. Under present law, expiring next June 30, the Federal Government makes grants to cities for sewage treatment plants,

the $1.25-billion authorized under the old statute.

Mr. Ruckelshaus, it is reported, persuaded Mr. Nixon to undertake a much larger program, and in legislation that will go to Congress in a few days, Mr. Nixon will propose a three-year, $12-billion program, with the states and cities putting up $6-billion, and the Federal Government $6-billion. Congress would appropriate $2-billion each year.

However, not all the Federal money would be for new projects. Twenty-five per cent would be set aside to pay for what are called "reimbursibles." This is money owed to states and cities for the Federal share of plants already finished, under construction or approved, which has not been paid because in the past the President has not asked, and Congress has not appropriated, enough money.

As of last Sept. 30, the amount of money that was or would become eligible for reimbursement totalled $1.4-billion, although the amount now due is $270-million. Unless states have firm assurance the reimbursibles will be paid, they will hesitate to advance more money to cities for sewage plants.

Air Pollution

Under the Clean Air Act passed last session, Congress authorized appropriations of $380-million for 1972. Mr. Nixon has asked for $129-million, plus whatever part of the supplemental $85-million he intends to use for air programs.

Further, in the bill, passed late in the session, Congress authorized $210-million for 1971. But, under a continuing resolution while the act was being passed, it appropriated only $106-million—the amount of the year before. All that Mr. Nixon is asking to make up this gap is $13-million, in a supplemental, which must be used to make up a similar gap in the solid waste program.

Solid Waste

In the solid waste bill last session, Congress authorized a 1972 appropriation of $172-million. Mr. Nixon is asking only $19.3-million, plus whatever share of the supplemental $85-million he allocates to solid waste.

For 1971, Congress authorized $50-million, but again under continuing resolution appropriated only $15-million. Again, the $13-million planned supplemental cannot fill this gap.

Pesticides

Last year's appropriation was $16.5-million. Mr. Nixon is asking for $17.2-million.

Radiation

For radiation standards, last year's appropriation was $6.8-million. Mr. Nixon is requesting $8.6-million.

Executive Office

Rising Presidential Staff Outlays Hint Nixon Power Consolidation

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The budget for the fiscal year 1972, released today, lends statistical support to the judgment of most observers here that President Nixon has consolidated within his own executive office more power than any of his predecessors.

His executive staff, the budget indicates, is without question the largest in history. Meanwhile, estimated expenditures for the policymaking and personal machinery surrounding the President will rise by more than $5-million in the next fiscal year.

Expenditures for the executive office of the President, which includes everything from his $200,000 salary to the costs of operating policy-making units such as the National Security Council, totaled $36.3-million in the fiscal year 1970 and jumped to $49.8-million the following year.

A major reason for the increase was Mr. Nixon's decision to start counting as White House positions a large number of Government jobs whose occupants had worked for President Johnson while remaining on other agency payrolls. This was also a mojer reason for the sharp jump in personnel attached to the President's immediate personal staff—from 250 in the fiscal year 1970 to 533 the following year.

For the fiscal year 1972, the President's immediate staff—his speechwriters, press officers, political aides, secretaries, administrative personnel, and the like—will grow by only seven persons, to 540 permanent positions. Over-all expenditures for the executive office of the President however, will rise from a level of $49.8-million in the fiscal year 1971 to an estimated total of $55.2-million.

This is largely attributable to the following factors: the growth of the new Domestic Council under John D. Ehrlichman, to serve the President on domestic policy and programs; the creation of a new Council on Environmental quality, to advise Mr. Nixon on conservation issues; and the growth of the old Budget Bureau, now known as the Office of Management and Budget.

Science, Health and Priorities Are Among Topics Covered in Nixon's Message

Science

Research, Development Money Increases After a 5-Year Decline

By HAROLD M. SCHMECK Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The proposed Federal budget for the fiscal year 1972 appears to include the first real increase for scientific research and development in five years.

Whether the increase is real depends on how big an inflation factor is used in the calculations. Five per cent a year is commonly used.

The new budget figures show an increase of 7.6 per cent in obligations for research and development, bringing the 1972 total to $16.7 billion. There had been a steady drop from a peak of slightly more than $16-billion in 1967.

"One of the major objectives of this budget is to be certain that the country's basic sciences remain at the forefront," said Dr. Edward E. David Jr., the President's chief science adviser, during a briefing.

Social Objectives

As other key objectives, he cited advances in technology needed for solving some American social problems and increasing the effectiveness of the nation's defense forces.

Accordingly, the proposed budget included increased support of some areas of nonmilitary science and technology; a substantial increase in defense research and an indication that the decline in the size of the space effort may be coming to an end.

The budget proposes, for the space agency, total obligations of about $3,271,400,000, a decrease of only $216-million. The decline over the previous year was almost twice as great. Private employment in the space program will be virtually static at about 108,700 from July, 1971, through June, 1972.

One major item in the field of biomedical research was the proposal, announced in the President's State of the Union Message, for a large-scale war against cancer.

In the proposed budget, this would involve actual spending of about $30-million during fiscal 1972 but a total appropriation of $100-million. This money would be in addition to the $232,234,000 total appropriation for the National Cancer Institute, but there was no indication whether or not the institute and its parent organization, the National Institutes of Health, would be called upon to guide the project.

Government spokesmen said it had not been decided how the new cancer effort would be administered or by whom. This leaves open the possibility that a new cancer research authority might be set up, possibly as a separate agency.

Other areas of emphasis in biomedical research include diseases of the heart and [illegible] nantly among blacks. A spokesman for the National Heart and Lung Institute, which would administer the program, said most of the money would go to clinical studies of improved treatment methods for crises of the disease.

The proposed budget would give the National Science Foundation an increase of $149-million for obligations in research, development and related facilities, raising the total to $516-million.

The Department of Defense would be given an increase of $907-million for obligations for research and development. This would bring the total for fiscal 1972 to $8,469,000,800.

The overall objective, Dr. David said, is a smaller defense establishment made more effective by new sensing devices and weapons systems.

Emphasis in defense research will go to new and promising techniques based on research in oceanography and underwater sound, lasers and electronic devices of various kinds.

Funds for basic and applied research by the Atomic Energy Commission would decline under the proposed budget from $423-million in fiscal 1971 to $411-million in the coming year. Virtually all of the decrease is in research in the physical sciences, but it was expected that increases in the National Science Foundation's budget for science would at least offset that drop.

A.E.C. Funds Down

One major item in the A.E.C.'s research facilities program is $48-million for continuing construction of the huge 200-billion electron volt particle accelerator at Batavia, Ill., near Chicago. Total cost of the big research machine when complete will be about $250-million. It is expected that its first trial run will be this summer and that the next year will be spent in tuning it up.

Outlays for the civilian space program will decline by $216-million to $3.2-billion, partly because most of the spacecraft and rockets necessary for the Apollo program have already been paid for. Spending for the lunar program, budgeted at $612-million in the new proposals, has decreased by more than $1-billion since 1970. Three Apollo flights have been canceled, while the launching dates of the remaining four missions have been delayed. The final flight will be in December, 1972.

While Apollo is being phased out, work on the space agency's long-term dream, the orbital space shuttle, is accelerating. Funds for this program—to develop a reuseable spaceship that blasts into orbit like a rocket and returns to earth like an airplane—were $12.5-million in 1970, $80-million in 1971 and would go to $100-million next year.

Frank Hall

UP FOR SALE? President Nixon has proposed that Dulles International Airport, above, and National Airport in Washington be sold to private interests.

Economies

A Number of Savings Proposed; Some Aren't Included in Totals

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 — President Nixon's budget, like its predecessors, includes a long list of proposals for savings, but the approach to Congress is somewhat different from past Presidential recommendations along these lines.

In a number of cases—for example, the proposed sale of the two Washington airports to private buyers—although the President's suggestions are recommended to Congress the savings are not included in his budget total as if Congress would approve the suggestions.

In other cases, Congressional approval is assumed and the savings are included in reaching the total budget expenditure of $229.2-billion.

The grand total of savings, from 50 separate items identified as "inefficient, obsolete or lower priority programs," is $2.9-billion in the fiscal year 1972, mounting to $3.7-billion in later years.

4 Main Items

Of this total, $1.9-billion in the fiscal year 1972 requires Congressional legislative action, with the biggest amounts in four items—revisions in Medicare, revisions in Medicaid, further sale of stockpiled materials and a change in farm operating loans to insured loans. At least the first three of these stand a good chance of Congressional approval, perhaps with modifications of the President's proposals.

Another $1-billion requires only Congressional decisions on appropriation bills—though even these are not necessarily assured — sometimes combined with action by the Administration. The big items here are elimination of the school milk program and termination or reduction of several aspects of the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

A final $400-million is in the category of recommendations to Congress without inclusion in the budget totals. In this group are any proceeds from the sale of the now barely profitable Washington airports — National and Dulles—and sale of the Alaska Railroad, which Congress refused to consider last year despite Mr. Nixon's recommendation.

Two long-standing items on Presidential "savings" lists—never accepted by Congress—are not included at all this time. They are the cutbacks in the agricultural conservation program and in the program of aid to "impacted" schools with large numbers of children of Federal civilian or military personnel.

Each would be modified, however, with presumed eventual savings. The impacted aid program would become part of the "special" revenue sharing program for the states in the general education category.

Education

New Legislation to Be Proposed For Big Increases in Student Aid

Special to The New York Times

Priorities

An Order of Preference Urged To Avoid Wasting Resources

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The Federal budget for 1972, massive as it is, is part of a still bigger economic aggregate—the trillion dollar United States economy.

For the second straight year, the Nixon budget contains a special section warning that national priorities must be established for the entire economy if the nation's resources are not to be dribbled haphazardly away.

And, for the first time, an array of data has been marshaled to put the budget in the context of total public and private spending and to show where the nation has been, where it is now and where it could be heading.

The Federal budget itself is described as a mirror of national priorities in stabilizing the economy and in allocating, distributing and making efficient use of national resources.

For example, the recent increase in spending by the Federal Government on medical care has meant more access to health services by the poor, a special chapter called "perspectives" says.

However, it acknowledged that the Government support for health programs, while causing a rapid rise of health's share of the gross national product between 1965 and 1969, produced a sharp rise in the demand for medical care, and, hence, in its cost, without a corresponding rise in quality.

Little Discretion Seen

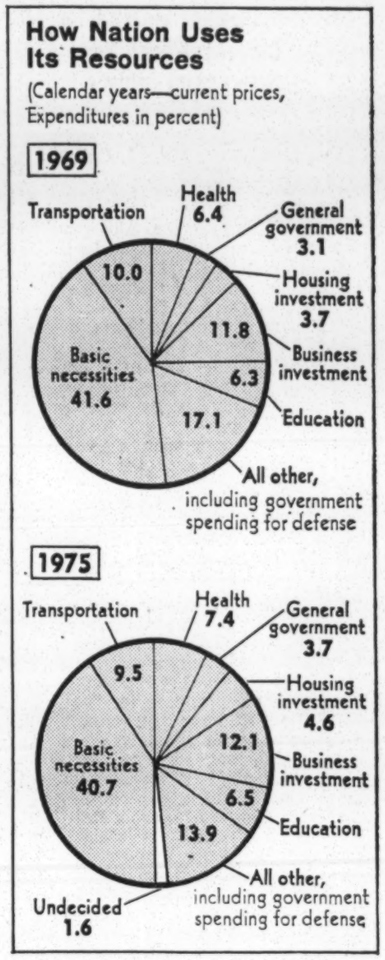
The study suggests that the Federal Government has relatively small budgetary discretion with which to influence national priorities.

In 1975, for example, a "budget margin" of $12-billion is forecast for the Federal Government. This is the potential Federal surplus projected on the basis of current tax levels and assuming that there are no new Federal spending programs beyond those in the 1972 budget.

That the $12-billion figure is shaky is indicated by the fact that in last year's budget the "budget margin" for 1975 was projected at $22-billion. But the margin shrank by $10-billion in one year because of higher expenditures for revenue sharing, the cost of shifting to a volunteer army, new health programs and Government pay raises ,and lower revenues caused by liberalized business depreciation.

Calculation of the budget margin is based on a number of broad projections. Between 1972 and 1976, the gross national product—the value of all goods and services produced by the nation—is expected to rise by about $400-billion to over $1.5-thousand billions, or trillions. Inflation will be a part of this rise but the growth of national output in real terms is projected at 4.3 per cent a year.

Substantial increases in wages, other



While noting that the "Federal Government has a far-reaching impact on the allocation of economic resources," the long-range study also concedes that the impact often is unpredictable.

A major change in budgetary patterns is the forecast of a shift in decision-making responsibility in the use of national resources from the Federal Government to state and local governments and the private sector. The ratio of public spending at all levels is expected to increase.

But the question of altering national priorities by dropping or drastically reducing existing federal programs such as defense, is not directly addressed.

Indeed, defense spending, as such, is not even included as a separate listing in the projection but is submerged in an "all other" category, which also includes public spending on space and international programs, and private

employment in the space program will be virtually static at about 108,700 from July, 1971, through June, 1972.

One major item in the field of biomedical research was the proposal, announced in the President's State of the Union Message, for a large-scale war against cancer.

In the proposed budget, this would involve actual spending of about $30-million during fiscal 1972 but a total appropriation of $100-million. This money would be in addition to the $232,234,000 total appropriation for the National Cancer Institute, but there was no indication whether or not the institute and its parent organization, the National Institutes of Health, would be called upon to guide the project.

Government spokesmen said it had not been decided how the new cancer effort would be administered or by whom. This leaves open the possibility that a new cancer research authority might be set up, possibly as a separate agency.

Other areas of emphasis in biomedical research include diseases of heart and lungs, tooth decay, family planning, infant and child health, the effects of environmental pollution, drug abuse and alcoholism.

A new $5-million program was proposed for research on sickle cell anemia, a hereditary disease found predomi-

Total cost of the big research machine when complete will be about $250-million. It is expected that its first trial run will be this summer and that the next year will be spent in tuning it up.

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While Apollo is being phased out, work on the space agency's long-term dream, the orbital space shuttle, is accelerating. Funds for this program—to develop a reuseable spaceship that blasts into orbit like a rocket and returns to earth like an airplane—were $12.5-million in 1970, $80-million in 1971 and would go to $100-million next year.

Funds for unmanned space probes that will visit planets as far away as Pluto have been more than tripled, to $263-million.

A new aeronautics effort—development of a short-take-off-and-landing (STOL) plane—will receive $15-million.

Civil Rights

Increase of Almost 100% Asked For Programs to Aid Minorities

By PAUL DELANEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—President Nixon asked today for an increase of almost 100 per cent over last year in money to help minorities, the funds would support programs ranging from aiding school desegregation to fighting sickle cell anemia.

Administration officials put the total request for all civil rights activity at $456-million for the 1972 fiscal year. This compared with $235-million in 1971 and $94-million in 1970.

The biggest single portion, $100-million, would go to the emergency school assistance program to aid school districts in the process of desegregating.

Budget action relating to civil rights was aimed at appealing to minorities, a high Administration official said. For example, the inclusion of $5-million for research into sickle cell anemia, a disease found exclusively among blacks, "was to indicate to blacks that the Administration was committed to solving their problems," an official of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare commented.

Figures released by the Administration showed that funds for the Office of Contract Compliance, the Labor Department's unit that enforces equal hiring clauses in Government contracts, would go from $1.5-million to $2.5-million, a 67 per cent increase; and funds for the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, in charge of the Commerce Department's minority capitalism programs, would rise from $1.7-million to $3.1-million, or 82 per cent.

Fair housing and equal opportunity activity of the Department of Housing and Urban development would increase by 17 per cent, from $8.8-million to $10.3-million.

Otther rights agencies receiving increases would be the Civil Rights Commission, from $3.2-million to $3.7-million; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, from $16-million to $26.5-million, and the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department, from $4.4-million to $5.4-million.

Officials reported that funding for civil rights activity in several other agencies would rise, some very appreciably, such as the Interior Department, from $2.4-million to $3.3-million; Atomic Energy Commission, from $958,000 to $1.4-million; Defense Department, from $13.7-million to $18.8-million and H.E.W., from $15.8-million to $325-million.

The huge increase in H.E.W.'s rights budget was a result of the inclusion of the $100-million for school desegregation aid.

Anticrime Programs

Rein Put on Aid to Local Police; Corrections Expenditures Gain

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The Nixon Administration has begun to apply the brakes on the rapidly accelerating program of Federal aid to local law enforcement, while increasing expenditures for corrections and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The new budget calls for appropriations of $698.4-million for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, an increase of $162.2-million over last year but markedly lower than the figure Justice Department officials were mentioning a year ago.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell and officials of the assistance agency had estimated that spending under the program might well exceed $1-billion in the coming fiscal year, and Congress authorized $1.15-billion in legislation passed at the end of the last session.

Richard W. Velde, associate administrator of the agency, pointed out that the requested figure was 10 times the size of the agency's budget in its first year, 1968.

The bulk of the funds have gone to upgrade police departments, but the agency is stressing corrections reform next year by increasing grants for penal improvement by $47-million. The Government also plans to increase spending for construction of Federal corrections facilities to $74.1-million from $22.1-million.

Although expansion of the Justice Department's Criminal Division and Bureau of Narcotics will be modest after recent rapid expansion, the F.B.I. is asking for 523 more agents. This increase, in addition to the 1,200 new agents added last year, will bring its total agent strength to 8,873, an increase of 34 per cent under the Nixon Administration.

obsolete or lower priority programs," is $2.9-billion in the fiscal year 1972, mounting to $3.7-billion in later years.

4 Main Items

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Each would be modified, however, with presumed eventual savings. The impacted aid program would become part of the "special" revenue sharing program for the states in the general education category.

Education

New Legislation to Be Proposed For Big Increases in Student Aid

EDUCATION: Young "Sesame Street" visitor has a look at Big Bird, a regular on the educational TV series, for which the Administration is seeking an appropriation of $5-million.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—In hard cash, the amount of money the Administration intends to spend on education in the coming fiscal year will rise only about 5 per cent, to $5.8-billion.

But new legislation will be proposed this coming year that may have a profound effect in the years to come on the manner in which many of the nation's young people finance their education.

For example, the Administration is seeking to double to $2-billion the amount of money that would be lent to college students. In addition, it will seek to triple to almost $1-billion assistance to college students through grants and work-study plans.

These proposed increases in help for higher education were described by one official as "the most significant aid to needy students in the history of H.E.W."

Despite these future intentions, the outlays of the Federal Office of Education are due to rise in the fiscal year 1972 by a modest $254-million, to $4.7-billion. Other education funds are disbursed elsewhere in the Federal Government. The Department of Labor, for example, provides manpower training programs.

Health

Medicare-Medicaid Funds Rise, But New Programs Seem Vague

By RICHARD D. LYONS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 — The new budget gives few clues to the Administration's plans for what President Nixon, in his State of the Union Message, called "a new era in American medicine."

There were two vague references to a "family health insurance plan," an idea that Administration health planners have discussed for more than a year. The concept calls for the Federal Government to pay part or all of the premiums on private health insurance policies such as Blue Cross for low-income families. But the budget did not mention funds.

Private health maintenance organizations, whose potential role in controlling health care costs through preventive medicine is being studied by the Administration, would receive $2-million of the $16-billion that is to be spent on health in the coming fiscal year by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The budget did not mention the so-called catastrophic health insurance idea that was also under study by the Administration. Under such insurance, the Federal Government, under some conditions, would foot some of the medical bills for middle-income families struck by particularly long and costly illnesses, such as cancer.

On New Year's Eve, Mr. Nixon signed the Emergency Health Personnel Act, which gave him authority to spend $60-million in the next 29 months to assign federally paid doctors and nurses to urban and rural areas lacking them. The budget contains no funds for this program.

The highest officials at Health, Education and Welfare insisted that Mr. Nixon would spell out his specific plans for health in a special message on the subject next month. But they also strongly implied that, whatever the innovations in health were, they would not go into effect until July, 1973, three years after Mr. Nixon first called attention to the "crisis in the national health care system" and the need to meet it.

What then did the health budget contain? Most of its funds go to Medicare and Medicaid—$12.4-billion of $16-billion. In fact, these two medical care programs will absorb all but $200-million of the $1.1-billion increase in the over-all health budget.

According to the Administration, the $888-million in additional Medicare and Medicaid outlays would have been almost doubled but for efficiencies that it plans for the programs. These savings, totaling $837-million, apparently will stem from forcing economies in hospital services and emphasizing preventive medicine, among other changes.

Elsewhere, outlays in the main health categories change relatively little. In the Public Health Service, for example, the Indian Health Service is to be granted an additional $15-million, but this is offset by a saving of $14-million resulting from the drop in Public Health Service support of eight hospitals and 30 clinics that dispense health care to merchant seamen.

The Administration will almost entirely substitute loans for direct grants to hospitals under the Hill-Burton program, which in the last two decades has allotted $1.6-billion.

Funds for birth control services will more than double, to $58-million.

tial Federal surplus projected on the basis of current tax levels and assuming that there are no new Federal spending programs beyond those in the 1972 budget.

That the $12-billion figure is shaky is indicated by the fact that in last year's budget the "budget margin" for 1975 was projected at $22-billion. But the margin shrank by $10-billion in one year because of higher expenditures for revenue sharing, the cost of shifting to a volunteer army, new health programs and Government pay raises ,and lower revenues caused by liberalized business depreciation.

Calculation of the budget margin is based on a number of broad projections. Between 1972 and 1976, the gross national product—the value of all goods and services produced by the nation—is expected to rise by about $400-billion to over $1.5-thousand billions, or trillions. Inflation will be a part of this rise but the growth of national output in real terms is projected at 4.3 per cent a year.

Substantial increases in wages, other personal income and corporate profits are also expected over the next five years.

A projection of private and governmental spending over a five-year period starting in 1969 makes the following general assertions:

¶Federal spending on defense and space will decline as a share of G.N.P. while spending on such things as housing and health will increase.

¶Americans will continue to spend a smaller proportion of their wealth on basic necessities such as food and clothing.

However, the budget raises more questions about national priorities than it answers.

1.6 spending for defense

The New York Times Jan. 30, 1971

While noting that the "Federal Government has a far-reaching impact on the allocation of economic resources," the long-range study also concedes that the impact often is unpredictable.

A major change in budgetary patterns is the forecast of a shift in decision-making responsibility in the use of national resources from the Federal Government to state and local governments and the private sector. The ratio of public spending at all levels is expected to increase.

But the question of altering national priorities by dropping or drastically reducing existing federal programs such as defense, is not directly addressed.

Indeed, defense spending, as such, is not even included as a separate listing in the projection but is submerged in an "all other" category, which also includes public spending on space and international programs, and private spending on recreation.

What the study does do, however, is come to grips with the complex interaction between Federal spending and the rest of the economy.

The $74-billion the Government will spend on goods and services for defense in the 1972 fiscal year has a direct impact on the economy. But other Government purchases could supplement or substitute for spending by state and local governments or by private citizens.

It is pointed out, for example, that after the Federal highway act was enacted, state and local spending on streets and highways dropped by nearly a third.

TREND OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURES FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES

(Calendar Years)

	Percent private			Percent government			Percent Federal Goverment		
	1955	1969	1975	1955	1969	1975	1955	1969	1975
Health	76.6	60.1	59.9	23.4	39.9	40.1	6.4	23.4	23.8
General government	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	25.5	21.2	23.0
Housing investment	99.9	93.7	93.9	.1	6.3	6.1	—.7	6.1	6.1
Business investment	100.0	100.0	100.0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Education	10.7	13.0	15.0	89.3	87.0	85.0	9.8	11.2	11.3
Basic necessities	90.1	84.2	80.6	9.9	15.8	19.4	7.9	13.2	16.4
Transportation	83.7	79.8	80.1	16.3	20.2	19.9	2.7	6.5	6.4
All other, including government spending for defense	35.2	43.8	56.5	64.8	56.2	43.5	64.6	55.7	42.1
Total	76.8	70.4	71.3	23.2	29.6	28.7	15.5	18.6	17.2

Poverty

Office of Economic Opportunity To Be Riddled, but Not Scuttled

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The Office of Economic Opportunity launched in 1965 as the flagship of former President Johnson's War on Poverty will not be scuttled by President Nixon's new budget as some had predicted. But neither will it be a warship.

The budget and the President's associated revenue-sharing and reorganization plans would strip the agency of seven of its 10 major functions. What is more, the losses include the agency's biggest, and historically most central, function—community action.

This program was designed to give organization, services, and funds directly to poor people systematically overlooked by local governments. This year, about $360-million will be spent to support some 1,000 community action agencies.

But under the new revenue-sharing program starting in 1973, community action funds will be distributed to local governments after all.

"I'm confident they will continue to receive adequate funds," says Frank C. Carlucci, the Federal antipoverty agency's new director. "Unlike the climate in 1965, I believe most Mayors and Governors now appreciate the importance of the program."

In any event, the transfer of this and other programs would greatly diminish the agency. Volunteers in Service to America, a Peace Corps for disadvantaged domestic areas, is already scheduled for transfer into a new national service corps. The celebrated legal services program appears almost certainly destined for independent status. And other programs are slated for transfer to major departments or for elimination.

The result will be an agency strongly focused on research and development, a focus that has already been evident.

But a diminished agency does not mean a diminished concern for the poor, Mr. Carlucci insists. His aides lend support with a tabulation showing that the total Federal antipoverty spending will rise 10 per cent to $31.1-billion. They gave a figure of $32.9-billion last year, but they say this was based on inaccurate data and that the figure should have been $28.3-billion.

One of the major areas of increase is for antihunger programs. The principal ones, food stamps and reduced-price school lunches, together will increase as follows:

	1970	1971	1972
Food Stamps	$600-million	$1.4-billion	$2-billion
School Lunch	$45-million	$205-million	$237-million

The antihunger authorities say that these figures are good, but not as good as they look. For example, food-stamp participation is rapidly increasing but the $2-billion figure will not increase it further, they say, and will only cover the 1972 costs of those in the program at the end of 1971.

Nixon, in 'Expansionary' $229.2-Billion Budget, Foresees a Deficit of $11.6-Billion

HOPEFUL OUTLOOK BASIS OF ESTIMATE

Excess in Expenditures for the Current Fiscal Year Is Put at $18.6-Billion

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

spending figure was determined on the basis of an estimate that if there were full employment, revenues would total $229.3-billion. Within that spending limit, the President made many choices. The following were some highlights of the budget:

¶Defense spending, after declining for two years, will increase slightly, partly reflecting higher pay for the armed services. Military spending will be about a third of the total budget.

¶There are no new proposed taxes of major significance, apart from the slightly higher Social Security tax in effect at the beginning of this month and a proposed increase in the Social Security wage base to $9,000, from $7,800, which Congress is likely to approve.

The vast upward sweep continues in the spending for "social" or "human resources" programs begun about five years ago. But some of this spending would be transferred into the President's proposed special program of sharing Federal revenues with the states, giving them more money and providing more state and local discretion on how to spend it within six broad categories.

The budget contains $3.75-billion for the first, partial year of Mr. Nixon's second revenue-sharing proposal, a general program giving money to the state with no strings attached. If this is not approved by Congress, or matched with equivalent spending in some other form, the budget will be that much less stimulative for the economy, starting in late 1971.

Despite the emphasis on shifting spending decisions to the state and local govern- Federal decisions. Mr. Nixon said that the giggest spending increases would involve health, the environment and law enforcement, with significant upward movement also in such areas as scientific research, airports and airways, civil rights and medical care for Vietnam veterans.

Four areas of Federal spending that have produced wide debate have essentially stabil-

The New York Times/Mike Lien

NEW COINAGE: A test strike from the Philadelphia mint of the Dwight D. Eisenhower dollar, which is not expected to be available until late summer. The reverse side depicts a bald eagle, symbolic of the Apollo 11 spacecraft, the Eagle, landing on the moon. The Bureau of the Mint plans to produce 9.2 billion coins in fiscal 1972, including 200 million of Eisenhower coins, which were designed and sculptured by Frank Gasparro.

The President's Second Budget

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The numbers are overwhelming and the prose is simultaneously bloated and dense as usual. But among the dizzying charts and slogans of the second Nixon budget, there is at least as much political doctrine as there is economic strategy. Above all else, President Nixon is saying in this budget that, after a decade of Federal concern about *what* is done with social spending at home, he wants to concentrate for a while on *how* it is done.

News Analysis

Where his Democratic predecessor always devoted a special budget chapter to the concerns and programs of the poor, Mr. Nixon offers instead a special chapter on more "citizen control" through revenue sharing. It takes no statistician to demonstrate that this shift of emphasis conforms to a shift in the constituency now wooed by the White House.

The President is saying further, however, that, while the sharing of Federal revenues with lower levels of government requires the dismantling of many Great Society programs, he nonetheless embraces the legal and moral legacy of the Democrats who earmarked ever-larger sums for Social Se-

Stress Shifted From What Is Done to How It's Done

to be $3.75-billion. And a $100-million "total national commitment" to find a cancer cure turns out to mean $30-million more for the coming year.

This Administration has abandoned some of the most artful tricks of budget-juggling favored in preceding regimes, but Mr. Nixon's former distaste for inflated promises has now yielded to a whole array of capsule visions, including "Power to the People," "Freedom of Action," "Generation of Peace" and "New American Revolution."

The customary game of filling the budget message with politically self-serving charts and claims is further complicated this year by the vague new allocations to proposed revenue-sharing funds and contemplated government reorganizations.

There are many references, for instance, to new money and manpower training to help the poor and unemployed. But the removal of job training from the antipoverty agency and the planned dispersion of the effort among the states makes it almost impossible to determine

But the impulse toward a "revolution" in thinking about Federal power is unmistakable. Mr. Nixon wants to transfer the administration of social programs and the fights for money and power from Washington to the statehouses and city halls. Beyond that, in his budget discussion of prospects for the next five years, he makes plain his desire to enhance the decision-making power of the private sector and to diminish, among governments, the power of the Federal Establishment.

This concern with — and desire to campaign on — a platform of reform of government structure will be further augmented next year when Mr Nixon hopes to propose a similar "revolution" in the way that tax money is collected. In both taxation and spending techniques, he plainly wants to hold out the greatest aid and comfort to the small-home owners and other potential constituents in the suburbs.

The Changing Priorities

For the moment, the White House retains considerable freedom to determine the direction of public spending. Mr. Nixon's budget, bowing to public concern about this issue, frequently refers to the nation's changing priorities. But it of

BUDGET PREPARED BY A NEW OFFICE

Shultz, as Director, Worked Closely With President

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The 1972 budget is the first prepared by the Office of Management and Budget, formed by the President last summer to replace the Bureau of the Budget and concentrate budget decision-making in the White House.

George P. Shultz, who resigned as Secretary of Labor to become director of the new office, and Casper W. Weinberger, the deputy director, were directly in charge of preparing the budget. But President Nixon entered the budget-making process far earlier than Presidents generally have in the past and was in closer day-to-day contact with the process through Mr. Shultz, who worked in an office in the White House itself.

This year there were no direct appeals to the President by departmental secretaries and other agency heads about their allocations. The appeals were made through Mr. Shultz and Mr. Weinberger, usually with Henry A. Kissinger or John D. Ehrlichman, respectively the President's top assistants, who worked together during post-

A Concerned Taxpayer

Jerry Lerman

By RICHARD L. MADDEN

As Jerry Lerman was driving to work yesterday morning, the news broadcast on his car radio reported that President Nixon was sending a proposed $229.2-billion Federal budget to Congress for the next fiscal year. "It's difficult for most people to think in terms of $229-billion," Mr. Lerman said as he steered through the traffic on the Triborough Bridge. "They don't even know what $1-billion is." To Mr. Lerman, who is a 49-year-old general manager of a toy manufacturing plant in the South Bronx and a homeowner in Bayside, Queens, and to most New Yorkers the Federal budget may seem like an abstract document.

Man in the News

Nonetheless it will affect Mr. Lerman and his fellow New Yorkers. The budget calls for Federal spending of slightly more than $1,100 for every person in the United States.

How much of that will reach Mr. Lerman and others in this city will depend on such things as Congressional action on Mr. Nixon's proposals for revenue sharing and welfare reform and also on the way Federal grants for other purposes are passed back to New York.

No New U.S. Tax

For one thing, Mr. Lerman will not be asked to pay higher Federal income tax rates. "That's a nice touch and I'm appreciative," Mr. Lerman said. "But that's not the answer. Federal income taxes may not be going up, but the state is going up and the city is going up and it's the dollars on the bottom line that count."

The President's revenue-sharing proposal, which calls in part for $5-billion in new Federal funds to be returned to the states and cities with no strings on how it would be spent and which would yield an estimated total of $534-million for the state, could provide some long-range help if Congress approves it.

"I don't think it will be passed," Mr. Lerman said. "What he is asking for is minimal. I think it's good, but he has asked for minimal numbers."

Among other things, budget calls for outlays of $3.9-billion, an increase of $900-million for water resources, including water pollution abatement programs, which could aid in cleaning up the waterways around New York.

"That's very important," Mr. Lerman said as he neared his loft building on Walnut Avenue near the East River. "There's no question that they can clean up the waters, but it's not a one- or three-year project. It more closely borders on eight to 12 years."

The proposal to more than double the funds to $200-million to provide more recreational areas in and near the cities, could aid development of the proposed Gateway National Recreation Area at the entrance to New York harbor. But Mr. Lerman questioned whether the money would be significant.

"When you're talking about a recreation area serving about 20 million people, there shouldn't be any question about it."

Mr. Lerman said that he and his wife, Ellen, and their two daughters, Janet, 18 years old, and Nancy, 16, sometimes use Jones Beach on Nassau County's south shore, but he was not sure whether they would take much advantage of the proposed recreation area.

Mr. Lerman, a quiet, friendly man with rather long gray sideburns, may be somewhat representative of other New Yorkers with

The New York Times

He doesn't think he gets his money's worth from Federal Government.

above-average incomes who will have to pay their share of tax revenues.

He was born in Harlem but has lived most of his life in Queens and now has a "normal American cheesebox house with a picture window overlooking the gas station." He is an enrolled Democrat but doesn't remember the last time that he voted a straight party ticket.

Mr. Lerner doesn't think that he gets his money's worth from the Federal Government from the tax dollars he pays because he regards government at most levels as inefficient. He would like to see the Federal Government take over the cost of welfar. He doesn't see the Government having too much success in cutting defense spending dollar, because defense needs are "dictated by powers outside the United States."

He said that he does try to keep informed about such matters as Federal budgets. "A large number of people here are in the 25 to 33 per cent tax bracket," he said. "A taxpayer has to be an idiot not to be aware."

Developments Changed Current Budget

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The recession, those angry Post Office Department workers in New York City, welfare-rights leaders and a majority of those in Congress unknowingly

post-World War II period. The quantity of red ink has been exceeded in that period only by President Johnson's performance in the fiscal year 1968, when the deficit was $25.2-billion.

What happened?

President Hails Budget In White House Signing

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 (AP) — President Nixon formally signed and sent to

sharing proposal, a general program giving money to the state with no strings attached. If this is not approved by Congress, or matched with equivalent spending in some other form, the budget will be that much less stimulative for the economy, starting in late 1971.

Despite the emphasis on shifting spending decisions to the state and local govern- Federal decisions. Mr. Nixon said that the giggest spending increases would involve health, the environment and law enforcement, with significant upward movement also in such areas as scientific research, airports and airways, civil rights and medical care for Vietnam veterans.

Four areas of Federal spending that have produced wide debate have essentially stabilized — farm subsidies, space, highways, and what is sometimes called "pork barrel" spending for public works by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers. All have shown little change for three years or more, and all represent a much smaller portion of the total budget than they used to—now about $13-billion, or 6 per cent, taken all together.

Calls for Strong Policy

Although the impact that budget deficits has upin voters is uncertain, and may be small, Mr. Nixon's budget, with the "full Employment" theory behind it, established a record of sorts. Except for the years of World War II, this was the largest deficit ever estimated by any President, Republican or Democrat, in a January budget, as distinct from the deficit actually realized by the end of the fiscal year.

High officials disclosed that the budget could have been squeezed to as low as $225-billion, with a resulting smaller deficit, but that the President had decided the state of the economy called for a strongly stimulative policy — meaning spending right up to the hypothetical level of full employment revenues.

The President said, "In this way the budget is used as a tool to promote orderly economic expansion, but the impact of the resulting actual deficit is in sharp contrast to the inflationary pressure created by the deficits of the late sixties, which were the result of excessive spending that went far beyond full employment revenues."

Mr. Nixon emphasized that the full employment budget principle, while justifying a deficit in current conditions, "imposes the discipline of an upper limit on spending, a discipline that is essential because the upward pressures on outlays are relentless."

The combination of the large deficits of the fiscal years 1971 and 1972 will add greatly to the national debt. What is called the "gross Federal debt" will rise from $3671-billion in mid-1969 to an estimated $429.4-billion in mid-1972.

Of this total, about $115-billion is debt the Government "owes to itself," mainly Treasury securities held by the Social Security Trust Fund and the Federal Reserve Banks. The debt owed to the public will rise from $279.5-billion in mid-1969 to an estimated $313.1-billion in mid-1972.

The President's message used unusually sharp language in its discussion of Congressional delays in dealing with appropriations and other bills affecting the budget. He said that the present budget system, begun in 1921, once worked well but that, "because of Congressional inaction, it has become a travesty a halfcentury later."

prepared a program and financial plan to present to the O.M.B.

social spending at home, he wants to concentrate for a while on *how* it is done.

Where his Democratic predecessor always devoted a special budget chapter to the concerns and programs of the poor, Mr. Nixon offers instead a special chapter on more "citizen control" through revenue sharing. It takes no statistician to demonstrate that this shift of emphasis conforms to a shift in the constituency now wooed by the White House.

The President is saying further, however, that, while the sharing of Federal revenues with lower levels of government requires the dismantling of many Great Society programs, he nonetheless embraces the legal and moral legacy of the Democrats who earmarked ever-larger sums for Social Security, medical care and education. Indeed, Mr. Nixon points with pride to the largely uncontrollable fact that the biggest slice of his budget pie is to be invested in "human resources."

The President has also linked arms with the Democrats in embrace of a deficit budget. His conversion was heralded last year, but the new budget formally ends a once bitter and often demagogic controversy and proclaims the now bipartisan faith that a sluggish economy can be roused with red ink.

And there is throughout this budget a new indication of Mr. Nixon's belief that a sluggish electorate can be roused with some purple prose and numbers.

An expansively advertised "new comprehensive health strategy" turns out to be something planned for the fiscal year 1973. A $5-billion program of general revenue sharing with the states turns out

inflated promises has now yielded to a whole array of capsule visions, including "Power to the People," "Freedom of Action," "Generation of Peace" and "New American Revolution."

The customary game of filling the budget message with politically self-serving charts and claims is further complicated this year by the vague new allocations to proposed revenue-sharing funds and contemplated government reorganizations.

There are many references, for instance, to new money and manpower training to help the poor and unemployed. But the removal of job training from the antipoverty agency and the planned dispersion of the effort among the states makes it almost impossible to determine the net increase of Federal support in this area. Similarly, food-stamp expenditures are significantly increased, but lesser-known food programs are being collapsed, leaving the net effect unclear.

The whole revenue-sharing proposal, despite the rhetorical attention lavished on it, is only beginning to take shape in this budget. It promises about $4-billion in new money for the year starting July 1 to underwrite the proposition that as much as $14-billion should be distributed among the states and cities with few strings attached.

But the contemplated rules for this are still being devised and revised. The fine print may yet turn out to be more limiting than the President had hoped and promised. And no one has yet figured out how to keep his pledge to enforce Federal laws against discriminatory use of these "untied" funds.

This concern with [illegible] and desire to campaign on — a platform of reform of government structure will be further augmented next year when Mr Nixon hopes to propose a similar "revolution" in the way that tax money is collected. In both taxation and spending techniques, he plainly wants to hold out the greatest aid and comfort to the small-home owners and other potential constituents in the suburbs.

The Changing Priorities

For the moment, the White House retains considerable freedom to determine the direction of public spending. Mr. Nixon's budget, bowing to public concern about this issue, frequently refers to the nation's changing priorities. But it offers almost no description or justification for the choices actually made.

Who is ending the military draft worth $1.5-billion and help to housing only $600-million? Why should Social Security benefits rise by $4.5-billion while aid to education rises by $300-million? How can the citizen weigh the national security interest in spending $1.5-billion more for Navy ships and planes as against the national interest that might be served by raising support for the poor above $1,600 a year?

Even in a budget that questions the wisdom, perception and efficiency of the giant domestic bureaucracies, Mr. Nixon is proposing an increase in military spending on the authority of the estimates of the largest and most voracious bureaucracy of them all. The Pentagon's big set of numbers may be right, but, as offered today, they are just staggering numbers.

George P. Shultz, who resigned as Secretary of Labor to become director of the new office, and Casper W. Weinberger, the deputy director, were directly in charge of preparing the budget. But President Nixon entered the budget-making process far earlier than Presidents generally have in the past and was in closer day-to-day contact with the process through Mr. Shultz, who worked in an office in the White House itself.

This year there were no direct appeals to the President by departmental secretaries and other agency heads about their allocations. The appeals were made through Mr. Shultz and Mr. Weinberger, usually with Henry A. Kissinger or John D. Ehrlichman, respectively the President's top assistants in foreign and domestic matters, also present.

This system of channeling appeals through O.M.B. and the White House staff was adopted, according to one official, because "the President decided he wouldn't make off-the-cuff decisions on the basis of being pulled off in the corner by someone."

Otherwise, the budget-making process was essentially unchanged from the past.

That process began early in 1970, almost as soon as the President had finished delivering his last budget message. The O.M.B., together with the Treasury, the Council of Economic Advisers and others, examined general economic conditions, revenue expectations and policy needs. At the same time, each large agency

He called the situation "intolerable" but "one that the Congressseems to accept as the normal way of doing business."

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Developments Changed Current Budget

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The recession, those angry Post Office Department workers in New York City, welfare-rights leaders and a majority of those in Congress unknowingly worked together during past months to turn the Government's budget for this current year into something that is a far cry from what President Nixon foresaw this time last year.

A year ago, the budget for the fiscal year 1971 was sent to Congress containing a small surplus, $1.3-billion, with anticipated spending of $200.8-billion and expecting revenues of $202.1-billion.

The new budget, with re-estimates for the current fiscal year, which won't be over until June 30, tells quite a different story.

In place of the surplus of $1.3-billion, a deficit of $18.6-billion is now predicted—the second largest of the entire post-World War II period. The quantity of red ink has been exceeded in that period only by President Johnson's performance in the fiscal year 1968, when the deficit was $25.2-billion.

What happened?

First of all, tax collections went right through the floor—a direct result of the recession that brought higher unemployment, smaller paychecks for many who kept their jobs, and reduced corporate profits.

They are currently expected to total only $194.2-billion, a drop of $7.9-billion from the January, 1970, estimate.

The recession was felt on the spending side of the budget, too. For instance, unemployment benefits, including those for veterans, were up $2.3-billion.

As is well-known, welfare rolls increased dramatically almost everywhere, so the Federal share increased, too, by nearly a billion. The increase in welfare applicants is believed to be tracable not so much to the recession, however, as to spreading knowledge of eligibility for welfare among poor persons. The welfare rights activists have contributed greatly to this spread.

Inflation affected the budget, too. The increase in budget interest payments, caused mainly by the rise in interest rates, amounted to nearly $2-billion.

As for those postal workers, their strike and its settlement ultimately resulted in a larger-

than-planned Federal pay increase, for the postal employes themselves, for other of Government civilian employes, and for the military. The increase, over what had originally been budgeted, was $2.3-billion.

President Hails Budget In White House Signing

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 (AP) — President Nixon formally signed and sent to *Congress today two green* leather-bound volumes setting out the $229-billion budget by which he hopes to stimulate the nation's economy.

He commented at the White House ceremony that his advisers were "absolutely correct" in saying that the budget was expansionary but not inflationary.

He said this was "the finest budget preparation we've had and also the most difficult task" because of such new concepts as revenue sharing.

The President used four pens in signing the formal document and handed them to George P. Shultz, director of the Office of Management and Budget; Caspar W. Weinberger, deputy director; Arnold R. Webber, associate director, and Sam M. Cohn, an assistant director for budget preparation.

Tass Says U.S. Budget Points Up Difficulties

MOSCOW, Jan. 29 (Reuters)—The United States budget for the fiscal year 1972 testified to the serious difficulties of the American economy resulting from a further growth in military spending, Tass, the official Soviet press service, said today.

Speaker of House Describes Budget As 'Step Forward'

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 (AP) —House Speaker Carl Albert, Democrat of Oklahoma, said today the Administration's proposed $229.2-billion budget was "a major step forward for a Republican President."

Mr. Nixon's reversal of his party's traditional "balanced budget" monetary policy prompted Mr. Albert to say, "I welcome Republican conversion to Keynesian economy a full generation after it was accepted by the Democrats."

But the Speaker said Mr. Nixon must do more than call for $30.2-billion in deficit spending this year to curb inflation and unemployment.

Senator Hugh Scott of Scott of Pennsylvania, Republican Senate leader, said Mr. Nixon's plan "is what the Democrats should have done in 1965."

The House Republican leader, Gerald Ford of Michigan, called the budget a "carefully drawn fiscal plan which stands out as perhaps the first Federal budget to help promote full employment and peacetime prosperity."

Representative George H. Mahon, Democrat of Texas, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, which must pass on all money bills, recalled that the administration predicted a $1.3-billion surplus during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971. Analyists now forecast an $18.6-billion deficit. Calling this country is a nation of spenders, he said, "We don't need any undue encouragement, and I'm afraid this budget gives undue encouragement."

The Peace Corps/Paul Conklin

PEACE CORPS FUNDS MAY BE CUT: A Peace Corpsman working as a mechanic with a local resident as part of a development program in Ethiopia. The new budget proposes reducing Peace Corps outlays by $18.8-million, to $71.2-million in fiscal 1972.

The Inflation Rate Is Expected to Slow

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

official estimates of what the unemployment rate would be at any point in the future. It was 6 per cent of the work force in December.

George P. Shultz, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, said that the unemployment rate should be "approaching the zone of full employment," which is defined as an unemployment rate of 4 per cent, by the end of the calendar year 1972.

He also predicted that the unemployment rate for all of 1971 would be "near" that for 1970, which was 4.94 per cent. But this year, it would be going down, not up.

Mr. Shultz, who is an economist, said that the "best evidence" in support of the Administration's economic forecast was "in terms of the shifts in policy that have been in effect for several months — some since last summer—and the certainty that these shifts in policy are going to produce a shift in the outlook for the economy."

Expression of Confidence

In other words, he was expressing confidence that the liberalization of monetary policy by the Federal Reserve and the looser budget policy of the Administration would work to stimulate economic recovery.

The Budget Message itself explained, in somewhat more detail than has previously been available, the Administration's rationale in using the "full-employment budget" as the standard against which to measure prudent levels of government spending.

By limiting spending to an amount equal to the Federal tax collectins that the economy would generate if it were operating at 4 per cent unemployment, "the impact of the resulting actual deficit is in sharp contrast to the inflationary pressure created by the deficits of the late sixties," Mr. Nixon said. He noted that not only was the new budget for the 1972 fiscal year in approximate balance, but also that the fiscal year 1972 would be the fourth consecutive year of approximate balance.

The full-employment surplus in the fiscal year 1969 was $100-million, in 1970, $2.6-billion, and in the current fiscal year it is expected to be $1.4-billion.

Deficit and Full Employment

Officials said that the Nixon Administration generally believed that it would never be wise — absent a sudden outbreak of war or other emergency—to run a deficit on the full-employment basis. This view contrasts with that of economists in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, who held that in a recession a deficit on the full-employment basis might be desirable.

ficulty in turning off Federal ex-

reason for opposing a full-employment deficit was the difficult in turning off Federal Expenditures once they are turned on. If spending is permitted to rise above full-employment receipts in a recession year, he said, it may be politically and otherwise impossible to bring the spending down to full employment levels the following year, when the recession is over.

The calculation of what the gross national product would be at full employment, and the resultant tax collections, are explained in the budget document. The computations are not a matter of particular controversy among economists.

The estimate that the actual gross national product will reach $1,065-billion in the calendar year 1971 incorporates an estimate that personal income will rise from its 1970 level of $801-billion to $868-billion.

Also included is an estimate that corporate profits will rise from $82-billion to $98-billion, which is a very large rise, both absolutely and proportionally.

Mr. Shultz said the big rise in profits was expected partly because that always happens in a period of recovery from a recession, as productivity rises sharply, and partly because corporations have moved so vigorously to "cut fat" in their operations and thus lower their costs.

Under Secretary of the Treasury Charles E. Walker also noted that corporate profits as a share of the gross national product were low by historical standards, even for a recession year, in 1970. The estimated rise in 1971 would still leave them lower than for any recent year except last year.

Text of President's Message to Congress on Federal Budget for Fiscal Year 1972

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—Following is the text, photographically reproduced, of President Nixon's Budget Message as presented to Congress today:

To the Congress of the United States:

In the 1971 budget, America's priorities were quietly but dramatically reordered: For the first time in 20 years, we spent more to meet human needs than we spent on defense.

In 1972, we must increase our spending for defense in order to carry out the Nation's strategy for peace. Even with this increase, defense spending will drop from 36% of total spending in 1971 to 34% in 1972. Outlays for human resources programs, continuing to rise as a share of the total, will be 42% of total spending in 1972.

The 1972 budget has a historic identity of its own.

- *It provides a new balance of responsibility and power in America* by proposing the sharing of Federal revenues with States and communities on a grand scale—and in a way that will both alleviate the paralyzing fiscal crisis of State and local governments and enable citizens to have more of a say in the decisions that directly affect their lives.
- *It introduces a new fairness in American life*, with the development of national strategies to improve the health care of our citizens and to assure, with work incentives and requirements, an income floor for every family in this Nation.
- *It adopts the idea of a "full employment budget,"* in which spending does not exceed the revenues the economy could generate under the existing tax system at a time of full employment. In this way, the budget is used as a tool to promote orderly economic expansion, but the impact of the resulting actual deficit is in sharp contrast to the inflationary pressure created by the deficits of the late sixties, which were the result of excessive spending that went far beyond full employment revenues. *The full employment budget idea is in the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy: By operating as if we were at full employment, we will help to bring about that full employment.*

The 1972 budget reaffirms the determination of the Federal Government to take an activist role in bringing about the kind of prosperity that has rarely existed in the American economy—a prosperity without war and without runaway inflation. In the 1972 budget, the Government accepts responsibility for creating the climate that will lead to steady economic growth with improving productivity and job stability.

Of course, our objective of prosperity without inflation cannot be achieved by budget policy alone. It also requires:

—the monetary policy adopted by the independent Federal Reserve System to provide fully for the growing needs of the economy; and
—increased restraint in wage and price decisions by labor and business—in their own and the Nation's interest and as a matter of common sense.

Only by working together can the budget, monetary policy, and common sense in the private sector make orderly expansion the order of the day.

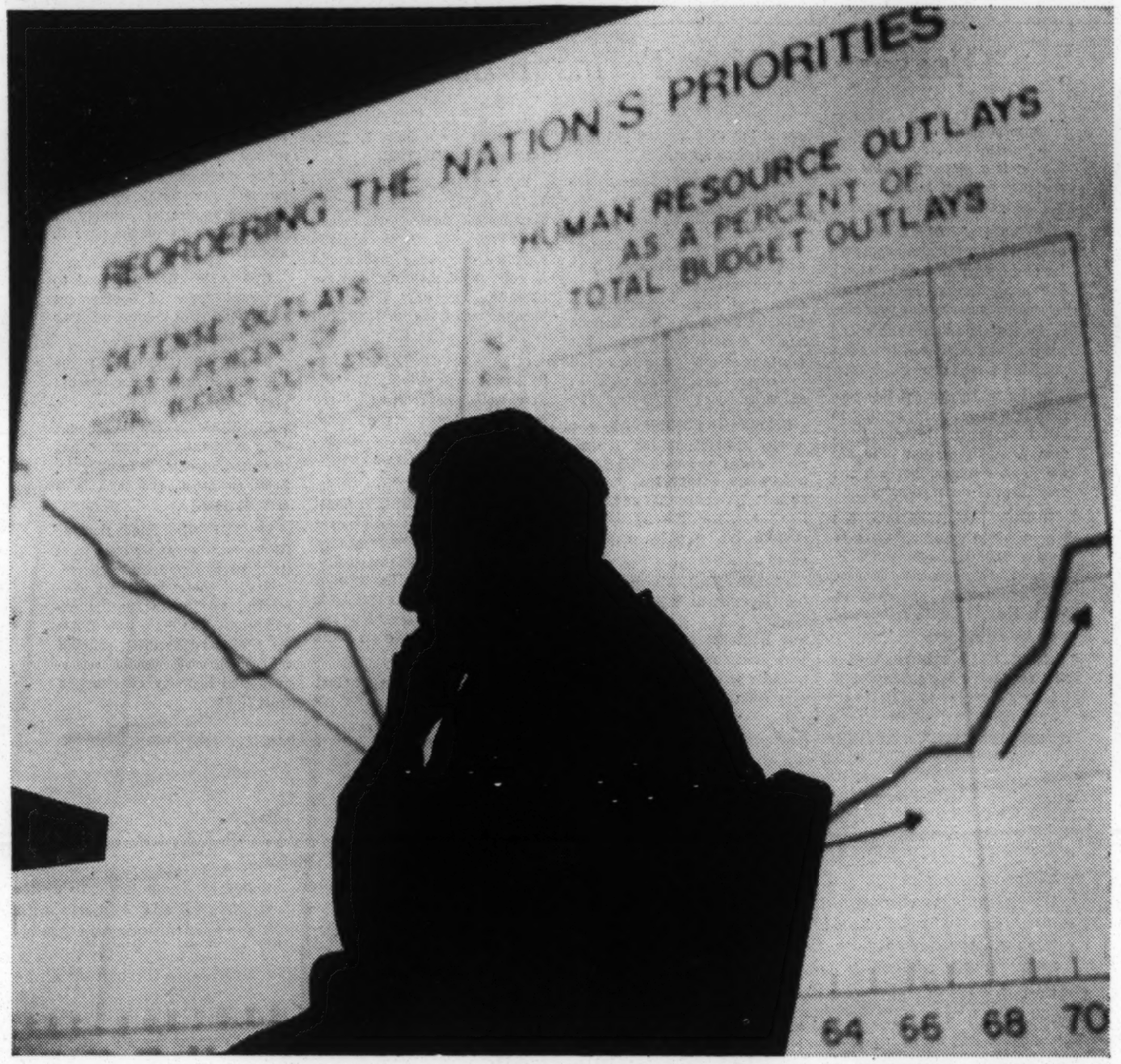
The full employment 1972 budget—expansionary but not inflationary—does its full share to provide a defense strong enough to protect our national security, higher standards of income and care for the poor and the sick, a reorganized and responsive Federal structure, and the basis for a sound prosperity in a full generation of peace.

TOWARD A GROWING NONINFLATIONARY ECONOMY

Economic setting.—When I took office 2 years ago, rampant inflation was the Nation's principal economic problem.

This inflation was a direct result of the economic policies of the period 1966 to 1968, when we were mired in war in Vietnam, and when Federal spending rose sharply. Federal outlays were allowed to exceed full-employment revenues by $6 billion in 1966, $10 billion in 1967, and $25 billion in 1968. Expansive monetary policy in the summer of 1968 helped upset the hoped-for stabilizing impact of an income tax surcharge. The effect of these actions was to turn the thermostat up in an economy that was already hot enough.

My administration acted promptly to move us out of that war and



The New York Times/Bob Daugherty, A.P.

Caspar W. Weinberger, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, pondering a newsman's question at a briefing Thursday. The chart at rear compares budget outlays for human resources and defense.

THE BUDGET AT A GLANCE

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Budget receipts	$193.7	$194.2	$217.6
Budget outlays	196.6	212.8	229.2
Actual deficit (−)	−2.8	−18.6	−11.6
Full-employment surplus	2.6	1.4	0.1
Budget authority	213.0	236.3	249.0

	1969 actual			
Outstanding debt, end of year:				
Gross Federal debt	$367.1	$382.6	$407.0	$429.4
Debt held by the public	279.5	284.9	302.5	313.1
Outstanding Federal and federally assisted credit, end of year:				
Direct loans [1]	46.5	51.1	53.8	56.5

But the grant structure has become a haphazard collection of hundreds of separate programs, each with its own policies, its own requirements and procedures, and its own funding.

Such a complicated method of providing Federal assistance is not only inefficient, but it:

—*restricts the freedom* of State and local governments to spend funds in accordance with their priorities;
—*is unresponsive* to the needs of specific local situations because the funds are distributed and regulated by guidelines that do not—perhaps cannot—sufficiently take account of differences among local communities; and
—*separates resources and responsibility*, because State and local governments have the responsibility for providing services, but, all too often, they do not have the money to provide those services. The Federal Government dominates the field of income taxation, and its redtape restricts the discretion of State and local governments over the services they provide.

Clearly, not enough authority over the use of resources for federally assisted programs is now lodged at the State and local level. More

—*for State and local governments*, it will not only help meet the current financial crisis, but will also wipe out rigidities and delays in Federal aid and permit them to build their capacity to respond to local needs;
—*for our federal system*, it will provide new strength by assigning services to the level of government best equipped to perform them; and
—*for all our people*, it will provide a means of encouraging local diversity and experimentation within the framework of our great national purposes.

Of course, these revenue sharing proposals will not be the vehicle for any retreat from the Federal Government's responsibility to ensure equal treatment and opportunity for all. The proposals I send to the Congress will include the safeguards against discrimination that now accompany all other Federal funds allocated to the States.

This massive revenue sharing proposal is central to my philosophy of giving people the opportunity to become more involved in the decisions that affect their lives. The magnitude of the problem calls for this kind of bold move; by acting decisively and without delay, we will strengthen our federal system and respond better to the needs of our people.

Welfare reform.—One of the first steps in our review of the federal system was to sort out those activities that are appropriate for the Federal Government from those that are best performed at the State and local level or in the private sector. We decided early on one primary Federal responsibility—providing, with a combination of work incentives and work requirements, an income floor for every American family.

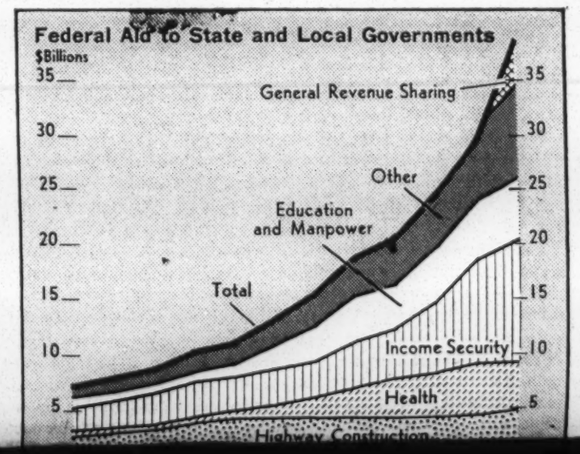
We knew beforehand that the existing welfare system was in desperate need of reform. We also knew that the existing system imposes a crushing and growing financial burden on States.

My welfare reform proposals, described later in this message, are an integral part of our effort to give people the ability to make their own decisions, to build the capacity of State and local government, and to encourage more orderly national growth.

By building a floor under the income of every family everywhere in America with Federal funds, we provide each dependent family a new dignity, we help State and local governments finance what is now their fastest growing expenditure, and we remove one magnet that has already drawn too many persons to our congested cities.

In government operations, form should follow function. Just as revenue sharing decentralizes power to meet one need, welfare reform sets a basic national standard to meet a different need. The decision to centralize or decentralize should be based on which method best serves the larger purposes of 206 million Americans.

Revenue sharing and welfare reform are of a piece: the level of government best equipped to respond should respond in a way that raises standards and contributes to the sum of personal freedom and human dignity.



System to provide fully for the growing needs of the economy, and
—increased restraint in wage and price decisions by labor and business—in their own and the Nation's interest and as a matter of common sense.

Only by working together can the budget, monetary policy, and common sense in the private sector make orderly expansion the order of the day.

The full employment 1972 budget—expansionary but not inflationary—does its full share to provide a defense strong enough to protect our national security, higher standards of income and care for the poor and the sick, a reorganized and responsive Federal structure, and the basis for a sound prosperity in a full generation of peace.

TOWARD A GROWING NONINFLATIONARY ECONOMY

Economic setting.—When I took office 2 years ago, rampant inflation was the Nation's principal economic problem.

This inflation was a direct result of the economic policies of the period 1966 to 1968, when we were mired in war in Vietnam, and when Federal spending rose sharply. Federal outlays were allowed to exceed full-employment revenues by $6 billion in 1966, $10 billion in 1967, and $25 billion in 1968. Expansive monetary policy in the summer of 1968 helped upset the hoped-for stabilizing impact of an income tax surcharge. The effect of these actions was to turn the thermostat up in an economy that was already hot enough.

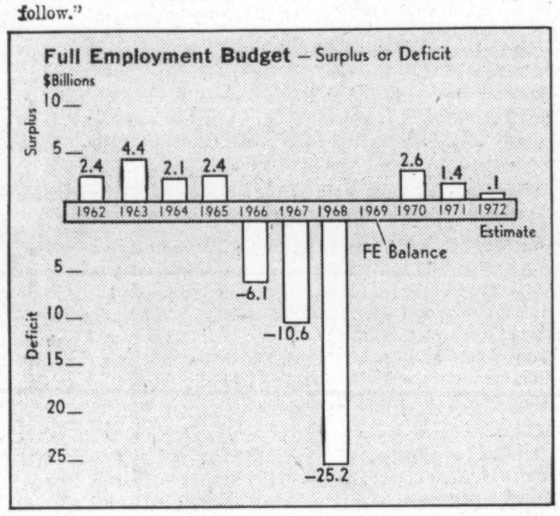
My administration acted promptly to move us out of that war and cool the superheated economy.

We controlled Federal spending in 1969 and achieved a budget surplus. Spending was restrained again in 1970. Independently, the Federal Reserve System maintained a monetary policy of restraint which increased in severity throughout calendar year 1969 and continued into early 1970.

The forces of inflation have been durable and persistent—and they remain strong. But their momentum was slowed in calendar year 1969 and early 1970. Excessive demand was eliminated as a source of inflationary pressure during this period. The turnaround of this inflationary trend permitted us to enter the second phase of our plan: to follow more expansive economic policies without losing ground in the battle against inflation.

Budget policy.—Last July, I set forth the budget policy of this administration:

"At times the economic situation permits—even calls for—a budget deficit. There is one basic guideline for the budget, however, which we should never violate: except in emergency conditions, expenditures must never be allowed to outrun the revenues that the tax system would produce at reasonably full employment. When the Federal government's spending actions over an extended period push outlays sharply higher, increased tax rates or inflation inevitably follow."



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The principle of holding outlays to revenues at full employment serves three necessary purposes:

- It imposes the discipline of an upper limit on spending, a discipline that is essential because the upward pressures on outlays are relentless.
- It permits Federal tax and spending programs to be planned and conducted in an orderly manner consistent with steady growth in the economy's productive capacity.
- It helps achieve economic stability by automatically imposing restraint during periods of boom and providing stimulus during periods of slack.

The budget policy of this administration is to keep firm control over Federal spending. The outlay total of $229.2 billion in 1972 is the sum of spending for programs that were scrutinized carefully to make certain that they would be managed effectively and efficiently, and that they are essential to carry out present laws or to achieve desirable changes in our national priorities.

If this careful scrutiny were not maintained—if we weaken in our resolve to control spending—we would risk permitting outlays to build up a momentum that will carry them beyond full employment receipts in the longer run, and we would risk losing the ability to restrain spending in times when a deficit is undesirable.

SUMMARY OF THE 1972 BUDGET

The budget that I propose for 1972 is consistent with the fiscal policy I announced 6 months ago.

The New York Times/Bob Daugherty, A.P.

Caspar W. Weinberger, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, pondering a newsman's question at a briefing Thursday. The chart at rear compares budget outlays for human resources and defense.

THE BUDGET AT A GLANCE

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Budget receipts	$193.7	$194.2	$217.6
Budget outlays	196.6	212.8	229.2
Actual deficit (–)	–2.8	–18.6	–11.6
Full-employment surplus	2.6	1.4	0.1
Budget authority	213.0	236.3	249.0

	1969 actual			
Outstanding debt, end of year:				
Gross Federal debt	$367.1	$382.6	$407.0	$429.4
Debt held by the public	279.5	284.9	302.5	313.1
Outstanding Federal and federally assisted credit, end of year:				
Direct loans [1]	46.5	51.1	53.8	56.5
Guaranteed and insured loans [2]	104.0	106.4	119.4	140.3
Direct loans by Government-sponsored agencies	27.0	37.6	45.4	53.2

[1] Including loans in expenditure account.
[2] Excluding loans held by Government or Government-sponsored agencies.

Budget receipts in 1972 are estimated to be $217.6 billion, $23.4 billion more than in 1971, but still below the $229.3 billion of revenue that would be produced if the economy were operating at full employment throughout the year.

The estimates reflect a reduction in revenues of $2.7 billion due to the new tax depreciation rules announced on January 11. These rules are part of our plan to expand the economy and help the Nation achieve full employment without inflation.

Budget outlays in 1972 are expected to be $229.2 billion, an increase of $16.4 billion over the previous year.

The increase in outlays will help move the economy toward higher employment and production. At the same time, outlays are being held to full employment receipts.

I am requesting *budget authority*—the right to make commitments to spend—of $249.0 billion in 1972. Over $170 billion of this total will require new action on the part of the Congress.

BUDGET RECEIPTS AND OUTLAYS

(in millions of dollars)

Description	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Receipts by source:			
Individual income taxes	90,412	88,300	93,700
Corporation income taxes	32,829	30,100	36,700
Social insurance taxes and contributions:			
Employment taxes and contibutions	39,133	42,297	50,225
Unemployment insurance	3,464	3,604	4,183
Contributions for other insurance and retirement	2,701	3,072	3,151
Excise taxes	15,705	16,800	17,500
Estate and gift taxes	3,644	3,730	5,300
Customs duties	2,430	2,490	2,700
Miscellaneous receipts	3,424	3,800	4,134
Total receipts	193,743	194,193	217,593
Outlays by function:			
National defense [1]	80,295	76,443	77,512
International affairs and finance	3,570	3,586	4,032
Space research and technology	3,749	3,368	3,151
Agriculture and rural development	6,201	5,262	5,804
Natural resources	2,480	2,636	4,243
Commerce and transportation	9,310	11,442	10,937
Community development and housing	2,965	3,858	4,495
Education and manpower	7,289	8,300	8,808
Health	12,995	14,928	16,010
Income security	43,790	55,546	60,739
Veterans benefits and services	8,677	9,969	10,644
Interest	18,312	19,433	19,687
General government	3,336	4,381	4,970
Allowances for:			
Added amount for revenue sharing	----------	----------	4,019
Pay increase (excluding Department of Defense)	----------	500	1,000
Contingencies	----------	300	950
Undistributed intragovernmental transactions	–6,380	–7,197	–7,771
Total outlays	196,588	212,755	229,232
Budget deficit	2,845	18,562	11,639

REVENUE SHARING: RETURNING POWER TO PEOPLE

During the 1960's, more governmental initiative and power shifted to Washington and away from elected officials in State and local governments. Towards the end of the decade it became apparent that, despite new programs and massive Federal expenditures, government at all levels was not working well.

When this administration took office, I directed that an intensive review of our governmental system be made. We found that State and local governments were breaking down under an incredible fiscal burden. We also found that the red tape involved in the narrow categorical grant system made it almost impossible for the Federal Government to be effective and responsive to the needs of individuals in different localities.

The financial squeeze on State and local governments is acute, and shows no sign of becoming less painful. These governments rely mainly on receipts from consumer and property taxes, which have not grown nearly as fast as the demand for State and local government services. As a result, combined State and local debt has increased by over 600% since 1948.

The Federal Government helped meet some of this demand by increasing its financial aid, largely through grant programs, which now accounts for 18% of State and local revenues.

The results of grant programs have been impressive in some cases. But the grant structure has become a haphazard collection of hundreds of separate programs, each with its own policies, its own requirements and procedures, and its own funding.

Such a complicated method of providing Federal assistance is not only inefficient, but it:

—*restricts the freedom* of State and local governments to spend funds in accordance with their priorities;
—*is unresponsive* to the needs of specific local situations because the funds are distributed and regulated by guidelines that do not—perhaps cannot—sufficiently take account of differences among local communities; and
—*separates resources and responsibility*, because State and local governments have the responsibility for providing services, but, all too often, they do not have the money to provide those services. The Federal Government dominates the field of income taxation, and its redtape restricts the discretion of State and local governments over the services they provide.

Clearly, not enough authority over the use of resources for federally assisted programs is now lodged at the State and local level. More of the power—and the responsibility—for using federally collected funds must be given to elected officials in these governments.

The need for remedying this situation is urgent. The time for reform is now.

Local freedom of action.—I propose a revenue sharing plan to give State and local governments the money they need to deliver the services that can best be performed by government closest to the people.

This is how the new "freedom of action" plan will work:

In the first full year of the plan, $16 billion will be directed to the States and localities, in a way that will enable them to decide as never before how that money will be spent.

Of this amount, $5 billion will be in the form of *general revenue sharing*, without restrictions. This will all be "new" money, without matching requirements and with the decision on how it is to be used exclusively a State and local matter.

The remaining $11 billion will be in the form of *special revenue sharing*, with the discretion on how it will be used within each of six broad subject areas strictly a State and local matter. These areas are:

—Urban community development,
—Rural community development,
—Education,
—Manpower training,
—Law enforcement, and
—Transportation.

The hobbling restrictions now on much of the Federal aid in these areas would be removed, along with matching requirements that presently force localities to spend their own matching money on low-priority projects for fear of "losing" available Federal aid.

To emphasize the importance of the special revenue sharing funds, the change from the present tightly restrictive categorical grants to special revenue sharing in the six broad areas will be accompanied by an *increase* of $709 million in the amounts budgeted for 1972 for Federal aid to States and localities. But even more important is the fact that these governments would have far greater freedom of action in deciding how money is to be spent within each of the six areas. For example, although the Federal Government would designate the total amount of special revenue sharing for education, the State or local area would decide how much is to be spent on new textbooks, new schools, equipment, or other matters of priority to it in the field of education.

In this way, both general and special revenue sharing will redirect the control of State and local decisions on $16.1 billion to the States and localities affected most by those decisions. This is about half of Federal Government aid, excluding public assistance grants, to States and communities—a historic and massive reversal of the flow of power in America.

BUDGET AUTHORITY PROPOSED FOR REVENUE SHARING PLAN, FIRST FULL YEAR

Description	Billions
General revenue sharing	$5.0
Special revenue sharing:	
Urban community development	2.0
Rural community development	1.0
Education	3.0
Manpower training	2.0
Law enforcement	0.5
Transportation	2.6
Total	16.1

We must make provision at the outset of this freedom of action plan for both growing State and local needs and growing State and local capacity to manage their affairs.

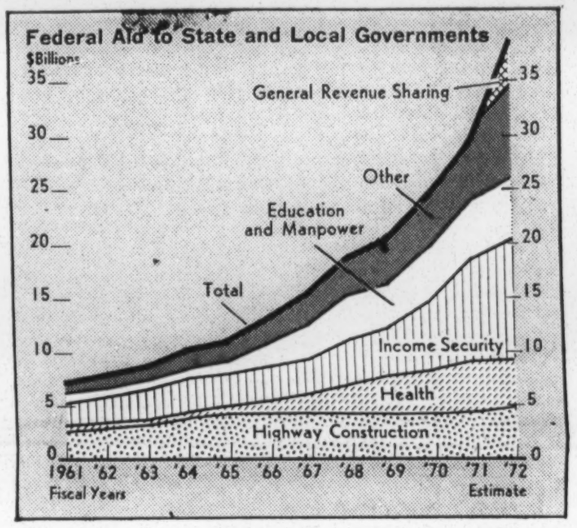
The new funds for general revenue sharing will grow in years to come because they will be tied to the Federal personal income tax base. As that tax base expands, more unrestricted money will flow to States and localities.

To help State and local governments develop greater capacity to plan and manage their own affairs, I will send to the Congress a planning-management assistance plan, which will provide $100 million to help these governments make their own long-range plans and enhance their capability for the efficient use of their growing revenues.

In essence, this is what revenue sharing will do:

—*for the individual taxpayer*, it will provide a stronger voice in how his tax money is spent locally, new confidence in government that comes from more "citizen control," and the hope that, in some States and localities, taxes may be reduced, or that the rising cost of government can be met without raising taxes;

Revenue sharing and welfare reform are of a piece: the level of government best equipped to respond should respond in a way that raises standards and contributes to the sum of personal freedom and human dignity.



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RESTORING CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

In seeking ways to reform the federal system, I have paid particular attention to the ability of the executive branch of the Federal Government to produce the results intended by the Congress and the President.

In 1971, the Federal Government will employ almost 2,900,000 civilians, operate thousands of separate programs, and spend $212.8 billion. Through its tax laws, credit activities, grant programs, and in other ways, the Government affects millions of people and influences the disposition of many more billions of dollars than it controls directly.

Toward the end of the sixties, there was mounting evidence that our Government was so complex, clumsy, and unresponsive, that it was becoming unable to meet the needs and priorities of the people or to use efficiently the funds entrusted to it.

This must not be permitted in America.

We have already taken actions to improve the organization and management of the Federal Government and, thereby, make it more efficient and responsive.

But we must do more. The Federal Government is not organized properly to deal with the Nation's most significant problems in the domestic area. Programs that should be joined together to achieve common goals are fragmented among different departments and agencies, impairing the capacity of government to respond effectively to urgent national needs. Modernization of that structure will restore vigor to our federal system, permitting a constructive partnership among Federal, State, and local governments.

In the next few months, I shall propose sweeping legislation to help achieve these goals by merging seven existing departments and several independent agencies into four departments:

—a Department of Natural Resources,
—a Department of Human Resources,
—a Department of Community Development, and
—a Department of Economic Development.

These new departments will match the domestic programs of the Federal Government with the objectives each is intended to fulfill:

—the balanced and constructive use and conservation of the land and other natural resources of the Nation;
—the development and well-being of individuals and families;
—the quality of urban and rural communities as places for people to work and live; and
—the maintenance and strengthening of the American economy.

To continue the modernization of the Federal Government, I will also ask an extension of the President's reorganization authority. We must seek to expand current efforts to shift operating responsibility for Federal programs out of Washington and closer to the people these programs are designed to serve.

To fulfill its responsibilities, the Federal Government must attract, develop, and retain capable career executives. We must have a more effective manpower planning and utilization system. I shall propose legislation to establish a Federal Executive Service which will permit:

—more effective career executive search;
—flexibility in the allocation and assignment of available talent; and
—strengthened executive development programs and policies.

By improving the organization and management of government, we will make it more responsive to the needs of the people and the new priorities of the Nation.

REFORMING THE BUDGET PROCESS

Reform of the budget process is long overdue. Fifty years have passed since the Federal budget system currently in use was adopted. The system was a major step forward in 1921. Because of congressional inaction, it has become a travesty a half-century later.

Enactment of appropriations 6 months or more after the start of the fiscal year they are supposed to cover is evidence of a major weakness. I have sent two budgets to the Congress. In each, I have had to formulate budget proposals for the year ahead without knowing what the Congress would provide in its action on the prior year's budget, which was transmitted 11 months earlier. Even now, as this message is being written, action on last year's appropriations request for one department has not been completed.

Continued on Following Page

Administration Proposes Responsibility-Power Balance Through Revenue Sharing

Continued From Preceding Page

I have, therefore, had to act on parts of the budget without knowing the totals that would result. This is an intolerable situation, but one that the Congress seems to accept as the normal way of doing business. It completes action on appropriation bills over a 10- to 12-month period without any goal or determination of the total expenditures that will result after the last bill is passed.

Excess in the number and detail of appropriations often diverts attention to minutiae. It also impairs the ability of agency heads to manage their agencies responsibly and economically.

The budget is our principal instrument for coordinated management of Federal programs and finances. Close cooperation between the executive and legislative branches is needed now to make the budget an efficient and effective instrument for this purpose. Therefore we must seek a more rational, orderly budget process. The people deserve one, and our Government, the largest fiscal unit in the free world, requires it.

Furthermore, Federal credit programs which the Congress has placed outside the budget—guaranteed and insured loans, or loans by federally sponsored enterprises—escape regular review by either the executive or the legislative branch. The evaluation of these extra-budgetary programs has not been fully consistent with budget items. Their effects on fiscal policy have not been rigorously included in the overall budget process. And their effects on overall debt management are not coordinated well with the overall public debt policy. For these reasons, I will propose legislation to enable these credit programs to be reviewed and coordinated along with other Federal programs.

Glossary of Key Terms in the Federal Budget

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—Following is a glossary of the important technical terms used in the Federal budget:

APPROPRIATIONS: The amount of money that Congress approves for any agency to spend or lend. The appropriations bills passed by Congress in any one year generally contain authority to spend some of the money in the same year and some in future years.

AUTHORIZATION: A law permitting a Government agency to spend a specified amount of money. Appropriation bills are the most common, but not the only form of authorization.

BUDGET AUTHORITY: The term used to cover all types of legal authorizations for the Government to disburse money, whether through spending or loans; also, the total amount of such authority.

CARRYOVER FUNDS: Money that an agency has already been legally authorized to obligate or spend but that has not yet been obligated or spent.

COMMITMENTS: Same as obligation.

EXPENDITURES: The amount of money that the Government or an agency expects actually to pay out over a given period of time. The term "expenditures" technically does not include money disbursed for loans, but the term is still sometimes used to cover lending as well as spending.

FEDERAL FUNDS: All the money available to the Government (from tax collections and borrowing) except that money, such as Social Security and gasoline taxes, which is legally earmarked for specified expenditures.

FISCAL YEAR: The year that the Government uses for bookkeeping purposes. It runs from July 1 through June 30, and the year used corresponds with the calendar year in which the fiscal year ends. Thus the fiscal year 1972 runs from July 1, 1971, through June 30, 1972.

FULL EMPLOYMENT BUDGET: A budget in which the estimated total Federal tax collections are not those actually expected but those that would be collected if the economy were operating with only 4 per cent unemployment, the so-called "full employment" figure.

FULL EMPLOYMENT RECEIPTS: The total tax collections that would be realized if the economy were operating with only 4 per cent unemployment and personal incomes and corporate profits to match.

LENDING AUTHORITY: Legal authorization, which must be enacted by Congress, for an agency to make commitments to lend.

NET LENDING: The amount by which the Government's (or an agency's) lending exceeds the repayments it receives on loans made earlier.

OBLIGATIONS: The actual commitments made by any Government agency to spend or lend money. Commitments can be made by signing contracts for purchase of materials, by approving loan applications, simply by putting someone on the payroll, and in other ways.

OUTLAYS: The term used to cover all types of Government disbursement of money, whether in spending or in loans.

PROGRAM AUTHORITY: The budget authority for a specific program.

PROGRAM LEVEL: The amount of money that an agency has obligated, or expects to obligate, itself to spend and lend in a specific year.

TRUST FUNDS: Funds that the Government keeps separate from its other money because the receipts of these funds are earmarked to finance specific expenditures. The main trust funds are the Social Security, railroad retirement, civil service retirement and highway construction trust funds.

TOWARD A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE

Our goal is a full generation of peace in which all nations can focus their energies on improving the lives of their citizens.

To achieve this, we must continue to work in close cooperation with our allies, move from confrontation to negotiation with those with whom we differ, and—together with our allies—maintain enough military strength to deter aggression. Sufficient and effective programs of military and economic assistance to help our friends help themselves are an integral part of our program.

National security.—This Nation's strategy for peace will—as it must—be based upon a position of military strength. The purpose of this strength is to prevent war; and, to this end, we will negotiate with those whose vital interests and policies conflict with our own.

We are pursuing negotiations on strategic arms limitations, on Vietnam, on Berlin, and on the Middle East. These negotiations are difficult and often slow, but we have the stamina and commitment necessary to proceed with patience and purpose.

As we carry on negotiations, we couple them with other efforts to achieve the same goal. The Vietnamization program is an example, and we are making good progress. By this spring, our authorized troop strength will have been cut approximately in half since the time I took office, and we will continue to bring American troops home.

Supporting these efforts, the military forces of this Nation and its allies will provide the armed might necessary to deter aggression or to deal with it effectively where necessary. We expect our allies to do more in their own behalf, and, in the spirit of the Nixon doctrine, many are taking steps in that direction. But we must also do our share. The kind of partnership we seek to forge works both ways. We have a vital interest in peace and stability abroad and we plan to maintain the capabilities necessary to protect that interest.

Our withdrawals from Vietnam and the change in our general purpose force planning and strategy permit a smaller force structure than in the past. At the same time, the preoccupation with Vietnam has limited our ability to meet some of our military needs elsewhere, particularly in NATO. We must be certain that our military forces are combat-ready and properly equipped to fulfill their role in our [illegible] In addition, [illegible] formidable Soviet nuclear and

This plan would remove the principal evils of the existing system by:

—setting national eligibility standards;
—balancing strong training and work requirements with equally strong training and work incentives;
—giving financial relief to the States; and
—establishing a Federal floor under benefit payments for *all* needy families with children, including those with working fathers, for the first time.

Social security improvements.—I will propose a significant reform of the social security system, providing *automatic* adjustments for increases in the cost of living. Such an adjustment now calls for a 6% benefit, effective retroactively to January 1, 1971, to cover the cost of living increase since January 1, 1970. I will also propose increases in widows' pensions.

Beyond these basic reforms, I will seek to harmonize related income maintenance programs with the principles of our income strategy. This will include:

—reform of services provided to welfare recipients to encourage greater accountability and effectiveness in the use of funds, and to establish national standards for foster care, with new incentives for the adoption of handicapped children; and
—proposals to put railroad retirement funds on a financially sound basis.

Improving health care.—During the current session, I will send a message to the Congress that will set out a national health strategy for the seventies and propose significant changes in the Federal role in the Nation's system of health care.

This strategy will seek to expand preventive care, to train more doctors and other health personnel, and to achieve greater equity and efficiency in the delivery of health services. It will include a new health insurance program for all low-income families with children.

The budget reflects in a preliminary way the emphasis that this [illegible]

—reorganize the field operations of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to make more effective efforts to halt discrimination in private employment;
—focus the activities of the Civil Service Commission to assure equal Federal employment opportunities for all our citizens, with special emphasis on opportunity for Spanish-surnamed Americans;
—serve 46 localities with conciliation assistance through the Community Relations Service;
—expand administration of the fair housing and equal opportunity laws to increase residential housing choices for all Americans; and
—increase by 15% funds to agencies to assure nondiscrimination by recipients in their use of Federal assistance.

Education and manpower training.—The education and manpower training programs proposed in this budget reflect my determination to find better ways to carry out Federal programs. Special revenue sharing is proposed for both of these vital areas. I will also submit major reform proposals to:

—reform Federal aid programs for higher education to increase their effectiveness;
—direct more funds to students from lower income working families;
—establish a National Institute of Education for research and development; and
—provide additional training opportunities and strong incentives under the Welfare Reform Act of 1971 for employable welfare recipients to undertake suitable employment or job training.

Research and development on social problems.—The Office of Economic Opportunity will emphasize its leadership role in research, development, and evaluation in social programs.

IMPROVING OUR ENVIRONMENT

The improvement and prudent use of our physical resources is vital

Housing.—The housing industry has already begun to lead our economic expansion. Fiscal and monetary actions taken in the past year have resulted in a significant easing of mortgage interest rates. Federal policy must help this industry meet the pent-up demand for housing.

The effectiveness of our housing programs will not be improved by merely continuing to increase Federal subsidies. The programs must be simplified and fitted into a rational framework. Inconsistencies must be removed, along with the obsolete rigidities in statutes that at times prevent programs from operating at all.

The administration will again propose legislation to carry out these badly needed reforms, which I urge the Congress to enact.

Community development.—I will also propose reform of the community development programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and of certain economic development programs of the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. Narrowly defined categorical grant programs in this field have frequently conflicted with local priorities and unnecessarily generated red tape.

With special urban and rural revenue sharing programs, we will permit localities to plan and carry out community development in accordance with their own needs.

Initial funding of the new urban program will begin at a level of $1 billion for the second half of 1972, upon enactment of the necessary legislation. An additional $2 billion appropriation is anticipated for 1973, when the program will be in effect for a full year. Rural development revenue sharing will be $1 billion in the first full year.

Science and technology.—Science and technology can make major contributions to the public by developing creative solutions to a wide range of national problems that will help us all enjoy a better life. I am proposing in this budget a substantial expansion in outlays for federally supported research and development.

While a large portion of this increase is needed to strengthen our defense capabilities I am also recommending substantial increases in civilian areas to:

—make greater use of our scientific and engineering capabilities and resources to cope with major national problems such as pollution, crime, health, transportation, and other environmental and social problems;
—strengthen research essential to the advancement of our technology and economic productivity; and
—increase our investment in fundamental science which leads to the long-term progress of our society.

As an example of the concern of this administration for the use of science and technology in the public service, I am recommending that the budget for the National Science Foundation be increased from $506 million in 1971 to $622 million in 1972. A significant portion of these added funds will be directed to research on pressing national problems.

THE LONGER VIEW

Federal budget decisions must be made with an awareness of their influence on the economy and on resource allocation in the future as well as the present.

Too often in the past, consideration of objectives and priorities focused only on Federal spending. Only immediate issues, rather than longer term goals, were considered. And this fact was ignored: when we increase the priority of some programs, the relative priority assigned to others must be reduced. In short, the sum of the resources allocated to the various functions—such as health, education, defense—cannot exceed the total resources that we command.

Looking to the future, we find that resources likely to be available to the Nation grow more rapidly than the expenditures required by existing commitments. But our freedom to use these resources will shrink as we approach each future year and make financial or program commitments in the interim. Thus, the allocation of each year's resources is largely a reflection of our past priorities.

As we make choices this year, we will be determining the use of our available resources and expenditures in future years.

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We are pursuing negotiations on strategic arms limitations, on Vietnam, on Berlin, and on the Middle East. These negotiations are difficult and often slow, but we have the stamina and commitment necessary to proceed with patience and purpose.

As we carry on negotiations, we couple them with other efforts to achieve the same goal. The Vietnamization program is an example, and we are making good progress. By this spring, our authorized troop strength will have been cut approximately in half since the time I took office, and we will continue to bring American troops home.

Supporting these efforts, the military forces of this Nation and its allies will provide the armed might necessary to deter aggression or to deal with it effectively where necessary. We expect our allies to do more in their own behalf, and, in the spirit of the Nixon doctrine, many are taking steps in that direction. But we must also do our share. The kind of partnership we seek to forge works both ways. We have a vital interest in peace and stability abroad and we plan to maintain the capabilities necessary to protect that interest.

Our withdrawals from Vietnam and the change in our general purpose force planning and strategy permit a smaller force structure than in the past. At the same time, the preoccupation with Vietnam has limited our ability to meet some of our military needs elsewhere, particularly in NATO. We must be certain that our military forces are combat-ready and properly equipped to fulfill their role in our strategy for peace. In addition, we face formidable Soviet nuclear and conventional forces, including increased naval forces, and a further rise in the costs of our military equipment and personnel.

For these reasons, I am recommending an increase of $6 billion in budget authority for military and military assistance programs. This Nation has the will and the resources to meet its vital national security needs. At a time when we are urging our allies to do more and when our potential adversaries may seek military advantage, I cannot in good conscience recommend less.

We often think of military strength primarily in terms of equipment and massive organizations. While these are important, attracting and holding able citizens in the Armed Forces is the key to an effective and efficient military force. The service of Americans in uniform is worthy of respect, and I am dedicated to the goal of making all such service voluntary. This budget, and subsequent legislation which I will recommend to the Congress, will make significant progress toward ending reliance on the draft.

Foreign assistance.—Our present foreign assistance programs were established for a world that has long since changed. I will propose legislation to adapt them to the conditions of the 1970's.

We must clearly distinguish the varied purposes of foreign aid—the security of the United States and friendly nations, the long-term development of lower income countries, and humanitarian needs—and make possible a realistic assessment of our progress toward each. In 1972, our assistance programs will:

—promote a strong partnership among nations and a vigorous leadership role for multilateral development institutions;
—recognize that other nations have a growing ability and responsibility to determine their own development priorities;
—continue security assistance at a higher level than in recent years in order to help friendly nations meet the responsibility for their own defense; and
—improve coordination of our humanitarian assistance efforts.

These changes will carry out a major theme of U.S. foreign policy—less direct U.S. involvement in the affairs of other nations, less potential for friction and resentment, and a stable world order more conducive to lasting peace.

MEETING HUMAN NEEDS

The proposals that I submit today are a major step forward in the reform of our Nation's efforts to meet the needs of its 206 million citizens. They will introduce a new fairness into American life by providing:

—a basic income floor under every family with children in this Nation;
—health care to help make needed services possible for all of our people when and where such services are required;
—better systems of support for education and manpower training; and
—continued progress in assuring the civil rights of all citizens, and in controlling crime.

Income strategy.—Last year was one of great promise for the long-term income security of American families. Some of that promise reached fruition in the reform of unemployment insurance and food stamp programs:

- Unemployment insurance was extended to 4.8 million additional Americans, including farmworkers and hospital workers, and special extended benefits were established to be triggered automatically by adverse economic conditions.
- Food stamp benefits were improved by establishing national eligibility standards, requiring family allotments large enough to purchase an adequate diet, providing free food stamps to the poorest recipients, and automatically raising benefits with increases in the cost of living.

However, much of that promise was left unrealized. As I have pointed out, in 1972 I will redouble my efforts to make essential and fundamental reforms in income maintenance programs. First, and foremost, I will seek:

- *Basic welfare reform.*—Last year I proposed that our archaic and demeaning welfare system be reformed. A landmark plan that would have accomplished this was approved by the House but did not come to a vote in the Senate.

  The urgency of the need for welfare reform grows with every passing day. I have already stressed the need for early enactment of the Welfare Reform Act of 1971 by the 92d Congress.

  [illegible] system, providing automatic adjustments for increases in the cost of living. Such an adjustment now calls for a 6% benefit, effective retroactively to January 1, 1971, to cover the cost of living increase since January 1, 1970. I will also propose increases in widows' pensions.

Beyond these basic reforms, I will seek to harmonize related income maintenance programs with the principles of our income strategy. This will include:

—reform of services provided to welfare recipients to encourage greater accountability and effectiveness in the use of funds, and to establish national standards for foster care, with new incentives for the adoption of handicapped children; and
—proposals to put railroad retirement funds on a financially sound basis.

Improving health care.—During the current session, I will send a message to the Congress that will set out a national health strategy for the seventies and propose significant changes in the Federal role in the Nation's system of health care.

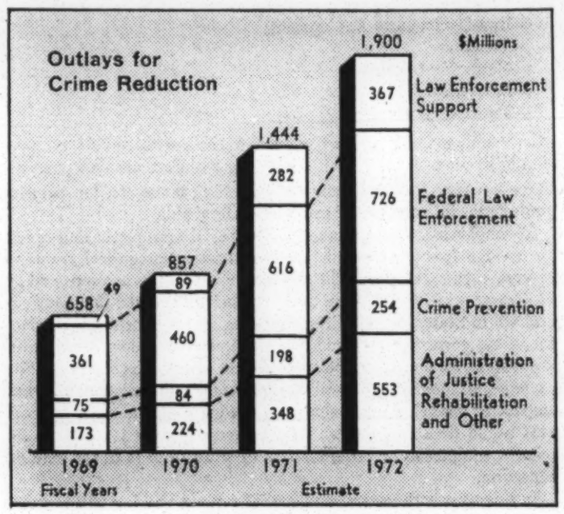
This strategy will seek to expand preventive care, to train more doctors and other health personnel, and to achieve greater equity and efficiency in the delivery of health services. It will include a new health insurance program for all low-income families with children.

The budget reflects in a preliminary way the emphasis that this administration will place on health in 1971, with:

—an increase of $100 million to accelerate greatly the search for a means of preventing and curing cancer;
—a vigorous effort to find a cure for sickle cell anemia;
—a $95 million increase in Federal support for schools that train our Nation's health manpower; and
—a rational policy of using Federal resources to help bring the rapid increase in medical care costs under control.

The budget also provides for:

—a substantial improvement in the quality of medical care provided to veterans with service-connected injuries;
—expansion of services for mothers and children, Indians and Alaska natives, and women who cannot afford family planning services;
—expanded programs to combat drug abuse and alcoholism;
—emphasis on assuring purity of foods and drugs; and
—encouraging greater use of less costly services and facilities in delivering medical care.



Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget

Community safety and crime prevention.—My commitment to the reform and revitalization of our system of criminal justice is supported by this budget. The budget proposes a 32% increase in outlays to improve law enforcement, to make our judicial system fairer and more efficient, and to raise the effectiveness of correction and rehabilitation. In this way, we will:

—step up the war on organized crime and the gambling operations that finance it;
—destroy major criminal systems that import and distribute narcotics and dangerous drugs;
—strengthen local law enforcement through the special revenue sharing fund for this purpose;
—continue the antihijacking campaign to protect the Nation's air travelers;
—expand our correctional improvement programs to develop more innovative correctional institutions, and improve probation, parole, and other community-based services; and
—develop, in cooperation with State and local governments, ways to provide more accurate information on law enforcement activities.

Guaranteeing civil rights.—The ideals of our Nation require that the civil rights of *all* citizens be respected, regardless of race, sex, religion, or national origin.

My budget for 1972 proposes to strengthen our efforts to eliminate discrimination in private as well as Federal employment, in activities supported by Federal assistance to State and local governments and other recipients, in education, in housing, and in other aspects of society.

We will take these specific steps to improve the lives of all our people:

—increase by more than 50% our efforts to prevent employment discrimination by Federal contractors and other private employers;
—increase nearly threefold the Federal assistance to school districts that are desegregating;
[illegible] and
—increase by 15% funds to agencies to assure nondiscrimination by recipients in their use of Federal assistance.

Education and manpower training.—The education and manpower training programs proposed in this budget reflect my determination to find better ways to carry out Federal programs. Special revenue sharing is proposed for both of these vital areas. I will also submit major reform proposals to:

—reform Federal aid programs for higher education to increase their effectiveness;
—direct more funds to students from lower income working families;
—establish a National Institute of Education for research and development; and
—provide additional training opportunities and strong incentives under the Welfare Reform Act of 1971 for employable welfare recipients to undertake suitable employment or job training.

Research and development on social problems.—The Office of Economic Opportunity will emphasize its leadership role in research, development, and evaluation in social programs.

IMPROVING OUR ENVIRONMENT

The improvement and prudent use of our physical resources is vital to our Nation's prosperity and to the goal of helping all Americans enjoy a clean environment, adequate housing, and a better standard of living. In 1972, outlays to achieve these objectives will increase by $2.4 billion to $26.1 billion. The actions that I am proposing will:

—expand my administration's vigorous efforts to protect and enhance the quality of our environment and recreation resources;
—revitalize housing and community development programs; and
—increase Federal research and development efforts.

Environmental quality.—The primary responsibility for protecting and enhancing the environment lies with State and local governments, industry, and the public, but the Federal Government must—and will—provide vigorous leadership.

During the past year, this administration moved forcefully to exercise that leadership:

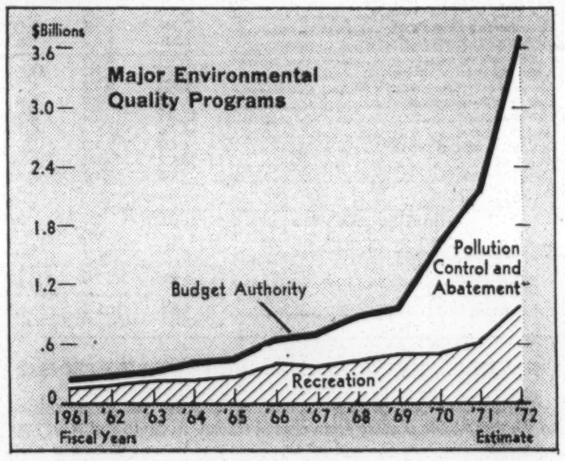
- Major Federal pollution control and abatement activities were consolidated in a new Environmental Protection Agency;
- The Council on Environmental Quality was given a major role within the Executive Office of the President to advise on environmental problems and on national policies to deal with them;
- New legislation to strengthen national efforts for reducing pollution was proposed to the Congress; and
- Funds for major environmental quality programs were increased significantly.

Pollution control and abatement programs will get even greater attention in the 1972 budget. Outlays will be increased by $764 million. Budget authority will rise even more, by $1.3 billion. The higher amounts will provide for:

—doubling grants for municipal waste treatment facilities;
—curbing pollution from Federal facilities;
—expanding EPA pollution control operations, including implementation of new air quality and solid waste legislation; and
—developing new pollution abatement techniques.

Legislation is again proposed to create the Environmental Financing Authority, which will assist communities that have difficulty in borrowing at reasonable rates to meet their share of the cost of water pollution control facilities.

I shall shortly propose, in a special message to the Congress, a series of further measures to control pollution and improve the quality of our environment.



Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget

Recreation.—Greater opportunity for leisure is valued highly in America and, as a result, the demand for recreation facilities is growing. The 1972 budget proposes a substantial increase in grants to help State and local governments provide some of these facilities.

I am recommending that the Land and Water Conservation Fund be fully funded to provide:

—grants of $280 million to help States and localities meet local recreation needs; and
—appropriations of $100 million for Federal acquisition to preserve nationally significant natural and historic areas.

I propose that the urban open space program be more than doubled, to $200 million, to provide more recreational areas in and near our cities.

Cultural activities.—I have again recommended that we double the appropriation for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, so that we can bring the benefits of these great cultural efforts to an increasing number of people throughout the country.

[illegible] of science and technology in the public service, I am recommending that the budget for the National Science Foundation be increased from $506 million in 1971 to $622 million in 1972. A significant portion of these added funds will be directed to research on pressing national problems.

THE LONGER VIEW

Federal budget decisions must be made with an awareness of their influence on the economy and on resource allocation in the future as well as the present.

Too often in the past, consideration of objectives and priorities focused only on Federal spending. Only immediate issues, rather than longer term goals, were considered. And this fact was ignored: when we increase the priority of some programs, the relative priority assigned to others must be reduced. In short, the sum of the resources allocated to the various functions—such as health, education, defense—cannot exceed the total resources that we command.

Looking to the future, we find that resources likely to be available to the Nation grow more rapidly than the expenditures required by existing commitments. But our freedom to use these resources will shrink as we approach each future year and make financial or program commitments in the interim. Thus, the allocation of each year's resources is largely a reflection of our past priorities.

As we make choices this year, we will be determining the use of our available resources and expenditures in future years.

The resource allocation questions that the Nation will answer—either explicitly or by default—are:

- Shall we increase the available margin by ending some existing commitments?
- Who should use the margin—the Federal Government, State and local governments, or private citizens?
- To what objectives should the available margin be applied?

In answering these questions, the Nation will be setting its priorities for the future.

My preferences are clear. *One great objective of my administration is to increase the role of private citizens and State and local governments in allocating our national resources in accordance with individual and local needs. Another great objective is to set minimum standards to make certain that every American family in every locality is treated with a fairness that reflects the national conscience.*

Ours is not a regimented economy, nor will it be. Yet, we cannot ignore the influence of the budget on the economy and on the use of our national resources in the present and in the future. To do so is to take the chance that government spending will preempt resources that should be left to be used by private citizens or State and local governments.

In the last few decades, the Federal Government, disturbingly, has taken over the determination of how too many of the Nation's resources will be allocated. In spite of the Federal Government's domination, resources have not been appropriately allocated to overall national needs. Instead, they have been allocated by a process in which small additions were usually made in existing programs, and a few new categorical grant programs were created each year. These new grants were generally aimed at alleviating some narrow problem—without reference to the Nation's real need in that general problem area.

I have in this budget proposed the outlines of a new process for allocating funds according to national priorities.

Instead of continuing "more of the same" to more than a hundred narrow categorical grant programs, I have proposed replacing them with six *special* revenue sharing programs designed to deal with major national problems. These are problems that have different characteristics in different parts of the country. With these special revenue sharing funds, State and local governments can set their priorities within the national objective, design a solution fitted to their particular needs, and solve their problems locally.

The *general* revenue sharing program provides unrestricted funds to State and local governments to achieve our Nation's top domestic priority—the creation of a system of government that is effective and responsive to the needs of all of the American people. General revenue sharing will allow State and local governments to overcome their immediate fiscal crises and to come to grips with those problems that concern their citizens most.

The revenue sharing programs which I have proposed result from shared goals, provide federally shared revenues, and involve shared Federal-State-local responsibility for solving America's most important problems. Our system of government must be one of shared goals—shared revenues—shared responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

The 1972 budget befits a strong, free, compassionate, and enlightened Nation.

- It reverses the trend of the past decade toward Federal domination of the Nation's decisions, and begins to make government more responsive to the will of the people.
- It recognizes that a strong defense is vital to all our objectives, most of all to the attainment of peace.
- It provides the resources needed to meet the Nation's commitments at home, with a new standard of fairness to the poor and sick.
- It accepts the principle that budget policy, together with monetary policy and the active cooperation of the private sector, must be used to help achieve full employment in peacetime with relative price stability.

This budget expresses our fiscal program for the New American Revolution—a peaceful revolution in which power will be turned back to the people—in which government at all levels will be refreshed, renewed, and made truly responsive. This can be a revolution as profound, as far-reaching, as exciting, as that first revolution almost 200 years ago.

RICHARD NIXON.

JANUARY 29, 1971.

'Revolution' Set Back

Revenue Sharing Dying, Nixon Aides Fear; They Hunt for Alternatives

2/12/71

By ALBERT R. HUNT
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Even as President Nixon starts selling his "Great American Revolution," some administration insiders fear its cornerstone, revenue-sharing, is dead.

Some officials who a few weeks ago were brimming with enthusiasm and confidence over revenue-sharing's prospects suddenly have become deeply pessimistic. "Very little has gone right in the past week or so," laments one of the plan's boosters.

They currently believe there's only a remote chance of winning congressional approval for the proposal to turn $5 billion a year over to states and localities with hardly any strings attached. The outlook for "special revenue-sharing," or switching about $11 billion of narrow categorical grants to broad block grants in six basic areas, is cloudier as the specifics of this plan won't be sent to Congress until next month.

Publicly, the administration will continue to champion its general revenue-sharing bill and some officials still hope for a dramatic break to turn the tide. But privately, some key revenue-sharing proponents concede the proposal is going nowhere, and already are looking for palatable alternatives.

Game Plan Stalls

From the start, the administration knew general revenue-sharing faced formidable obstacles in Congress. But the game plan was to mount a massive and united lobbying and public-relations effort by the administration, governors, mayors and prominent citizens that would overwhelm congressional opposition with a display of the program's popularity.

The drive stalled almost immediately. Some observers believe that what momentum there was, has switched to various alternatives being bandied about by revenue-sharing opponents, including a federal take-over of welfare, federal income-tax credits for taxes collected by states or a public-service jobs program.

The problems stem partly from even more formidable congressional opposition than was imagined, officials say. Immediately after the President unveiled the program it was sharply assailed by both Chairman Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee and Rep. John Byrnes of Wisconsin, the committee's ranking Republican. Revenue-sharing planners never expected support from these two powerful Congressmen, who have long opposed the principle, but they had hoped their opposition would be publicly moderate, particularly after Mr. Nixon had held a special meeting with them.

Also, officials say, the expected strong support from state and local officials hasn't been forthcoming. No big city mayor, for instance, has embraced the President's proposal yet.

But the administration effort has had internal problems, too. Some observers assert the revenue-sharing campaign has been badly mishandled from the beginning. Some governors and mayors feel Vice President Spiro Agnew's role in rallying their backing has been counterproductive. And most revenue-sharing supporters were horrifed when the Vice President lashed out at Rep. Mills for opposing the plan.

Further, there's a wide belief that the confusion over how "special revenue-sharing" will work has cost the administration some much-needed early support. Many state and local officials apparently are waiting for specifics on the block grant plan before jumping on any revenue-sharing bandwagon.

The despair of revenue-sharing advocates emerged this week when the general revenue-sharing bill was introducd in the House and Senate. The administration was banking on getting more than half of both houses to sponsor the legislation in an effort to demonstrate strong bipartisan support. "It's imperative that we show Wilbur Mills he's thwarting the wishes of most of his colleagues," one Nixon strategist had explained.

But the administration could muster only 38 Senators and 138 Representatives as sponsors. More significantly, only five Democratic Senators, all Southerners, and eight Democratic House members, joined in. "A lot of Democrats are for revenue-sharing, but they're not going to be for President Nixon's revenue-sharing," says one administration aide.

Mills and Others Carried Thrust

Some administration officials believe potential liberal Democratic support for the program evaporated with the counterproposals offered almost immediately by Rep. Mills and others. According to this reasoning, if there had simply been opposition to revenue-sharing, the plan's backers could have paraded in a stream of state and local officials to relate their financial problems. "We would have been the good guys trying to help solve problems while the opponents would have been the villains," notes a revenue-sharing booster.

But this possibility was severely undercut when opponents started talking about alternatives that also would ease the financial burdens of local government. Congressional observers note that Mr. Mills' suggestion for the federal government to gradually assume most, or all, welfare costs is rapidly gaining support.

Revenue-sharing backers also realized they were in trouble earlier this week when 15 big-city mayors testified before a congressional committee in favor of a proposal by Sen. Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) and Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.) for a public service jobs program. "The mayors want money, and it looks now like they're turning to other possibilities that may seem to have a better chance," one government official observes.

This has embittered some architects of the Nixon plan, who note that the general revenue-sharing proposal was worked out with state

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This has embittered some architects of the Nixon plan, who note that the general revenue-sharing proposal was worked out with state and local groups and tailored to meet their desires. In return, mayors and governors were supposed to line up Democratic support on Capitol Hill. "I wish we'd taken charge of getting Democratic support ourselves," an administration official says.

Hope in Governors' Meeting

Others suggest, however, that these groups haven't abandoned the plan but just aren't very good at rallying congressional support. There's still some hope that pressure from state and local sources might pick up, particularly when the National Governors' Conference holds its midwinter session here later this month.

But there's considerable concern, even within the administration, that the plan has already taken on a strong political coloration, chiefly because of Vice President Agnew. "Many people are turned off by anything that has Agnew's imprint on it," one Republican governor frets.

Some ranking administration aides observe that the Vice President wasn't helping things much when he told Southern members of the National Association of Counties that their constituents "probably have more confidence in you than they do" in Mr. Mills. Mr. Agnew also questioned the powerful Ways and Means chairman's "right to sit up in the District of Columbia and judge from afar."

"He did everything but call Wilbur a radic-lib," forlornly notes one Nixon official. "It looks like revenue-sharing may be a casualty of the 'rehabilitate Spiro-campaign'."

Confusion over the "special revenue-sharing" has created difficulties, too. A spokesman for the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors notes this block-grant plan "is what confused the issue." Most big-city mayors, the spokesman adds, "want to make sure no games are being played," especially when the administration has been chary about spending funds currently available for urban aid. Even some administration officials wonder if special revenue-sharing wasn't mentioned prematurely, since many of the important details still are undecided.

Connally's Role Assessed

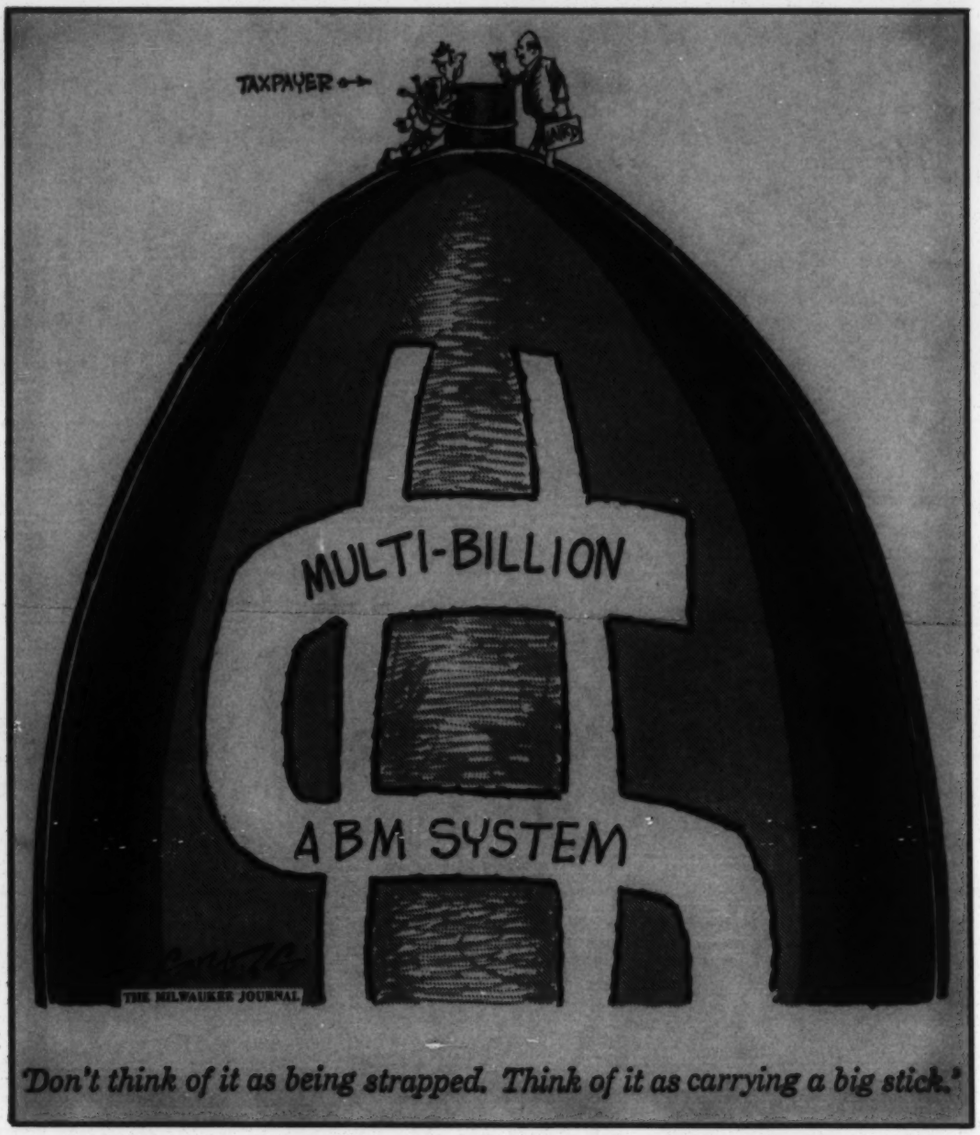
The political skills of new Treasury Secretary John Connally have been widely regarded as a major plus for revenue-sharing's prospects, and in a Wednesday night speech he proclaimed his staunch support for the proposal. But doubts have cropped up about whether he will get very involved in its behalf. "Right after he takes over," one Treasury official remarks, "I don't think the Secretary should risk all his prestige and credit by really pushing a bill that seems doomed."

This mood has forced some administration planners to ponder the possible alternatives that would provide the same money to stimulate the economy.

One suggestion that will meet stiff resistance from the administration is that the federal government pick up all the welfare tab, as this might kill the President's family-assistance program. A bill similar to the public-service-jobs proposal was vetoed by President Nixon last year, and George P. Shultz, director of the Office of Management and Budget, recently indicated the administration still is cool to this idea.

A federal income-tax credit for part of a taxpayer's state and maybe local tax payments, as suggested by Rep. Byrnes, is more appealing to some administration insiders, though they quickly emphasize they feel it's inferior to revenue-sharing.

A recurring fear among revenue-sharing backers is that any battle between competing schemes to help state and local governments could doom all proposals. "Different people lining up behind different proposals might mean that in the end we'll get nothing," Gov. Francis W. Sargent of Massachusetts says.



THE ABM is expected to cost anywhere from $50 billion to estimates as high as $400 billion if started and completed. The power of the committee chairman's clout is best illustrated by the concentration of defense contracts and establishments in states with chairmen of key committees. The American taxpayer will naturally be expected to pay the bill. And just to make sure the taxpayers pay the price, the Pentagon's $4 million lobby program has a brainwash campaign to sell the public into believing the ABM is absolutely necessary.

Robert Smith

House Appropriations

Appropriation of Government revenues. Ext. 2771.

Democrats 30—Republicans 21

George H. Mahon (D Texas), *Chairman*

Michael J. Kirwan (Ohio)	Frank T. Bow (Ohio)
Jamie L. Whitten (Miss.)	Charles Raper Jones (N.C.)
George W. Andrews (Ala.)	Elford A. Cederberg (Mich.)
John J. Rooney (N.Y.)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.)
Robert L. F. Sikes (Fla.)	John J. Rhodes (Ariz.)
Otto E. Passman (La.)	William E. Minshall (Ohio)
Joe L. Evins (Tenn.)	Robert H. Michel (Ill.)
Edward P. Boland (Mass.)	Silvio O. Conte (Mass.)
William H. Natcher (Ky.)	Odin Langen (Minn.)
Daniel J. Flood (Pa.)	Ben Reifel (S.D.)
Tom Steed (Okla.)	Glenn R. Davis (Wis.)
George E. Shipley (Ill.)	Howard W. Robison (N.Y.)
John M. Slack Jr. (W. Va.)	Garner E. Shriver (Kan.)
John J. Flynt Jr. (Ga.)	Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)
Neal Smith (Iowa)	Mark Andrews (N.D.)
Robert N. Giaimo (Conn.)	Louis C. Wyman (N.H.)
Julia Butler Hansen (Wash.)	Burt L. Talcott (Calif.)
Charles S. Joelson (N.J.)	Charlotte T. Reid (Ill.)
Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)	Donald W. Riegel Jr. (Mich)
John J. McFall (Calif.)	Wendell Wyatt (Ore.)
W. R. Hull (Mo.)	Jack Edwards (Ala.)
Jeffery Cohelan (Calif.)	
Edward J. Patten (N.J.)	
Clarence D. Long (Md.)	
John O. Marsh (Va.)	
Sidney R. Yates (Ill.)	
Bob Casey (Texas)	
David Pryor (Ark.)	
Frank E. Evans (Colo.)	

Senate Appropriations

Appropriations of Government revenues. Ext. 3471.

Democrats 14—Republicans 10

Richard B. Russell (D Ga.), *Chairman*

Allen J. Ellender (La.)	Milton R. Young (N.D.)
John L. McClellan (Ark.)	Karl E. Mundt (S.D.)
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	Margaret Chase Smith (Me.)
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)	Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)
John Stennis (Miss.)	Gordon Allott (Colo.)
John O. Pastore (R.I.)	Clifford P. Case (N.J.)
Alan Bible (Nev.)	Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)
Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.)	J. Caleb Boggs (Del.)
Gale W. McGee (Wyo.)	James B. Pearson (Kan.)
Mike Mansfield (Mont.)	
William Proxmire (Wis.)	
Ralph Yarborough (Texas)	
Joseph M. Montoya (N.M.)	

THE REAL CLOUT in Congress comes from the two appropriations committees in the House and Senate. They can make or break a program, and they can pile on government obligations for pet schemes. Last year Congress voted $156 billino worth of spending, including $80 billion for defense. Military and defense related spending for fiscal 1968 came to 66 percent of the entire federal budget. The $156 billion includes all funds appropriated by Congress during calendar 1968—$103 billion was for outright defense, veterans and administration of the national debt (75 percent of which was war created).

Where political power is

States with Congressional Committee Chairmen, 91st Congress, 1969

Red boxes are Senate chairmen, blue boxes are House chairmen, and states in cross-checks have both House and Senate chairmen.

WASHINGTON, MAGNUSON, Senate Commerce Committee, Seattle, Wash.: 557,087 pop. Wash.: 2,853,214 pop.; JACKSON, Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Everett, Wash.: 40,304 pop.

WYOMING, McGEE, Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Laramie, Wyo.: 17,520 pop. Wyo.: 330,066 pop.

SOUTH DAKOTA, McGOVERN, Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, Mitchell, S.D.: 12,555 pop. S.D.: 680,514 pop.

MISSOURI, ICHORD, House Internal Security Committee, Houston, Mo.: 1,660 pop. Mo.: 4,319,813 pop.

ILLINOIS, DAWSON, House Committee on Government Operations, Chicago, Ill.: 3,550,404 pop. Ill.: 10,081,158 pop.; PRICE, House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, East St. Louis, Ill.: 81,712 pop.

KENTUCKY, PERKINS, House Education and Labor Committee, Hindman, Ky.: Under 2,500 pop. Ky.: 3,038,156 pop.

WEST VIRGINIA, RANDOLPH, Senate Public Works Committee, Elkins, W.Va.: 8,307 pop. W.Va.: 1,860,421 pop.; STAGGERS, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Keyser, W.Va.: 7,041 pop.

PENNSYLVANIA, MORGAN, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Fredericktown, Pa.: Under 2,500 pop. Pa.: 11,319,366 pop.

NEW YORK, CELLER, House Judiciary Committee, Brooklyn, N.Y.: 2,627,319 pop. N.Y.: 16,782,304 pop.; DULSKI, House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Buffalo, N.Y.: 532,759 pop.

NEVADA, BIBLE, Senate Select Small Business Committee, Reno, Nev.: 51,470 pop., Nev.: 285,278 pop.

CALIFORNIA, MILLER, House Committee on Science and Astronautics, Alameda, Calif.: 63,855 pop. Calif.: 15,717,204 pop.; HOLIFIELD, Joint Atomic Energy Committee, Montebello, Calif.: 40,613 pop.

COLORADO, ASPINALL, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Palisade, Colo.: Under 2,500 pop. Colo.: 1,753,947 pop.

NEW MEXICO, ANDERSON, Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, Albuquerque, N.M.: 201,189 pop. N.M.: 951,023 pop.

TEXAS, YARBOROUGH, Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Austin, Tex.: 186,545 pop. Tex.: 9,579,677 pop.; POAGE, House Agriculture Committee, Waco, Tex.: 97,808 pop.; MAHON, House Appropriations Committee, Lubbock, Tex.: 128,691 pop.; PATMAN, House Banking and Currency Committee, Texarkana, Tex.: 30,218 pop.; TEAGUE, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, College Station, Tex.: 11,396 pop.

ARKANSAS, FULBRIGHT, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Fayetteville, Ark.: 26,279 pop. Ark.: 1,786,272 pop.; McCLELLAN, Senate Government Operations Committee, Camden, Ark.: 14,604 pop.; MILLS, House Ways and Means Committee, Kensett, Ark.: Under 2,500 pop.

LOUISIANA, ELLENDER, Senate Committee on Agriculture, Houma, La.: 4,665 pop. La.: 3,257,022 pop.; LONG, Senate Finance Committee, Shreveport, La.: 160,535 pop.

MISSISSIPPI, STENNIS, Senate Armed Services Committee, De Kalb, Miss.: Under 2,500 pop. Miss.: 2,178,141 pop.; EASTLAND, Senate Judiciary Committee, Doddsville, Miss.: Under 2,500 pop.; COLMER, House Rules Committee, Pascagoula, Miss.: 17,155 pop.

ALABAMA, SPARKMAN, Senate Banking and Currency Committee, Huntsville, Ala.: 123,519 pop. Ala.: 3,266,740 pop.

GEORGIA, RUSSELL, Senate Appropriations Committee, Winder, Ga.: 5,555 pop. Ga.: 3,943,116 pop.

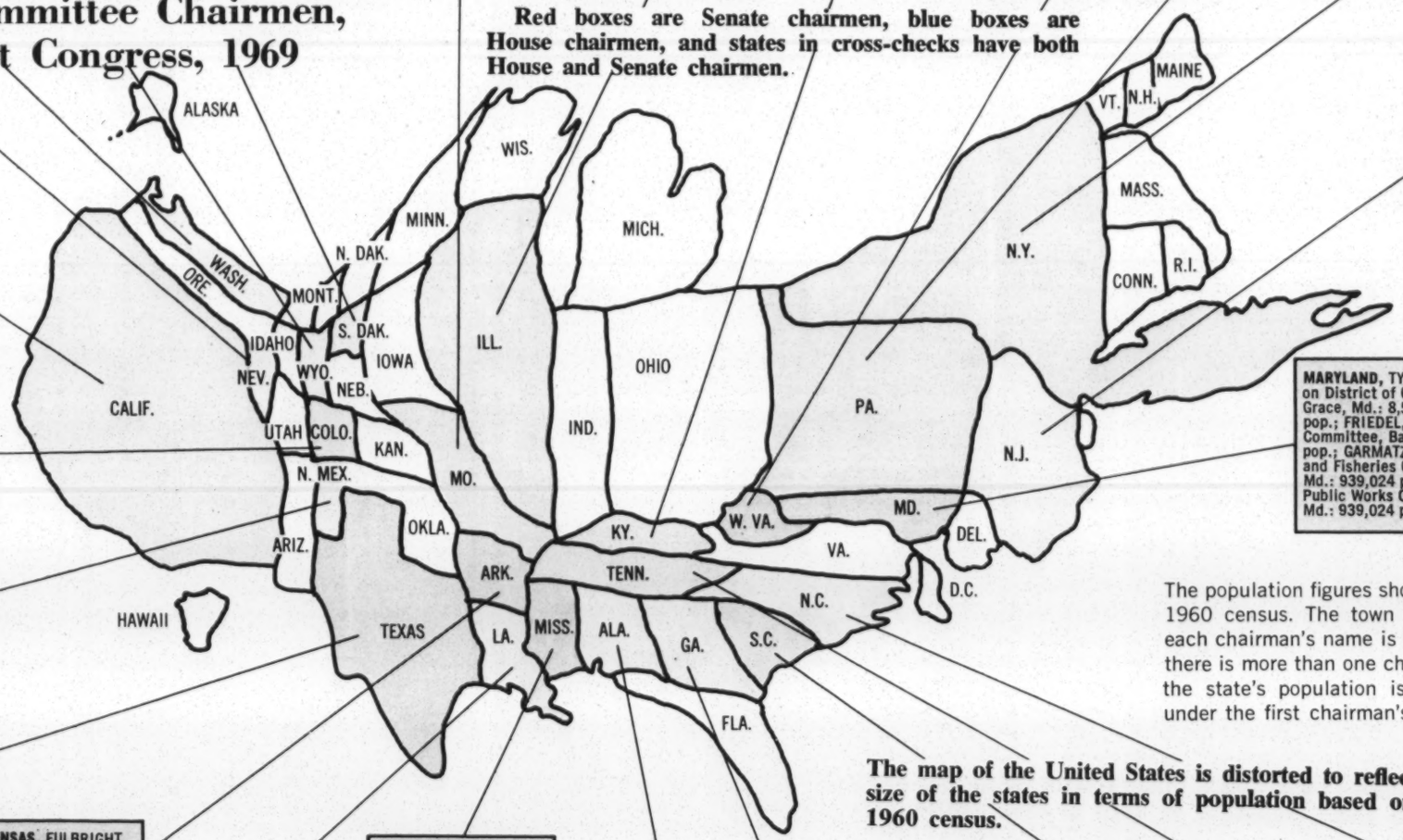
SOUTH CAROLINA, RIVERS, House Armed Services Committee, Charleston, S.C.: 75,940 pop. S.C.: 2,382,594 pop.; McMILLAN, House Committee on the District of Columbia, Florence, S.C.: 24,722 pop.

TENNESSEE, EVINS, House Select Committee on Small Business, Smithville, Tenn.: 2,348 pop. Tenn.: 3,567,089 pop.

NORTH CAROLINA, JORDAN, Senate Rules and Administration Committee, Saxapahaw, N.C.: Under 2,500 pop. N.C.: 4,556,155 pop.

NEW JERSEY, WILLIAMS, Special Senate Committee on Aging, Westfield, N.J.: 31,447 pop. N.J.: 6,066,782 pop.

MARYLAND, TYDINGS, Senate Committee on District of Columbia, Havre de Grace, Md.: 8,510 pop. Md.: 3,100,689 pop.; FRIEDEL, House Administration Committee, Baltimore, Md.: 939,024 pop.; GARMATZ, House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, Baltimore, Md.: 939,024 pop.; FALLON, House Public Works Committee, Baltimore, Md.: 939,024 pop.



The population figures shown are based on the 1960 census. The town or city listed below each chairman's name is his hometown. When there is more than one chairman from a state, the state's population is listed only once—under the first chairman's name.

The map of the United States is distorted to reflect the size of the states in terms of population based on the 1960 census.

EFV

Congress

THE elusive RECORD OF LYNDON JOHNSON

by AL TOFFLER

Washington

EVER SINCE the Soviets shot their first Sputnik skyward, a tall, cagy Texan has been orbiting in the headlines. Texas' Lyndon Johnson, Senate Democratic leader, with his preparedness hearings and now with his leadership in the politics of recession, has been dominating Washington, a circumstance made possible by the clumsy vacillation of the White House.

Johnson's emergence is being watched by experienced Washington hands who know how intense his yearning for the Presidency grows at times. A high-octane operator who is reputed to be one of the two or three most powerful men in the nation's capital, Johnson is now playing statesman with the unemployment issue as he did during the Sputnik furor he helped engineer. This game requires, as Johnson sees it, a minimum of Trumanesque hell-raising and a maximum of conciliatory appeals for "bipartisanship."

"There may be some," he told the Senate recently, "who look upon the current situation as an 'issue' . . . The only issue is how soon we can get rid of the issue, so the working men and women of America can be employed on productive jobs." Yet Johnson is far too canny a politician to believe his own oratory. Unemployment is a high, wide, and handsome issue, made to order for an election year. With the Democrats sniffing November victory even before the slump began, the recession comes almost as the *coup de grace*. Moreover, this enhances Democratic chances in the 1960 Presidential race.

What aggravates the situation is that the White House, as usual, is diddling in a corner, trying to juggle statistics to make the mass unemployment look no worse than during Democratic recessions. This stupid defensiveness opens a void into which stalks the decisive figure of Johnson, a sort of President-by-analogy, with plans for public works and stepped-up government spending.

For Johnson this must be an appetite-whetter. It is always frustrating for a man of action to see a hesitating bumbler lose control of the ship. He longs to put his hands firmly on the tiller. In moments like these, Johnson's gnawing, restless ambition deepens. His intuitive grasp of political reality tells him that his chances of capturing the 1960 bid are slender. Yet stranger things have happened, and Johnson knows, too, that when he puts his mind to something he usually wheedles, threatens, cajoles, or bargains until he gets it. Phenomenal resources of energy and a boundless power drive help him to do so.

Johnson has the reputation for being the most successful cloakroom compromiser that Washington has seen in a generation. As Senator Pat McNamara, Michigan Democrat, puts it: "He trades apples for orchards all day long." Behind this facility lies his power as majority leader. In this post, Johnson not only commands great influence on the committee assignments his colleagues get, but he also stands like a traffic cop directing the flow of legislation across the floor of the Senate. By subtle tactics and skillful timing he is in a position to help or hinder bills in which others may have profound stakes. He is in a position to use the club along with the carrot.

Johnson's personal persuasiveness is legendary. His vitality is so attractive that amateur psychologists under the Capitol dome say that Johnson radiates a subtle kind of sexuality that nobody talks about but of which many are aware. For example, part of the stock Johnson treatment is what some call the "laying on of the hands." Johnson's long arms wrap themselves about even the most casual conversation partner. Reporters laugh and call it "the massage." Johnson himself calls it the "pressing of the flesh." Pretty soon the object of all this tactile attention, who is also bathed in a warm sea of flattery or promises, thinks that Johnson is a great guy.

On the other hand, Johnson can storm petulantly at both colleagues and newsmen when his dignity is ruffled. On one occasion, when Pennsylvania Democrat Joe Clark, while presiding in the Senate, failed to recognize Johnson quickly enough, the Texas Senator charged out of the chamber muttering angrily.

Johnson's tactics have been discussed often. But Johnson's beliefs remain wrapped in mists of his own making. Johnson makes a conscious art of non-commitment. When *Fortune* asked him to state his opinions on a list of economic questions, he sent the magazine a brisk letter maintaining that for a Senator, and especially a leader, to commit himself in advance on issues weakens his effectiveness on the floor. George Reedy, the former United Press man who is Johnson's staff egghead, strawboss, and press agent, holds forth at great length about this theory of non-commitment, contrasting it with what he calls disdainfully, "The Senator of Position." According to this theory, the less said about legislation in advance, the better. There is no question that premature commitment to specific language makes it difficult for a Senator to navigate effectively once the refined amendments begin to flow. On the other hand, Americans traditionally like to know where the people they elect

AL TOFFLER, formerly feature editor of Labor's Daily, is a Washington free lancer who has written for Coronet, The Nation, The New Republic, Frontier, and The Christian Science Monitor.

stand, and it is possible to commit oneself to principle without necessarily committing oneself to language.

Despite all efforts to the contrary, a Senator's beliefs, and at least his voting record, begin to show after a while. This is true of Johnson, too. But it is a contradictory, elusive record which provides slippery ammunition for both his supporters and his critics among American liberals.

His admirers are legion. They include Senate liberals who insist that the Texan is really a liberal fellow, despite all the talk about his deals with the South. To prop up their argument they insist that Johnson's innermost instincts are liberal ones, formed during his youth in the New Deal period. His first fight was for public power and rural electrification in Texas, a fact of which Johnson is inordinately proud. He supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan to pack the Supreme Court when seasoned backers of F.D.R. had fled with tails between their legs. During his tenure as Texas state director of the National Youth Administration, Johnson demonstrated elementary human decency by giving Negro and Mexican youth a fair—though segregated—shake.

Moreover, continue Johnson's backers, Johnson has been staunch for small business, militant in the fight against Administration farm policies, internationalist in foreign affairs, anti-tariff on trade issues. In the McCarthy fight, they admit, he remained very quiet. But he delivered a unanimous Democratic vote for McCarthy's censure, no mean feat.

In addition, they go on, Johnson gives incoming young liberal Senators a break when it comes to good committee assignments. And, as majority leader, they say, he has been effective in preventing the Senate from bogging down in fruitless palaver. He keeps the legislative mill grinding. More important, they add, Johnson is the bridge that holds Northern Democrats and Southern Democrats in the same party. Without Johnson, the implication is, the party would fall apart in the Senate.

Finally, they say, should Johnson ever be elected to the White House, he would be freed of regional pressures from Texas and would thereby be able to assert his own liberal instincts more fully.

However, there is another side to the story. This side is also presented by liberal Senators, but always in private, for the simple reason that Johnson's cudgel is large and well-knotted.

The chief general criticism is that Johnson is an opportunist, a kind of Democratic Richard Nixon, young, able, Western-born, aggressive, ambitious, and adept at demagogy. The record of Johnson's opportunism can be traced only in broad outline. He is a careful craftsman who leaves few tell-tale traces behind. When he switches position it is done with a magnificent grace that dazzles the observer.

Thus, last summer, before Sputnik, Johnson led his Democratic troops in an economy assault that cut back defense appropriations. But last winter it was Johnson who in his own moderate fashion led the attack on the Administration for alleged penny-pinching in the face of Soviet advances. It was all done so neatly that only the Republican National Committee knew what had happened to it.

Or take the issue of public power. Johnson has been a leading proponent of public power since his first days in Congress. He has close ties with, and makes dextrous use of, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and similar groups. Yet it was Johnson who wrote a new low chapter in Senate demagogy with his slashing smear campaign against the reconfirmation of Leland Olds to the Federal Power Commission in 1949. For the benefit of the oil and gas interests, Johnson went after Olds in the grand old manner of McCarthy—but before McCarthy patented it.

The result of this hatcheting was the murder of the liberal majority on the Federal Power Commission. It was Olds who had held together a quavery 3-2 vote on the Commission in favor of public power and the public interest. With Olds gone, the Commission became energetically hostile to public power and obsequiously friendly to big oil and utility interests, a tendency the Eisenhower Administration merely reinforced.

This service in behalf of the oil industry was only one of many. Within weeks after he returned to the Senate from the convalescence following his 1955 heart attack, Johnson put in a 10-hour stint on the floor in a successful effort to pilot the natural gas gouge bill to victory. It was only a Presidential veto that killed the bill later on. Johnson also worked to prevent a thorough investigation of the lobbying that led to the sensational attempt by the gas lobby to bribe Senator Francis Case, South Dakota Republican.

In all fairness to Johnson, however, it should be pointed out that he has not always been rewarded for his efforts in behalf of big oil. In Texas, oil men have a choice between Shivers-type candidates and Johnson. Also, Johnson's efforts have not been entirely consistent. In 1953 Johnson voted with the liberals against the Tidelands oil giveaway. More recently there has been interesting unpublished speculation about Johnson's role in the fiasco that led to the demise of the gas bill this year.

Insiders know that Johnson had in his possession a copy of the now-famous Porter letter several days before its exposure in the Washington *Post*. This was the crude letter in which Texas Republican boss H. J. Porter called on oil men to put up cash for his party in view of the efforts of House G.O.P. Leader Joe Martin in their behalf. The Washington *Post* sent Ed Folliard, one of its crack reporters, to Houston to cover the story, and it printed the letter in full. The result was a furor which killed the bill for this session. It was a two-way coup for Johnson: the G.O.P. was embarrassed; and, since the bill's chances were killed by the revelation, Johnson was relieved of the necessity of supporting it again this year.

It must be added that while Johnson has done his duty in defense of the gas lobby time and again, it has never been a particularly cheerful chore. Support of the lobby costs him dearly in reputation outside the oil and gas producing states. If this interpretation of what happened is correct, and the signs all point that way, it would support the view that Johnson is seriously eying the 1960 nomination and wants to minimize his oil ties.

These links have never been fully explored. His liberal backers insist that the real oil money opposes Johnson in Texas when the chips are down. There is one source of support, however, upon which Johnson can count. This is the gigantic non-union contracting firm of Brown & Root, a company which also owns oil pipelines and some producing wells.

Johnson has been intimate with George Brown, partner in the firm, for many years. It was on his way to Brown's lush Virginia estate that Johnson was stricken with his heart attack in July, 1955. Brown & Root, distributing its largesse deviously, has been a heavy campaign backer of Johnson. He in turn has done the company no harm in Washington where its biggest contracts are written.

Brown & Root is, incidentally, one of the largest anti-union hold-outs in the construction industry. Johnson, despite his New Deal record on other matters, never could wax enthusiastic about unions. In 1948, during his second bid for the Senate seat he now holds, Johnson mounted a massive oratorical offensive against organized labor. He did this without reference to principle, but because his chief opponent, Coke Stevenson, had won the endorsement of the Texas AFL. That the AFL should have supported anyone as politically neanderthal as Stevenson is understandable only to those who knew the AFL before the merger. At any rate, the Texas CIO, despite Johnson's blasts, stuck with him because, as one former official put it, "At least Johnson believed in the federal government."

Johnson accepted the votes that the CIO got him. Since he won by only 87 votes in the entire state it might be said that the CIO elected him. But he stumped the state declaring his passionate belief in Taft-Hartley and demanding that Stevenson do likewise.

Since then Johnson's record on labor has been ambiguous. According to a compilation of voting records by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, Johnson had, by 1956, voted against labor three times and for it only twice on the five roll call votes selected as most crucial to unionism.

One of these votes was against a minimum wage increase to 75 cents an hour. Another was in favor of an

amendment urging President Truman to use Taft-Hartley against striking steelworkers. A third was a vote against giving the Secretary of Labor, rather than local authorities, the right to fix minimum wages on interstate highway construction. This measure was of direct importance to building trades unions who knew that locally established rates would almost always be lower than those set by the federal government. It was also of direct interest to contractors—like Brown and Root.

More recently, in 1954, Johnson voted in favor of the big corporation farmers and against the interests of labor and agricultural workers when he backed a bill authorizing Uncle Sam to recruit cheap Mexican labor for farm factories.

On the other hand, it must be appreciated that Johnson is not "anti-labor" in the same sense as so many of his Southern colleagues. His recent performance in helping liberals head off the Knowland anti-labor amendments, and a similar role he played in the Taft-Hartley amendment fight in 1954, help balance the record somewhat.

Labor lobbyists and leadership have remained, on the whole, skeptical of Johnson. It is interesting, however, to note that recently George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, spent some time discussing labor legislation with Johnson. The crusty ex-plumber is reported to have been "seduced" by the Texan's amazingly effective charm and his political assurances. The meeting dispelled some of Meany's tough-minded aloofness toward Johnson.

Johnson consistently opposed civil rights legislation until last summer when he brought about the dilution of the bipartisan civil rights bill. Now Johnson takes credit for passing the measure. His liberal admirers say that had Johnson not worked out a compromise, the Southerners would have filibustered and no law would have been written. Anti-Johnson liberals deny this, saying that the Southerners wouldn't have resorted to filibuster for fear that they would be licked anyway, and that the act would have increased the likelihood of a change in the Senate rules. Liberals of both parties have fought desperately to change the rules in order to weaken the filibuster weapon used so effectively by the South's extremists. Johnson has consistently opposed these efforts.

There are few civil rights votes on public record, for the simple reason that civil rights seldom reaches the Senate floor. But in one recorded vote in 1950, Johnson voted for an amendment put in by Richard Russell of Georgia. It would have expressly permitted the armed forces to maintain Jim Crow in the ranks.

One Negro view of Johnson comes from Clarence Mitchell, the astute legislative representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "Senator Johnson is a skilled manipulator, but the framework of his action comes out of Dick Russell's workshop." Whether that comment is true or not, Johnson is very close to Russell. Russell gave Johnson the votes he needed to win the post of Democratic leader in 1951. In 1952 Johnson supported Russell's bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Johnson also runs the Senate in a fashion which has done no violence to continued Southern control of its centers of power.

Johnson's job as majority leader is to keep both wings of the party working together. This he does eminently well. But what this "accommodation" does is to dilute the Democratic Party's liberal program, not merely on civil rights but on any number of other issues as well. The result is that on election day the voter is hard pressed to differentiate Democrats from Republicans on the basis of issues.

Working with the Southerners,

chipping off a few liberals here and there, and acting closely in concert with the G.O.P., Johnson has helped create a deep, perilous vortex in the center which leaves stubborn liberals isolated and ineffective, while sucking the unwary liberal into its waves. Liberals know this and complain among themselves. The Democratic National Committee knows it, too, and grumbles.

Even liberals who are eager to cover Johnson with public praise gripe privately about his lone-wolf refusal to caucus or to consult them, and his arrogance which demands that the floor be instantly relinquished whenever he wishes to speak. They complain, but they do nothing. They feel that they need Johnson and their Southern colleagues; they are not ready for any realignment which would oust the Southerners from the party. Particularly with Democratic chances for 1960 looking brighter, no one wants to rock the boat too vigorously.

Finally, some liberals apply another test to Johnson, that homily about liberalism beginning at home. For one of the things which has made Johnson a great many enemies (and enemies who are strategically located) has been his shortsighted opposition to the development of a truly liberal Democratic Party in Texas. Lone Star Democrats have been split for a generation. Today, however, for the first time, a liberal nucleus of some substance is developing in their midst. It calls itself DOT—Democrats of Texas. DOT gets its chief impetus from organized labor, young energetic intellectuals, and from the Negro and Mexican communities.

In a showdown fight against ultrarightist Allan Shivers in 1956, Johnson won control of the state party machinery. He promptly used it to stifle DOT influence. At the same time he declared an amnesty for ex-Shivercrats, who have been voting Republican in Presidential elections, while marching under the Democratic banner. Some Shivers backers turned up prominently on the Johnson for President Committee that arranged his favorite son candidacy in 1956. The result has been to surround, isolate, and weaken the DOTs.

Moreover, Johnson must view with some apprehension the rising fortunes of Texas' new Senator, Ralph Yarborough. Yarborough is the first Texas Senator to owe a good deal of his success to the state's burgeoning labor movement. He has many friends among the DOTs.

Johnson perhaps senses that Yarborough's victory marks the end of an era in Texas politics. The state has been undergoing subtle, but profound, changes. For example, between 1939 and 1953, according to the best estimates, union membership in Texas multiplied 240 per cent. The AFL-CIO's latest figures place union membership in Texas at 335,000 in 1953. It has grown substantially since then, too, as labor has followed the influx of the new petrochemical and aircraft plants. Moreover, it has not been the old line building trade unions (who have it in them to endorse a Coke Stevenson), but the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers and the United Auto Workers who have made the significant gains. These are unions steeped in the militant traditions of the CIO. Both have been actively breaking down anti-Negro job discrimination.

Organization, urbanization, and other changes are all brought into focus by a small but angry and courageous weekly paper supported by the DOT. The *Texas Observer* has not only kept Johnson and state officials jumping with its alert coverage of the state political scene, but has been outspokenly liberal on such hot issues as civil rights and McCarthyism.

The march of industrialization across Texas may force Johnson to re-evaluate his role in state politics and may open the door to a more liberal stance in Washington. This tendency could be reinforced by a solid liberal stance in the elections this fall. If the Senate's liberal contingent is augmented enough, it will help offset the Southerners, and either permit —or compel—Lyndon to shift ground.

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Apr. 26, 1959
Congress

The Big Dilemma: Conscience or Votes

Should a legislator always use his own best judgment? Or should he let himself be swayed by the best judgment of the voters back home?

By WILLIAM BENTON

SHOULD a legislator compromise his principles in order to be a successful politician? How far should he go in order to be elected? Is it enough to be right most of the time, but to yield, on occasion, to the predilections or even the prejudices of his constituents?

Many people have asked me about the dilemma implicit in these questions which has puzzled students of politics since representative government began. But, paradoxically, I have found that legislators themselves are much less puzzled—and not because they are morally insensitive. The problems they actually confront, either as candidates or as lawmakers, are rarely black-and-white issues of conscience. Almost always they are questions of prudence and judgment—the height of a tariff or a subsidy, the size of a budget item, or, more particularly, the best tactics for advancing a particular cause in the face of opposition from colleagues or from constituents at home.

Nevertheless, the classic dilemma has a new relevance. Issues of civil and human rights—for example, segregation—tend to fall in the category of conscience, and these are critically important today. We had a dramatic example last November in the write-in, paste-in blitz that unseated Representative Brooks Hayes in the Little Rock district because his record, his campaign and his conscience had classified him as a "moderate" on race issues.

It has been said that I was myself defeated in 1952 on an issue of conscience because I had insisted on denouncing Senator McCarthy and on demanding his expulsion from the Senate. The parallel is valid only in that I was willing, on principle, to take publicly a position that seemed politically dangerous at the time. As it turned out, I lost because 1952 was an Eisenhower year, not on the McCarthy issue, and I ran well ahead of the national ticket.

IN the corridors of the Capitol in Washington one hears it said occasionally that if a Congressman votes "right" 95 per cent of the time—that is, in accordance with his own best judgment—he can afford to be "wrong" on 5 per cent of his votes—that is, against his own judgment or conscience—in seeking to serve some particular end, including his re-election. (He is supposed to console himself that his defeated opponent would doubtless have done worse.) The same formula has been said to apply to a campaign in which the candidate is forced to take controversial stands.

Is this attitude justifiable? Can such "wrong" votes be defended?

I invited some of my former colleagues to share in this discussion. They tend to focus on the question, should a legislator, once elected, compromise as a matter of practical politics in order to push necessary legislation through? They see this as closely intertwined with the question, should a legislator compromise his principles in order to be elected?

None of these colleagues will openly admit that a principle should ever be abandoned, under any circumstances. Almost all would agree with the formulation of Prof. T. V. Smith, the philosopher-politician, who wrote: "A politician is a man who can compromise an issue without compromising himself, and who can in a pinch give an issue away without giving himself away."

Two thoughtful Republicans who have just retired—voluntarily—after distinguished careers in Congress come to different conclusions about the issue of conscience and compromise as applied to segregation. I have worked intimately with both. They are men of high principle. Senator Ralph Flanders of Vermont, who seemingly does not want to see Governor Faubus in the Senate, writes me:

"There is a saying to the effect that 'a Senator's first duty is to get re-elected.' This sounds a bit cynical, but there is a real vein of truth in it.

"If I were a Southern Senator and were facing the Little Rock situation, I would be strongly moved to avoid the extreme segregationist position, but would also avoid crusading for anti-segregation. I would join the moderates so far as seemed safe and hope for re-election, knowing that if I were defeated in the primaries my place would be taken by a rabid segregationist."

REPRESENTATIVE John Vorys of Ohio, who was the intellectual leader of the Republican minority interested in foreign policy in the House, says:

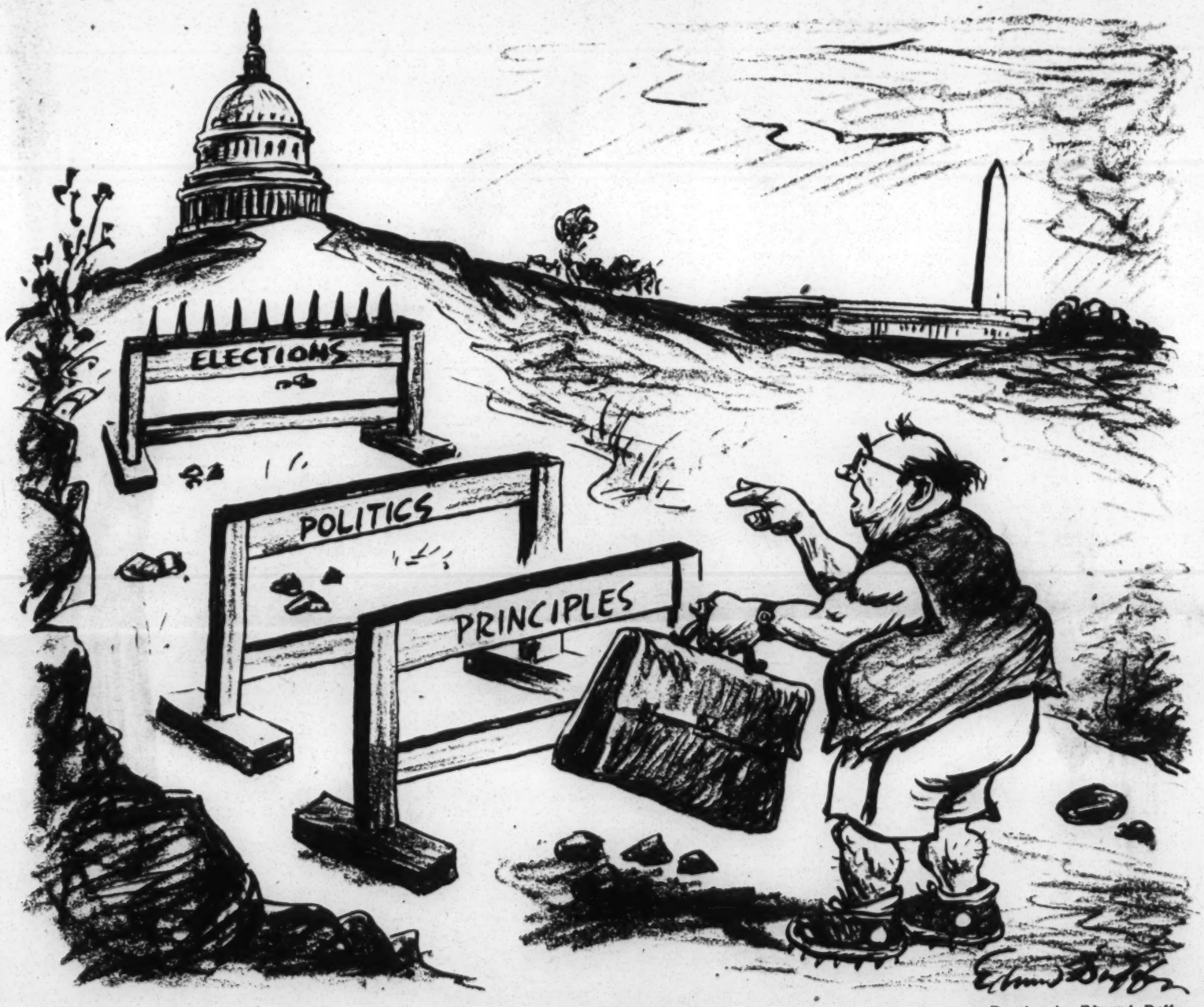
"I am extremely cautious about calling political decisions moral issues. On the other hand, I think that Congressmen and Senators are expendable rather than indispensable, and no Congressman or Senator should cast a vote he knows is wrong in order to be re-elected. It makes no difference whether the wrongness is on a moral, legal, economic or other issue.

"As Edmund Burke said: 'Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.'

"Taking the example you mention, I think that if a Southern Senator is opposed morally to segregation he should vote his convictions and take his medicine. For one thing, he might be surprised to find how many people admire that kind of courage."

TWO of my correspondents cited the vote on the 1957 Civil Rights Bill and reached opposite conclusions. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, never one to shirk an unpopular cause and one of the most courageous men in the history of the Senate, argues that the politician's "dilemma" can usually be resolved if he works hard enough at informing his constituents. He writes:

"Too often and too readily politicians—when they vote against something they know is in the public interest—fall back upon *(Continued on Page 83)*



Drawing by Edmund Duffy.

It's a Tough Course.

WILLIAM BENTON, a former U. S. Senator from Connecticut and Assistant Secretary of State, publishes the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

The Big Dilemma: Conscience or Votes

(Continued from Page 12)

the excuse that 'I know it is right but people don't understand it.'

"What these politicians don't understand themselves is that it is part of their function in representative government to get the facts across to the people so they *will* understand. Instead, they become panhandlers for votes. We have many in public life who are afraid or unwilling to be defeated. Winning is their only goal, not true public service."

Senator Morse is certain he could not have been re-elected to the Senate in 1956, in the face of the Eisenhower landslide, if public opinion, which had opposed some of his votes when he cast them, had not later swung over to his view.

HAVING battled for civil rights throughout his career, he was nevertheless the only Senator outside the South who voted against the 1957 Civil Rights Bill. Here is an example of his individuality and his spirit. He says:

"Of course, I recognize the need for compromise in legislation. But the Civil Rights Bill of 1957 was passed because members of Congress wanted to be on record as having voted for something with that title; their bill actually compromised the civil rights guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment. I do not accept the view that such a compromise of principle is ever justified. When a principle is compromised it is destroyed and all that is left is a statement of expediency.

"'But,' says the doubter, 'when does the legislator know when he is dealing with a matter of principle?' The answer is that his brains and conscience always tell him so, and he always knows when he has compromised a principle."

Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, one of the most able, experienced and humble men in public life, reached a different conclusion about the same measure:

"The House had passed a Civil Rights Bill. It came to the Senate. The Judiciary Committee was bypassed and the bill came at once to the Senate floor. Some Senators were determined to try

to pass a Civil Rights Bill with the strongest possible language and the most drastic provisions. They could have adopted all their amendments, perhaps, but could never have passed the bill * * *.

"I became disturbed at the situation because I wanted a Civil Rights bill passed. * * * I talked it over with Senator Lyndon Johnson and out of our conference came my approach to Senator George Aiken of Vermont, whom I greatly admire. We developed an amendment and were subsequently joined in it by a third co-sponsor, Senator Francis Case of South Dakota.

That amendment to Section III was not pleasing to those who preferred defeat of the bill to any compromise, but it was adopted by the Senate and paved the way for adoption of another amendment previously offered by Senator O'Mahoney and others. When the amending process was finished the Southerners realized they could not successfully filibuster against the revised bill * * *.

"Maybe the Civil Rights bill was not everything it ought to be; maybe it will need to be amended in view of Little Rock and other spots. That will, however, come easier because of abuses which followed the passage of civil rights legislation by the Eighty-fifth Congress and will be much easier than would have been the case had the no-compromise faction had its way and no bill resulted."

SENATOR Johnson of Texas, widely admired as Majority Leader of the Senate, writes me:

"The real issue is not whether a man should compromise—because I do not believe in compromising a principle—but whether he should insist on asserting his position aggressively on every single issue that comes along.

"Everybody is fond of quoting Clausewitz' dictum, 'War is politics carried on by other means.' The reverse is also true that politics is war carried on by other means. When it is viewed in that perspective the answer becomes somewhat more readily apparent. It would be ridiculous to say that a captain of infantry out on a scouting expedition should charge into a regiment that he meets unexpectedly.

"Nobody would expect him to do so. In fact, he would be court-martialed if he did anything other than the sensible thing, which is to fall back to the main body of troops and gather his forces so he can be ready for action when action is feasible.

"The captain of infantry has not 'compromised' his position because he refused to sacrifice his men or his followers by fighting under impossible circumstances. Similarly, I do not think

(Continued on Following Page)

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

that the political leader should be accused of 'compromising' his position because he too refused to fight on impossible terrain. It is essential for a political leader to be able to pick the terrain and the time upon which he will give battle."

Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, majority leader of the House of Representatives, whose job requires him to steer legislation through the House, seems to agree with Senator Johnson. He writes:

"As between partial progress and no progress, it seems to me that the constructive mind takes the road of progress.

"I never place myself mentally in the position of compromising principle and conscience. But there are times when I might harmonize differences in order to make progress, or maintain unity, and then start the journey from there.

"The extent of 'compromise' or 'harmonization' depends upon the circumstances of each case, the atmosphere, the strength of the opposition, as well as the support for a measure, and other factors. But sometimes there can be no 'compromise' or 'harmonization,' such as the extension of the Selective Service Act in 1941, three months before Pearl Harbor."

SENATOR John F. Kennedy's book, "Profiles in Courage," written in 1955, consists of case studies of political courage in the Senate going back to 1803. He finds that it sometimes takes courage to compromise. He writes in his book:

"We shall need compromises in the days ahead, to be sure. But these will, or should be, compromises of issues, not of principles. We can resolve the clash of interests without conceding our ideals* * *. Compromise need not mean cowardice. Indeed, it is frequently the compromisers and conciliators who are faced with the severest tests of political courage as they oppose the extremist views of their constituents. It was because Daniel Webster conscientiously favored compromise in 1850 that he earned a condemnation unsurpassed in the annals of political history."

PRESSURE—In advancing worthy causes legislators must at times face the danger of opposition by their constituents. Here, voters from home wait in the Senate lobby to buttonhole their Senators.

Senator Kennedy now writes me:

"I think even more now than I did in 1955 that the politician faces this dilemma more than the member of any other professional or occupational group. Others face different moral choices perhaps, wondering when a compromise is one of accommodation or one of principle—but no one else has to do it in such a glare of publicity, or in such an irretrievable manner, on a permanent record, and with only the answer of an 'aye' or 'nay' to choose between."

This last point is of high importance. There are no footnotes in the voting record; each vote is the monosyllable "aye" or "nay." The business executive seldom faces such dilemmas. His mistakes tend to be buried in the over-all record of profit and loss—or at least they can be explained in his annual report.

* * *

IN my opinion, these statements by Senators and Congressmen (and others like them I have not quoted) deserve the highest respect, even from those who may disagree.

Further, my own experience as a legislator persuades me that Congressmen are fully justified in intermingling the question of campaign policies and tactics with the question of legislative policies and tactics. The two are inseparable. The great majority of legislators who are elected in a given year in the United States—Federal, state and local—have been *re*-elected. From the moment they were first sworn in as legislators they were running for re-election and this is seldom out of their thoughts. Each must run on his legislative record; he knows his next opponent will scrutinize that record with a magnifying glass.

FINALLY, the issues that actually confront a legislator are rarely simple. When a major bill reaches the floor it is a long, complex document. If a Congressman or Senator disagrees with some aspect of it, he may seek to amend that aspect from the floor—but it is usually an exercise in futility. Generally he must cast his "aye" or "nay" on its *net* value.

In my judgment it is often impossible for a legislator clearly to separate considerations of prudence from moral principles. Indeed, he must frequently fall back on prudence if he is to advance his moral principles.

One of America's greatest social thinkers, the late Prof. Robert Redfield, discussing progress toward race equality, pointed out that a right and moral action may in some circumstances defeat or postpone the social end it is intended to serve.

Abraham Lincoln never doubted that slavery was wrong. Yet in December, 1860, a month after his election as President, he offered to guarantee to the Southern states, in perpetuity, their right to a slave system, providing they agreed there should be no extension of slavery in the territories. Lincoln hoped that this offer might avert civil war; and undoubtedly he hoped also that the slave system would in time dissolve and disappear.

The danger in the argument for prudence is that, for those of us who are less than Lincolns, it can be an excuse for weakness. Like most other men, politicians too often underestimate the long-range values of boldness and stubbornness in defense of an ideal. Gandhi can be an example as well as Lincoln. Gandhi won because he was bold and stubborn and preferred jail to compromise.

I am so impressed with this danger that I cannot personally agree with any argument to the effect that a legislator need be morally right only 95 per cent of the time—and can thus give away the other 5 per cent even if it involves an affront to his conscience.

ULTIMATELY, each member of Congress must make his own decision each time a matter of principle arises—to compromise or not to compromise, to stand fast or to yield ground in the belief that his action will help achieve the desired final goal. His burden is that he must make the decision again and again and again—and not just once in a moment of emotional intensity—for there may be some 200 "aye" or "nay" roll-call votes each year plus hundreds of votes in committee or elsewhere, any one of which may involve a "moral choice."

A whole nation will be watching. But for each member of Congress the decisions, whatever they may be, must be taken in the solitude of heart and mind and conscience.

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Washington Merry-Go-Round

Tacoma Times 5/21/59

How Strings Are Pulled to Aid Strauss

By DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON — The big push to confirm Adm. Lewis Strauss as secretary of commerce has been directed backstage by George Humphrey, erstwhile secretary of the Treasury and crown prince of the M. A. Hanna industrial empire.

Drew Pearson

Just as Humphrey's economic ideas had a way of becoming President Eisenhower's economic policies, the men he favors seem to find their way into key administrative posts in the Eisenhower economy. It was his recommendation that led to Strauss' appointment as secretary of commerce. Here is what Humphrey is doing now to push the appointment through the Senate:

Humphrey pulled the strings that sent Ohio's ex-Sen. John Bricker scurrying back to the Senate last week to urge Strauss' confirmation.

Through Bricker, Humphrey arranged to make the confirmation fight a party issue. A party-line statement was drawn up by Bricker's former aide, John McElroy, who had stayed on in Washington as GOP counsel to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee. Big Andy Schoeppel of Kansas, senior Republican on the committee, read the statement into the record. Then Sen. Thruston Morton of Kentucky, GOP national chairman, and Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, former GOP national chairman, cracked the party whip over Republican colleagues.

A power in Ohio politics, Humphrey brought political pressure on Ohio's Democratic Sen. Frank Lausche to vote for Strauss.

Apple Outing

HUMPHREY arranged for Strauss to be invited by Virginia's apple-cheeked Sen. Harry Byrd as the only outsider to his annual apple outing for Southern senators. Byrd's son, Harry Jr., just happens to hold a lucrative job in one of Humphrey's subsidiary companies, Industrial Rayon.

Finally, Humphrey has brought hidden economic pressure on both senators and newspapers to support Strauss.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the powerful Republican business leader can stampede the Democratic majority leader into confirming his man.

Strauss' government staff has also been lobbying behind the scenes for his confirmation. Joe Fox, a former Washington Star editor now working for the Commerce Department, showed up in the Star's editorial rooms to urge the Star to support Strauss. Others have been telephoning influential friends and slipping around to see senators.

Rights Issue

SENATE GOP Leader Everett Dirksen has received word from the White House to oppose Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson's proposed conciliation service for settling civil rights problems. Many moderates considered it an important step toward better race relations.

The House Appropriations Committee voted 13 to 7 behind closed doors against a manpower freeze on the Army and Marine Corps. By a two-vote margin, the committee also approved a $200 million modernization program for the Army. At the same time, the committee turned down, 10 to 8, the Navy's request for funds to build a supercarrier.

The tobacco industry has been jolted by the sobering news that cigaret-smoking Arthur Godfrey and cigar-smoking Gen. Nate Twining have lung cancer. Philip Morris has already abandoned all advertising claims that cigarets are cancer free. Instead it is building a $3,000,000 research laboratory in Richmond, Va., to remove cancer-causing tars from cigarets. Meanwhile, the company will produce "ventilated" cigarets, punched full of holes above the filter tip, to cut down on tars.

Russia's Prime Minister Mikoyan and Deputy Premier Koslov both want to come to New York to open the Soviet trade Fair June 30. Mikoyan seems to like the USA, wants to come back. But Koslov says he hasn't been here and it's his turn. . . . U. S. Ambassador Thompson has warned that Dictator Khrushchev does not have the Presidium's full support for summit negotiations. He must come back from the summit conference with a political victory or face serious opposition inside the Kremlin.

Congress IUD Digest, Spring, 1961

Curbing the 'Willful Six'

Immediately following the close of the 1960 post-convention session of Congress, a group of Northern and Western Democrats made it clear that they would lead the fight to "curb the power of the 'willful six.' "

The liberal bloc—known as the Democratic Study Group—was leveling a not-so-new attack upon the House Rules Committee because of the committee's ability to frustrate social welfare legislation.

Main target of the attack—"the willful six"—was a conservative coalition of four Republicans and two Democrats with the necessary votes to obtain a tie on the 12-man committee and thereby pigeonhole proposed bills slated for House action.

Under Congressional operating procedure, the Rules Committee has earned its title as the "Third House." Conceived as a traffic cop that would control the flow of legislation to the floor, the Committee has instead operated as a handmade tool whereby a small conservative minority can throttle the will of the majority.

Any proposed legislation that does not meet the approval of Representative Howard W. Smith (D., Va.), the Committee's chairman, stands little chance of coming to a House vote. An ardent supporter of states' rights, Smith vigorously opposes federal aid programs, civil rights, and all wel-

fare measures that remind him of the New or Fair Deals.

Colleagues on the Committee who shared Smith's views were: William Colmer (D., Miss.), GOP Representatives Leo E. Allen (Ill.), Clarence Brown (Ohio), B. Carroll Reece (Tenn.), and Hamer Budge (Ida.). Since these five, plus Smith, made up half the Committee, the remaining six members—all Democrats—found it impossible to overcome a bill-burying tie vote.

Budge has since been defeated, being replaced by Ralph Harding, a youthful Democrat. Allen did not choose to run for reelection. Both Budge and Allen are certain, however, to be replaced on the Rules Committee by two

other highly conservative Republicans in the upcoming 87th Congress.

The results of the election reinforced the conservative coalition that has dominated the House of Representatives. This may well be interpreted by Smith and other Southerners as a signal for an even harder position in refusing to report out liberal and welfare legislation.

But Smith is anything but a fool. He knows that he is confronted with an Administration that has a serious stake in achieving a positive legislative record. While liberal ranks have been reduced, Smith knows that Northern Democrats will rally to the Kennedy Administration's call.

Aware of the strategic power of his position and sensitive to cries of rebellion, Smith has usually made sure that at least a minimum of welfare proposals reach the House floor. He will, if necessary, vote to report out some bills in order to show token willingness to cooperate with Democratic Congressional leaders.

Smith knows that should he overstep his role, a new Congress, with the cooperation of the Democratic leadership, could strip him of his virtual veto power and thus deprive him of his authority. It was for this reason and probably no other that during the 86th Congress the Rules Committee finally reported out a civil rights bill.

As a longtime representative of the South, the Rules Committee chairman would be the first to admit that a handful of Congressmen and Senators in key positions can control the ultimate form of most Capitol Hill legislation.

A former Virginia circuit court judge before his election to Congress in 1931, the 77-year old Smith has carefully avoided an open fight with the Democratic Party. While sabotaging the liberal wing of his party at every opportunity, he has never admitted to any GOP allegiance. He will, for example, condemn the Democratic Party platform every four years, but has never publicly advocated election of the Republican national ticket.

Sat on Hands

Instead, in 1952 and 1956, he sat on his hands and refused to endorse Stevenson. His action, coupled with the similar tactics of Senator Harry F. Byrd, threw Virginia to President Eisenhower in both years, but Smith was never accused of an open bolt. In 1960, Smith and Byrd again refused to endorse the Democratic Party candidates.

The "Judge" may violently oppose the Democratic ticket and its platform, but an outright switch to the GOP would be disastrous for himself and for the "Southern cause." It would mean not only the loss of his Rules Committee chairmanship, it would also mean—if other Dixiecrat leg-

islators took the same action—the end of the present seniority system that gives the Southern Democrats their Congressional power.

Senator James Eastland (D., Miss.) stressed this point during the 1960 Presidential campaign in a statewide Mississippi television appearance financed from his own pocket.

Waving a handful of papers that he identified as civil rights bills, Eastland said: "They're all dead because we've got legislative positions to do something about them. If I were to bolt the Democratic Party I would be removed as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee." He warned that "the South would collapse like a house of cards" were it ever to lose its pre-eminence in any Democratic Congress.

Facts of Life

Last October, as Vice-Presidential Candidate Lyndon Johnson whistle-stopped through the heart of Dixieland, reporters noted that after brief conferences with the Senate Majority leader the party's political leaders openly supported the national ticket.

The reporters found it reasonable to assume that Johnson was citing "the political facts of life" and threatening Congressional upheaval if the Dixiecrats didn't voice at least half-hearted endorsement of the national ticket. Since Democratic control of the 87th Congress was accepted by the "pros" long before election, Johnson's warning fell on sensitive ears and the great majority of Southern political leaders stepped into line.

Usually able to avoid outright conflict, the Dixiecrats may well have overreached themselves during the last half of the 86th Congress. In the session that ended prior to the national conventions, the Rules Committee successfully blocked both school construction and housing legislation. These two measures—labeled "must" bills by the Democratic leadership—never reached the floor of the House despite indications that both proposals would have received the necessary votes for passage.

During the Democratic convention, the problem created by the Rules Committee received special attention in the party's platform.

Angered by "Judge" Smith's ability to detour the Democratic program, the platform drafters included a section that advocated action "at the beginning of the 87th Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails . . . without being blocked by a minority in either house."

If the liberal wing of the Democratic Party was determined to take remedial action before the special session of the 86th Congress, its determination was greatly strengthened during the abortive August session. Acting as though it had never heard of the Kennedy-Johnson program, the Rules Committee was instrumental in seeing that no social legislation was adopted.

Bottled-Up

School construction, housing, minimum wage, liberalization of construction worker picketing restrictions, and health care for the aged legislation urged by the Democratic Party candidates all were either weakened beyond recognition or simply bottled up by the Rules Committee's conservative coalition.

Liberal Democrats made no attempt to blame the special session's failure solely on the Republicans. The Democratic Study Group bluntly held the "willful six" to be "largely responsible for the collapse of Senator Kennedy's legislative program" and members of the Group promised to conduct an all-out battle to curb the Rules Committee during the next Congress.

One of the Democratic Study Group's members—Representative Gerald T. Flynn (Wisc.)—publicly attacked the Rules Committee during a radio interview. A freshman Congressman, Flynn—since defeated—charged that the Rules Committee "is blocking new ideas, blocking new programs, blocking legislation in the interests of the people."

Acknowledging the possibility of retaliation for his public criticism of Congressional procedure, Flynn declared that "many members of Congress are fearful. . . . They are afraid to stand up in a battle with leadership and demand a change. . . . They are afraid of their committee appointments, their advancements, and so forth. . . ."

He added that "the people who elected me sent me down here to fight. . . . I am going to see that those rules are changed and the members of that committee . . . have to answer to the American people."

Flynn's attack brought immediate repercussions. GOP Rules Committee member Clarence Brown told Chairman Smith that he was "incensed" at the broadcast and suggested that the "Judge" obtain a transcript of the program.

A few days later, taking advantage of a large audience on the

House floor, Smith defended the committee record and chastised the freshman Representative from Wisconsin. He asserted that "90 percent of [my] committee hearings result in rules being granted clearing bills for floor action."

In an answering statement, Flynn pointed out that "it may be that only 10 percent of the bills coming before the Rules Committee are denied a hearing on the floor . . . but it is in this 10 percent area that the important bills affecting the public and the people of this country lie." Flynn refused to apologize for his radio remarks and reiterated his intention to work to curb the Committee's power.

While liberal Democrats often have attacked the Rules Committee in the past, they have seldom been able to translate their frustration into effective action. Striving for Democratic harmony, the party's leadership has given the liberals verbal assurances, but has failed to follow through with effective action.

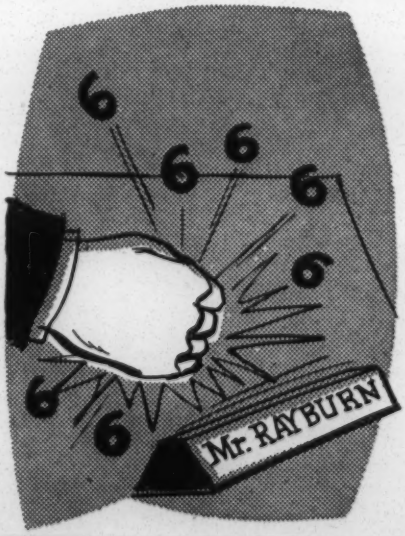
At the start of the 86th Congress in January 1959, the Democratic Study Group, numbering some 100 Representatives, attempted to amend the Rules Committee procedures, only to be blocked by Speaker Sam Rayburn.

The Speaker quelled the would-be rebellion by assuring the liberals that "legislation which has been duly considered and reported by legislative committees will be brought before the House for consideration within a reasonable period of time."

Rayburn's position is reported to have changed as a result of the Rules Committee actions during the special session. The *Wall Street Journal* claimed that following a futile conference on housing legislation at the end of August, Rayburn "pounded his fist on his desk . . . and angrily asserted, 'I'll never let the Rules Committee get away from my control again.' "

Leadership Anger

The *Journal's* report was substantiated by a story in the *Christian Science Monitor* that found Rayburn "privately vowing to curb the Rules Committee" and Senate Majority Leader Johnson "red-hot and angry" over the way



the Committee turned the special session "into a shambles."

Senator Kennedy is known to favor a change in the Rules Committee. Following a pre-election meeting with Kennedy, Representative Lee Metcalf (D., Mont.), leader of the Democratic Study Group, said that Kennedy had agreed to support the drive to revamp the Committee. According to Metcalf, Kennedy recognized that liberal legislation called for in the party platform could be enacted only if the Committee's roadblocks were overcome.

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, despite his attempts to portray himself as a staunch believer in social welfare legislation, went on record in opposition to Rules Committee changes, reflecting the real GOP position. Speaking in Richmond, Va., during the campaign, Nixon promised that he would fight all efforts to curtail the Committee's power. He pointed out that during previous efforts to change the Committee's procedure, he had consistently voted to maintain the present structure and rules.

The Rules Committee has not always existed as it does today. At the turn of the century, it was actually more dictatorial. As Speaker, "Uncle Joe" Cannon served as Committee chairman and handpicked his fellow-members.

In 1910, the late Senator George Norris (R., Neb.), then a House member, led a successful revolt against what he called "Cannonism." As a result, the size of the Committee was limited to 12 members, the Speaker was excluded, and members were elected by the full House—usually after being selected by respective party caucuses.

Roosevelt "Purge"

During Roosevelt's first term, and following his famed "100 days," the President ran into increasing opposition from the Rules Committee. Under the chairmanship of Representative Basil O'Connor (D., N.Y.), a coalition pigeonholed the first minimum wage bill for over a year.

Instead of attempting to revise the House rule, Roosevelt decided to set an example by "purging" O'Connor from Congress. In the 1938 elections, O'Connor was defeated, although every one of the other "purge" attempts failed.

The next attempt to change the Committee came in 1945 when the LaFollette-Monroney Committee on Reorganization of Congress recommended that a limit be placed on the time that the Committee could bottle up legislation. Representative Christian Herter (R., Mass.), now Secretary of State, led the unsuccessful fight to change the rules.

Four years later, the Democratic 81st Congress, voting in recognition of Harry S. Truman's surprise election victory, adopted

a 21-day rule by a 275-143 margin. Under this rule, the House could call any bill to the floor after it had been held by the Rules Committee for three full weeks.

In the next Congress, however, the threat of fair employment practices legislation was strong enough to repeal the 21-day rule. The vote to repeal was identical with the vote for original passage—275-143.

The next attempt to revise the Rules Committee came in 1957 when the then Representative Eugene McCarthy (D., Minn.) handed a petition signed by 80 Congressmen to the Democratic leadership. The petition urged adoption of a more "progressive program" and necessary changes in House procedure. It was this manifesto that led to the creation of the Democratic Study Group.

With the Rules Committee basically unchanged since 1910, the House has only two remedies for prying legislation away from the conservative coalition. Although both of these procedures have been used successfully in the past, they require overwhelming House approval instead of a simple majority action.

One method—known as "Calendar Wednesday"—requires consent of the Speaker and usually a number of other committee chairmen. Since the seniority system has placed Southern Democrats in many of these chairmanships, consent is often difficult to obtain.

Under "Calendar Wednesday," the Speaker may call upon chairmen to report any bills passed by their committees directly to the House floor. The committees are called alphabetically, so that an Education and Labor Committee bill, for example, that has been bottled up by the Rules Committee, cannot be reported if Agriculture, Appropriations, Armed Services, Banking and Currency, or District of Columbia committees do not pass.

"Judge" Smith, who makes the final determination on the progress of bills stemming from these other committees, can often "pass the word" and block floor action. In the example cited above, Smith can usually find a willing ally among such chairmen as Harold Cooley (N.C.), Carl Vinson

(Ga.), and John McMillan (S.C.).

To make matters even more difficult, a committee desiring to report out a bill also must have the cooperation of its chairman. Last year, the Education and Labor Committee could not utilize the "Calendar Wednesday" device for a minimum wage bill because its chairman—Graham Barden (N.C.)—opposed the measure. Barden refused to call a committee meeting when his fellow-members sought to instruct him to follow a majority vote.

Because of its procedural problems, "Calendar Wednesday" has never been used successfully on civil rights, but it was utilized—during the last part of the regular session of the 86th Congress—to obtain a vote and passage of depressed area legislation.

The Discharge Petition

The other way to bypass the Rules Committee is through the discharge petition. Under this system, 219 Congressmen must sign a petition before any bill can be brought to the floor.

Last year, a discharge petition was used to pry an education bill from the Rules Committee. When Smith realized that the petition would obtain the necessary signatures he reported out a bill, but when the measure was passed by the House, Smith refused to send it to a conference committee that would have compromised differences with a Senate proposal.

The problems of obtaining the necessary signatures on a discharge petition were best illustrated during the fight to obtain self-government for the District of Columbia. Proponents of the so-called "Home Rule" bill were able to get 215 Representatives to sign a petition at one time or another, but at the high point of their drive at least nine of the signers had withdrawn.

The *Washington Post and Times Herald* quoted four of those who had withdrawn their names as admitting that they had yielded to pressure. They had been told bluntly, they said, that removal of their names from the petition would speed up the progress of pet measures that they had introduced. Such pet bills usually deal with the reclamation and flood control projects considered politically important.

Faced with the practical aspects of power politics as they operate on Capitol Hill, liberal Democrats are convinced that only a change in the Rules Committee will permit passage of majority supported social legislation.

While these Democrats have not yet determined whether they will seek to change the make-up of the Rules Committee or simply to revise the Committee's procedure, they have indicated that a fight will be waged on the opening day of Congress in 1962.

Whether such a fight can be waged successfully may be determined by the actions of Speaker

Sam Rayburn, as well as the personal intervention of President-elect Kennedy. Rayburn has again pledged that he will push forward the Kennedy welfare legislative program. In the ultimate, this will probably require changes in the Rules Committee or in House procedures.

Plans formulated before the November election were predicated upon the assumption that liberal strength would not be cut. But liberals are still expected to call for the election of Rules Committee members to replace the time-honored tradition of permitting members to continue from session to session without formal vote.

Colmer Replacement?

Major purpose of this strategy would be to replace Representative Colmer—a Democratic member of the "willful six"—with a more liberal Representative. The objection to Colmer would be based not on his Committee votes, but on the ground that he deserted the party by indicating sympathy for the independent elector plan introduced by Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett.

This proposal—to handle the Rules Committee problem in the Democratic caucus—has the added advantage of sidestepping the required full House approval needed to change the Committee's numerical structure or its operating procedure. Such a maneuver would make it impossible for the Southern Democrats to count upon their usual support from Republicans.

Three other suggestions for overcoming the Rules Committee roadblock also are being considered. One would add a thirteenth member to the Committee, with the Democrats naming nine members and the GOP four, instead of the present eight-to-four ratio. By adding a liberal member, Smith's "willful six" would fall short of the necessary votes needed to kill legislation.

The second suggestion would be simply to change the rules so that a tie vote would be considered as favorable action, permitting bills to go to the floor. Like the previous proposal, this plan would neutralize the present power of the conservative coalition.

The third suggestion is to revise the 21-day rule that existed during the 81st Congress.

Changing the Committee's procedure, however, does not overcome the basic trouble—the lack of representation afforded various Congressional groups. Normally, members have been picked by naming those with long seniority. Since these Congressmen usually are advanced in years and represent "safe" districts or one-party states, they often lose touch with the will of the majority.

Of the Rules Committee members of the 86th Congress, for example, four were from the South and one from the border state of Tennessee. The addition of one vote—Clarence Brown of Ohio—gave this group almost complete control over the House despite a vast majority of Congressmen representing Northern, Western, and border states.

During the past few sessions of Congress, opening day has signalled a Senate fight to modify its filibuster rule. This coming January, the filibuster battle may be waged again, but it may have to share headlines with a long overdue fight in the House to replace antiquated parliamentary procedure with a truly democratic process.

The effect of driving poverty from the face of this nation would be tremendous—better health for us all, less crime and delinquency, more purchasing power for our goods, higher tax revenues, more sightly cities, and a shining standard of decency and dignity for all the world to see.—*John F. Kennedy*

It is very clear that the heaviest burden is being carried by those whose income is solely from wages and salaries. Income from dividends receives the benefit of a special tax credit and income from capital gains is treated even more favorably. Only a fraction of wage and salary income goes unreported on tax returns, while a much larger proportion of dividend, interest, and self-employment income escapes taxation.—*AFL-CIO President George Meany*

Wall Street Journal
Wednesday
May 13, 1964
Page 18
Congress -
House Appropriations
Committee

New Money Baron

* * * * * *

A Quiet Texan Takes Over House Appropriations Panel

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

WASHINGTON—The death of Rep. Clarence Cannon, the tough old economizer of the House, may make life a bit more placid for battle-scarred budget officers in the Executive Branch. But his absence isn't likely to open any floodgate of Congressional spending; the Federal purse strings are still gripped jealously by less famous men of almost equal power and influence.

As chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, the 85-year-old Missourian spent nearly two decades trying to outfox money-seekers in the White House and Congress alike. Mr. Cannon's colleagues, who referred to him simply as the Old Man, were fascinated and often angered by his search for new budget-cutting techniques. If outvoted, he might reorganize his 50-man committee in search of a stronger economy combination; last year, he played hob with Uncle Sam's ledgers just by encouraging a general appropriations slowdown.

"He never changed since I've been here," says a Democratic House leader with a tone of admiration. "He was always ready to tell anyone where to go from the President on down."

A Different Personality

Seniority now puts a much different personality into the Old Man's chair at the Appropriations Committee's big E-shaped table. George Mahon, a tall, 63-year-old Texan, is known in the House as a hard-working expert on the defense budget. Quiet-spoken and polite, Mr. Mahon is likely to work more in harness with the official House leadership and attempt less tinkering with Congress' complex appropriations machinery.

Even if he wanted to, however, Mr. Mahon would find it difficult to push significantly up or down the trend of Federal spending. For all his economy fervor, Chairman Cannon himself could never really dent the enormous power of his subcommittee chairmen, who control each Federal agency's budget and strongly influence Executive Branch policy as well. The names of such lawmakers as John Rooney of New York, Albert Thomas of Texas, John Fogarty of Rhode Island and Vaughan Gary of Virginia may not be household words, but in the nation's capital they are feared and famous men.

Their power is inherent in the way Congress handles the President's annual budget requests. The full House Appropriations Committee doesn't consider the budget as a whole, but splits it into bits and pieces for assignment to the 12 largely autonomous subcommittees. Each group prepares an appropriations bill for the agencies it supervises. As the House takes up each bill separately, the originating subcommittee members dominate debate on the floor. Later, they negotiate the final version of the bill with the Senate, which serves mainly as a court of appeals for Executive agencies and usually raises House figures, after that body has acted.

As chairman since 1949 of the 12-man subcommittee which handles defense appropriations, Mr. Mahon is well aware of the policymaking role that's played by lawmakers who ride herd on an agency's finances. Mr. Mahon has been giving Navy admirals an annual lecture on the importance of new weapons against Russian submarines. Such badgering, which sometimes has been accompanied by extra money, has helped encourage the Navy to upgrade its anti-sub effort and appoint a three-star admiral to oversee it.

Chairman Cannon often complained the piecemeal handling of the budget of the nearly sovereign subcommittees dulls the economy axe. But tradition and the highly individualistic personalities of the subcommittee barons also have an important influence on the annual budget wrangles.

For example, there's the proud tradition of relative non-partisanship and togetherness. Once a subcommittee agrees on a budget figure for its agency, all of its members—Democrats and Republicans alike—usually unite to prevent cuts or additions by outsiders. Mr. Cannon himself would fight a spending proposal vigorously at the subcommittee level (he was an ex-officio member of all 12 panels) but tradition required him to rally around and vote for it if the item reached the House floor.

By the time a Congressman has accumulated enough seniority to chair his own subcommittee, he's apt to develop attitudes that defy conventional "liberal" or "conservative" classification. With his rich Brooklyn accent, Rep. John Rooney may seem the very archetype of a big-city Northern liberal, and he scores pitifully low on the scorecard for conservatism kept by the Americans for Constitutional Action.

Yet Mr. Rooney is death on bureaucrats he suspects of costly empire-building. Here is Mr. Rooney belaboring Admiral Arnold Karo, director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, for wanting too much money in the new budget:

Mr. Rooney: "You were not very much impressed with what went on here last year, then. I do not think we cut you enough."

Admiral Karo: "You cut my heart out."

Mississippi's Jamie Whitten, in contrast, ranks much higher on the ACA's conservative scorecard. But Agriculture Department witnesses tend to receive gentle treatment from him, and he refuses to permit such Administration-recommended economies as halving funds for the soil-building agricultural conservation program.

A veteran subcommittee chairman often develops over the years a close working relationship with career officials in the Executive Branch. Virginia's Vaughan Gary, who on occasion has taken hard whacks at the Treasury's budget, nevertheless produced long faces among his victims by announcing his retirement from Congress at the end of this year. "I'll be sorry to see him leave," says a Treasury official. "He knows our problems."

Foundation of Influence

A subcommittee chairman's knowledge of "his" agency's activity is the foundation for his influence and prestige in the House. Not all lawmakers agree with Otto Passman's vigorous annual chopping of the foreign aid appropriation, but the Louisianan rarely loses a floor fight. "Otto is blindly prejudiced against foreign aid," says a colleague, "but he knows more about the program than any other member of the House. That's why the House usually goes along with him."

Mr. Passman's foreign aid appropriation bill is one of the few money measures yet to be completed by the House this year. Thus, Mr. Mahon won't have a chance to take command of the full appropriations cycle until next session; some clues to his direction of the full committee may emerge in January when subcommittee vacancies are filled.

And, assuming his constant re-election, it may be some years before Mr. Mahon develops his own techniques for piloting his strong-willed band of subcommittee chiefs. Tough as this job is, however, Mr. Mahon won't have to approach them with the humble respect employed by supplicating bureaucrats each year.

The story is told of a greenhorn New Frontiersman in the Commerce Department who came back from his first grilling by Rep. Rooney's group. "They didn't even listen to what I tried to tell them," the shaken ex-businessman wailed to a veteran Government career assistant.

The oldtimer gave him this advice for future use: "Don't volunteer anything. Don't try to snow them. Just say 'Yes, sir,' and 'No, sir.' "

Reluctant Leader

Civil Rights Issue Tests Mike Mansfield And His Gentle Use of His Senate Power

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By JERRY LANDAUER

EV

Taxpayers L Senate leader

NAL, FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1964

WASHINGTON—Every day, five minutes before the Senate meets, Mike Mansfield of Montana pushes his thin frame through the Senate's big, swinging doors and strides down the stair-step center aisle to the Majority Leader's front-row chair. Sometimes he'll brush off the seat with the black leather folder he invariably carries. "Want to take over?" he'll ask one in a group of waiting newsmen.

Mike Mansfield smiles when he asks an outsider to take over but he means to be taken half seriously. He is not entirely comfortable with the job of leading the warring Senate Democrats. Sometimes he wants to be simply a Senator from Montana, with time enough to compose learned speeches about foreign policy and little to worry about except beef imports or the shortage of silver dollars.

The desire to be less important than he is makes Mike Mansfield unusual among the capital's big-time politicians. He dislikes publicity, refuses to promote himself and willingly gives up authority that should be his. He is the kind of man who feels a bit self-conscious in a chauffeured limousine (a perquisite of his office) and he's reticent about accepting the honorary degrees universities bestow on success.

For all these humble qualities, Mr. Mansfield is widely admired. But, mostly in private, he is also being criticized for his willingness to let loose the strands of power that Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson pulled together and bequeathed to him in 1961.

Certain liberal Democrats, in particular, want him to drive the Senate hard, to pounce on obstructionists, to flail the Republicans and in general to set the place crackling with fervor for the Democratic Administration.

"Be a leader!" Connecticut's Sen. Dodd once demanded of him. Others complain that he lets the Senate meander aimlessly; that he allows his friend the Minority Leader, Sen. Dirksen of Illinois, to set the legislative pace; and that, compared to what it was when LBJ occupied it, the Majority Leader's post has become a cipher.

Unfair Comparison

Yet it's unfair to compare the results of Mr. Mansfield's benign, accommodating reign with the hectic, suprise-filled years of Lyndon Johnson's Senate leadership. A major difference: Because Republicans controlled the Executive branch and Dwight Eisenhower did not sketch new legislative frontiers in every direction, LBJ was his own master, going so far as to set Democratic goals in a Congressional State of the Union message. But Mr. Mansfield's performance is measured against what a Democratic President wants.

Thus comparisons are somewhat beside the point. But Sen. Mansfield clearly could do more to expedite the public business and promote the President's program. He could apply pressure by criticism. He needn't have consumed two months by bringing in the Senate at 10 a.m. for the civil rights marathon and then, eschewing late-night sessions, letting it adjourn early (the morning sessions blocked most committee meetings).

He could, moreover, dangle prized committee assignments. He could hustle through the pet bills of legislators who cooperate while refusing to schedule those sponsored by members who don't. He could leak nasty stories about the uncooperative. He could reward or discipline in countless other ways, but he won't.

Again and again he says he's only one Senator disposing of a single vote. Pleading for another's vote, he believes, is a demeaning act. To punish recalcitrants, he thinks, is not a mark of leadership but a sign of pettiness. He will exhort groups of Democrats to give their Administration the benefit of a doubt, but he will not go further.

In sum, Mike Mansfield is surely the least assertive Congressional commander in memory. Yet, there are many who believe his laissez-faire leadership may precisely fit today's Senate mood. He has, after all, helped negotiate scads of Administration bills through the Senate this session: Protection of wilderness areas, mass transit subsidies, extension of depressed areas aid, the domestic Peace Corps, youth employment programs, water pollution controls. All these are pending in the House.

In view of this productivity, few Democrats yearn for a return to the LBJ days when, as Sen. Dodd put it, the leader "orchestrated" the Senate's discordant players. On most bills, Mr. Mansfield need hardly work up a sweat; he can sit back watching the Democrats' 2-to-1 majority overwhelm

the Republicans. And if it weren't for civil rights, his job today would be easier still, for the Southern Democratic patriarchs are more tolerant toward the Texan in the White House than they were toward John F. Kennedy.

Given these advantages, Mr. Mansfield needn't be more than a traffic cop for legislation most of the time, and he doesn't aspire to a loftier role. He rarely reaches into the committees to shape bills—and he cares more about getting a committee-approved bill to a floor vote than how Senators vote.

The vote next Tuesday to end the South's filibuster against the civil rights bill is a prime example of the leader's disdain for nose-counting, an activity LBJ and his former Senate protege, the now-discredited Democratic Secretary Bobby Baker, elevated to an art. Mr. Mansfield scheduled the vote without knowing whether he commands the required two-thirds majority. If cloture isn't invoked, and if the rights bill must then be diluted, Mr. Mansfield will surely be blamed for letting impatience prompt him to strike in the dark.

Still, Mike Mansfield's noncombative, nonpartisan approach ("there are good Republicans and bad Democrats") dovetails neatly with the President's grand political strategy. LBJ would rather disarm the Republicans than clobber them. His Senate successor is well equipped by inclination and personality to execute this strategy in Congress.

Trouble With Democrats

But it's Democrats, rather than Republicans, who have given Mr. Mansfield the most distress during his 40-month reign. Sen. McClellan beat the Administration on the bill to set up a Cabinet Department of Urban Affairs. The late Sen. Kerr whipped it on "Medicare" two summers ago. Moreover, a liberal-led filibuster to stop the asserted "giveaway" of satellite communications to industry might have succeeded if Oregon's fiery Sen. Morse hadn't lost his temper. "I do not believe the Majority Leader!" Mr. Morse cried in the heat of debate; that remark sealed his defeat, because the most egregious blunder a Senator can commit is to call Mike Mansfield a liar.

For when he must, Mr. Mansfield can draw on reservoirs of strength filled over the years by fairness, by disbursing to colleagues credit that should be his, and by the universal belief that Mike Mansfield is not in politics for self-aggrandizement. In fact, as Majority Leader he pushes power away.

Take the matter of Senators' committee assignments, which are made at the beginning of each biennial Congress. The committees are really miniature Senates; they determine whether, and in what form, legislation will reach the floor. Committee decisions are rarely overruled in the Senate, for to protect their individual authority chairmen tend to vote together.

Control of the committees, obviously, is the key to control of the Senate. Before Mike Mansfield's reign, assignments were made by a coterie of elders in the Democratic Steering Committee over which the floor leader presides. Mr. Mansfield, deciding that this manner of selection was inequitable, substituted secret balloting for it. The secret ballot almost guaranteed that the leader's wishes would be ignored. At the opening of the current Congress Mr. Mansfield believed Wisconsin's Sen. Proxmire, though he opposed the Administration's tax cut plan, deserved a place on the powerful Finance Committee; in the secret ballot, Mr. Proxmire got no votes except Sen. Mansfield's.

Mike Mansfield hardly thought twice about disclosing the results of the balloting, for this son of an immigrant from Ireland is an utterly candid man. Probably the only fib to which he was ever a party involved a Navy recruiter's belief that he was 17, rather than 14, when he enlisted for World War I. After the war, he served in the Army and with the Marines in the Orient, a tour which excited a lifetime interest in Far Eastern affairs.

Back in Butte, he sweated in the copper mines as a pick-and-shovel "mucker" preparing for a delayed academic career. He crowded high school and college into four years before blossoming into a professor of Latin American and Far Eastern history at Montana State University. From there he went to the House of Representatives and, in 1952, to the Senate.

Tapped for No. 2 Post

It was Mr. Mansfield's pipe-puffing, contemplative unobtrusiveness that recommended him to Sen. Johnson when the job of whip, or deputy leader, became vacant in 1957. Mr. Mansfield was tapped for the No. 2 position, and he demonstrated no urge to share the limelight. When LBJ moved to the Vice Presidency in 1961, Mike Mansfield moved up to the leader's post.

As Mr. Johnson saw it, Mike Mansfield was, like the leader himself, another bridge between the party's Northern liberals and its Southern conservatives. The South likes him because he is not passionately involved in the agitation for civil rights; the Southwest likes him because he supports tax depletion for oil (Montana, too, is an oil-producing state); and the liberals like him because he is with them on most other controversies.

For weeks now, Sen Mansfield has fretted about the length of the South's filibuster against the civil rights bill, but he won't try to blackjack members into line, even if he could. On the only substantive vote so far (the 45-to-45 tie that defeated a Southern-supported amendment to assure jury trials for all persons accused of criminal contempt) he risked victory by caring more about honoring a commitment than about winning.

He had promised to protect the Southerners by arranging an offsetting "pair" for the absent Sen. Fulbright (D., Ark.). After the dramatic roll-call, but before the vote was announced, he scurried about to fulfill the commitment, forgetting in the bustle to send an aide after Utah's Sen. Moss, who, though prepared to vote against the amendment, didn't know the roll call was in progress. Mr. Moss ambled in too late.

Still, the 12-week-long civil rights marathon is gnawing steadily at Mr. Mansfield's latent Irish temper. No doubt the frustration of getting nowhere fast helped provoke his unusually angry public shouting match over the Bobby Baker affair with New Jersey's Sen. Clifford Case.

But as Sen. Case said afterward his brief antagonist is the gentlest and most magnanimous of men. And as the dreary Senate sessions drag on, its backlog of work growing thicker every day, Mike Mansfield will prove whether in politics, as has been said of baseball, nice guys are bound to finish last.

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Cloture's Significance

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It May Strengthen Southern Influence on Other Matters

By JERRY LANDAUER

WASHINGTON — The Senate's historic cloture vote this week was more than a warning to the South that no longer will it be allowed to handle race relations essentially free of Federal interference.

Beyond presaging enactment of the first comprehensive civil rights law since slavery ended, the vote shattered the image of invincibility built by Southern Senators over the years. For the South's leaders contributed to the humiliation of cloture. They miscalculated the odds, gambled on a strategy that backfired, pinned false hopes on Gov. Wallace of Alabama, and wound up losing most of the Republican conservatives, who held the balance of power.

In the years ahead, the result may well be a shift, gradual and gentlemanly, in leadership from the South's old guard to younger, more flexible men less wedded to preservation of Dixie's existing social order. This, in turn, could restore Southern influence in shaping future civil rights legislation (extending Federal protection of Negro voting rights to state and local elections is sure to be proposed, for example). And, by assuaging acrimony between the Democrats' Northern and Southern wings, it could strengthen the South's voice in matters unrelated to race relations.

Formidable Opposition

To understand the great civil rights debate, one must go back to early 1964. Never before had the South faced such odds: The full force of an Administration whose Southern chief needed to establish his civil rights credentials; and the combined pressure of powerful unions, numerous women's groups, scores of civil rights organizations, and, for the first time, intensive lobbying by organized religion.

To protect its segregated social system, the South had only one real weapon: The ability to delay Senate action by debating interminably. The filibuster could kill the bill unless two-thirds of the Senators were prepared, at some time, to check it by cloture.

Thus, the issue facing Sen. Richard Russell's 18-man Southern bloc when Democratic leader Mansfield moved on March 9 to take up the House-passed bill was how best to deploy the filibuster. There were, essentially, two choices.

The South could stand resolutely firm, spurning compromise, in the hope that enough border state Democrats and conservative Republicans would regard the House bill as too extreme and would help block cloture indefinitely. If cloture could not be imposed, Lyndon Johnson would have to accept a mild bill that was, in turn, acceptable to the South.

An alternative strategy was this: The South could take a flexible position, disdaining an obvious filibuster, by allowing one amendment after another to come to a vote, each sandwiched by three or four days of debate. In this way, the bill might be rewritten on the floor to make it more palatable. And if the South seemed to be trying to amend a harsh bill in good faith, the Senate's historic hesitancy to reach for cloture might yield more far-reaching concessions as the weeks rolled by.

Division of Opinion

The Southern caucus, over which Georgia's Russell presided as unofficial chairman of the strategy board, was divided. A small group to which Florida's Sen. Smathers, Arkansas' Fulbright and, to a lesser extent, Georgia's Talmadge adhered, argued for a flexible stance. But most of the older men decided to go for broke; that is, to risk total defeat by gambling for total victory.

On the tactical level, the go-for-broke strategy dictated resisting any amendments that might weaken parts of the bill somewhat but that would leave its key features intact. For if the House bill were diluted, even mildly, GOP conservatives might swing to the cloture camp. "If we can prevent the bill being watered down by amendments, we've got a good chance to defeat it all," Mississippi's Eastland reasoned.

Three developments strengthened the hard-liners in the Southern bloc: The massive volume of mail from every part of the country opposing the bill; conservative Sen. Barry Goldwater's progress toward the Republican Presidential nomination (Mr. Goldwater's close ally, Republican John Tower of Texas, sometimes sat in the Dixie caucus); and the surprising number of votes Gov. Wallace collected in the Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland primaries.

Surveying the mail and the votes Gov. Wallace gathered, many Southerners became genuinely convinced that the "white backlash" was more than a passing phenomenon, and that it would kill the bill. But the hopes which were fed by the votes for Wallace failed to materialize.

Misled by outside occurrences, the South missed one opportunity after another to seize the Congressional initiative. The best opportunity offered itself when Republican leader Dirksen of Illinois, cool to the House-passed bill, suggested amendments that would have denied the Executive branch any real role in enforcing it. Under Mr. Dirksen's original plan, the new rights given to Negroes by the bill—chiefly the legal right to equal opportunity in employment and equal access to public accommodations —would have to be asserted in court by aggrieved individuals; neither the Justice Department nor the proposed Equal Employment Opportunities Commission could help.

Senate floor, was excluded from the backstage negotiations. In those discussions, the bill was indeed diluted, but not in the direction sought by Sen. Russell. Its impact on the North was greatly softened ("The impact on three-quarters of the country is going to be nil," says New Jersey's GOP Sen. Case) and it was made to apply full-force to the South.

Isolated by Mr. Dirksen's Republicans and by Northern Democrats, the South could only fume helplessly. "There has been scurrying like rats for a hole to prevent this bill from applying to certain parts of the country," Sen. Russell complained, with some justification. But once the Administration's accord with Sen. Dirksen was sealed, cracking the filibuster was just a matter of time.

Element of Tragedy

There is a certain element of tragedy in all this for the Southern Senators. If indeed, as some predict, the bill is so harsh that its enforcement will heighten racial hostility, the Southerners are in part to blame. In a sense, they hid behind the filibuster, and whatever contribution their expertise might have made toward a better bill was lost. Gov. Wallace's showing in the primaries boxed them into inflexibility; for after praising his performance they could not, in public, seem less hard-line than he. For Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, particularly, moderation might have invited Mr. Wallace to contend for his Senate seat in 1966.

Yet the bill's certain passage offers an opportunity for the South's leaders. For years, much of their energy has been diverted to civil rights. They've bunched some of their best men on the committee that handles rights legislation. They've battled minor changes in the cumbersome Senate rules to keep their tactical advantage. And some have felt bound to support the Republicans for fear GOP conservatives would desert them in a civil rights showdown.

Responding to Mr. Dirksen's leadership, the GOP conservatives this week did indeed leave the South in the lurch; only six of 33 Republicans sided with Dixie in the cloture vote. What remained of the moribund Southern Democratic-conservative Republican coalition seems dead, and Sen. Russell's prestige has suffered badly.

But now that the big Negro rights struggle is over, the South's Senators can grasp for even greater Congressional influence. If, for example, the civil rights bogey can be overcome, the South's power in the Congressional Democratic Party would surely expand. Younger, more flexible Southerners — in particular Florida's Smathers, Georgia's Talmadge and Louisiana's Long—would grow in stature, especially if they avoided identification with the filibuster. And in the years ahead, the moderate leaders could take part in shaping civil rights legislation instead of, as in 1964, being smothered by it.

The Congressional Game

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Backers of Interest Equalization Tax Violated All the Rules

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BY ARLEN J. LARGE

WASHINGTON—If you have a bill you want Congress to pass, there is a right way to go about it. Any old-time lobbyist, for example, would give you this advice:

Be logical. Make sure your bill is consistent with your past position. It would look odd if the AFL-CIO drafted a national right-to-work bill, or the American Medical Association suddenly came out for medicare.

If your bill affects relatively few people, be sure to line up their support ahead of time. To avoid embarrassing mistakes, let them check over technical details.

Don't equivocate, once your bill is drafted. Firmly insist from the beginning that it's exactly the right way to handle the situation. Save the compromises for later, when it looks as if you may lose.

Hurry. The longer it takes to pass your bill, the more opportunities your enemies will have to set snares.

But if all this advice is so good, why does there sit on President Johnson's desk H.R. 8000, a bill imposing an "interest equalization" tax on foreign securities? From the moment it became a gleam in Treasury Secretary Dillon's eye, this Administration bill has broken all these hoary rules and more besides. Yet enough rank-and-file lawmakers voted for it to put the measure, after a 13-month Congressional journey, within range of Mr. Johnson's pen.

This is an account of H.R. 8000's unusual legislative history, with a mention of some of the special factors that allowed Administration lobbyists to throw away the rulebook.

Treasury's Activities

The story starts in the late spring of last year. Treasury boss Dillon earlier had been making some headway against the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. He and the Treasury's monetary expert, Robert Roosa, also had established themselves as apostles of freely flowing international movements of goods and capital; Mr. Roosa swore he would resign before ever agreeing to Government controls over the exchange of dollars into other currencies.

But the Treasury that spring watched with mounting worry the parade of Canadians, Western Europeans and Japanese to New York's convenient, low-cost money market. Sales of their stocks and bonds to Americans doubled and trebled over the 1960 volume, and the dollars received in payment gouged deep minus signs in Uncle Sam's international account book.

Though President Kennedy endorsed an increase in the Federal Reserve's discount rate, he wasn't keen for a clampdown on credit stringent enough to lift general U.S. interest rates out of the international bargain basement. So in early July, the Treasury came up with the plan to impose a special tax on U.S. purchases of foreign stocks and bonds. More a tariff than a revenue raiser, the tax was intended to raise the cost of money to foreigners without putting a similar pinch on domestic borrowers.

Mr. Dillon in the months that followed insisted the tax would be only a "dampener" on capital movements, not a direct form of Government control. Nevertheless, throughout the long legislative battle, securities market dealers and business groups bitterly accused the Treasury of abandoning its free market stance.

Congress Not Impressed

As it turned out these charges made little impression on Congress, and may actually have helped the bill. A strong strain of latent protectionism has run through the 88th Congress, and many lawmakers who favored a stronger anti-dumping law and meat import quotas saw nothing wrong with a tariff on money.

But certainly the benefit to the Treasury did not derive from any widespread belief that Mr. Dillon and friends had presented a case logically consistent with past positions. Nor did the Treasury pay much heed to the need to line up advance support for its "interest equalization" tax plan; in fact, those most directly affected—inhabitants of New York's money market—knew nothing about the idea until President Kennedy formally announced it to all on Thursday, July 18, 1963.

The secrecy, of course, was deemed necessary to avoid giving an advantage to securities market traders. And for this reason, drafting of the complex tax had to proceed without consultation with private securities market experts who could have been asked to spot technical pitfalls and perhaps even enlisted as supporters of the bill. The lack of technical liaison with New York required the Treasury later to keep handing Congress a long series of minor changes as the bill progressed.

As the hour of Mr. Kennedy's announcement approached on July 18, the Treasury put into motion a plan synchronized as carefully as an amphibious invasion. Messrs. Dil-

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lon, Roosa and Joseph Barr, the Treasury's lobbyist, fanned out on Capitol Hill to explain the tax to key lawmakers. Treasury messengers were posted to the offices of the New York and American stock exchanges, with instructions to deliver a copy of the President's request at the stroke of noon. Treasury representatives by prearrangement were in the offices of the finance ministers of Canada, France and Switzerland, ready to brief them on the proposal.

The bombshell effect on the world's financial capitals was gratifying proof of surprise, but it meant trouble for Mr. Dillon. Prices crashed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange, and there were market reverberations in London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris and Toronto. A swarm of high Canadian government officials cornered Mr. Dillon the weekend after the President's announcement. After some resistance, the Treasury Secretary agreed to amend the bill so that the President could grant an exemption from the tax to new issues of securities from countries threatened with financial chaos. Mr. Dillon said the loophole would fit Canada.

But by his early surrender to the Canadians, Mr. Dillon brutally violated the "Don't Equivocate" rule. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) at first wanted to deny any escape clause and remove Administration temptations to cave in under pressure to other countries. Mr. Dillon eventually calmed these fears, and the clause remains in the bill, but the whole episode wasn't very reassuring to lawmakers about the care with which the original version had been drafted.

Nor was the Treasury able to hurry its package through the legislative process. Chairman Mills' Ways and Means Committee on July 18 was preoccupied with Mr. Kennedy's tax-cutting bill. It was not until August 20 that the 25-member group could start hearings on the interest equalization tax. Mr. Dillon, the first witness, said the levy would be "effective and fair," but almost all other testimony was hostile.

"We were at our low point on the day Dillon went in to testify on the bill," recalls ex-lobbyist Barr, who is now chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. "But from there things kept improving steadily."

Tax Made Retroactive

The improvement was due in great part to a unique feature of Mr. Kennedy's original proposal: The tax, when enacted, would be retroactive to the date on which it was recommended. The Treasury even distributed forms for securities dealers to fill out, with the compliance machinery stopping just short of actually collecting the tax. Not much of this paperwork was really done, though, because trading in foreign securities withered abruptly while everybody waited to see what Congress would do.

After the August hearings, Congress did nothing. The inactivity was deceptively encouraging to securities market critics of "the law that is not a law." But the longer Congress dallied, the longer the drought in foreign securities trading continued. And by the time the Ways and Means Committee got around to considering the levy again in late October, Mr. Dillon was able to brag that the tax had proved its ability to help the balance of payments.

This "it works" theme was of great importance. Few Congressmen try to specialize in the mysteries of international finance, but many are aware of the balance of payments problem and are anxious to do something about it. By stressing the tax's results, Treasury officials in their missionary visits to lawmakers' private offices were able to win some key converts.

For example, three Republicans refused to sign the sharp GOP dissenting report when the Ways and Means Committee at last approved the bill in December. By the time the bill came to a House vote in March, even the most conservative Southerners were content to follow the lead of Mr. Mills in voting for it; the bill passed 238 to 142.

The House's experience with the tax was almost exactly duplicated in the Senate: A long period of inactivity due to the civil rights filibuster; bitter opposition from most witnesses at the eventual hearings; a revival of rumors that the bill would die; vigorous use of the "it works" pitch in Mr. Dillon's private lobbying. Also, the Treasury continued to propose scores of technical amendments to cover problems that had not been foreseen. Result: The bill that passed the Senate early this month by a vote of 45 to 28 was roughly what Mr. Kennedy had asked for.

"It's the worst bill I've seen in 14 years," exclaimed Rep. Curtis (R., Mo.) during the House debate in March. Maybe so, but "interest equalization" is about to become law —a success that ignores all the rules of the game.

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Capitol Hill Riders

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Congress Dislikes Such Amendments, But Uses Them Often

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

WASHINGTON—A new act of Congress may save George Douglas some money the next time he goes out to buy a baby elephant.

Mr. Douglas is director of the municipal zoo in New Orleans. Like public zoo-keepers across the country, he may find imported wild animal prices a little cheaper because of the bill relaxing somewhat a 7.5% Federal duty on incoming lions, leopards, snakes, monkeys, elephants and such.

Though the new law isn't as sweeping as Mr. Douglas wanted, it's possible the wild animal tariff rules wouldn't have been liberalized at all, save for one of those legislative accidents that makes the work of Congress so unpredictable.

The wild animal bill, lying dead in the Senate, was yanked dramatically to life by the utterly unrelated furor over meat imports. When farm-state Senators picked the animal measure as a legislative vehicle for a meat import quota amendment or "rider," it was spurred into a hair-raising gallop direct to the White House.

Legislating by rider is frowned upon in the procedure-conscious Congress; the technique has an often-uncontrollable effect on the bill selected as the vehicle, and it gives the appearance of unseemly haste. But the practice of attaching a piece of totally unrelated legislation to another bill is in fact employed rather often. The Senate finds the device a key weapon in its rivalry with the House and brushes with the President.

The subject matter can be vastly more important than the prices of lions and hamburger. Right now the most celebrated rider in Congress is Senate Minority Leader Dirksen's proposed rein on court-ordered reapportionment of state legislatures. The Illinois Republican has offered his reapportionment delay plan as an amendment to the foreign aid bill—selected because it's well along the road to passage and because President Johnson would be unlikely to veto it.

Sen. Dirksen has admitted it "may seem a little incongruous" to mix problems of state politics with those of the State Department, "but beggars cannot be choosers." His choice of vehicles was a blow to Sen. Fulbright (D., Ark.), who already faced plenty of trouble piloting the foreign aid measure to Senate passage. A junior filibuster by Senate liberals against the reapportionment rider has given other Senators more time to think up new anti-aid amendments. And a number of pro-aid urban House members are threatening to vote against the whole bill if it comes back from the Senate carrying the Dirksen rider.

The use of riders is a bipartisan matter. During his days as Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson showed superb legislative horsemanship. In early 1960 he wanted the Senate to start debating a civil rights bill but there was nothing to debate; the House had not yet passed a bill, and no civil rights measure could be expected from the Dixie-dominated Senate Judiciary Committee.

So, Mr. Johnson invited his colleagues to offer civil rights amendments to an innocent House-passed bill allowing school children in Stella, Mo., to hold classes in an unused Army building. In its transformed version the Stella school bill kicked off a full-blown Southern filibuster. Later the House passed its own civil rights bill that, after compromise with the Senate, became the Civil Rights Act of 1960. Having served its purpose, the Stella school bill, stripped of its amendments, went on to the White House.

Another Johnson Triumph

Mr. Johnson helped saddle up another rider that year to scamper around a House barrier to new housing legislation. The Senate had passed a big housing bill, but further action was blocked by the House Rules Committee. On the day before Congress adjourned, an emergency Senate rider extending the college housing loan program and other expiring activities was tacked onto a House-passed bill dealing with an observance of the Constitution's 175th anniversary. The rider was accepted by the House the same afternoon.

This sort of thing continues to offend many House members—especially those Rules Committee conservatives who feel it endangers their power to block undesired legislation. Rep. Colmer (D., Miss.) is sponsoring a proposed House rules change designed to hobble the rider technique: Any "ungermane" Senate amendment to a House bill would have to be approved by a two-thirds House vote instead of today's simple majority. But there's been no action on Rep. Colmer's idea, and strange amendments continue to crop up on House bills.

As with the reapportionment rider to the foreign aid bill, these amendments can mean trouble for the bills selected as the vehicles.

Rep. Keogh (D., N.Y.) thought liquor importers had a legitimate complaint about tax refunds: If defects in imported whiskey made it impossible to market the product, it was hard for U.S. importers to send the goods back and claim a refund on the excise tax they had paid to Uncle Sam. Thus, Rep. Keogh last year introduced a bill permitting an easier refund in such cases. The measure was moving slowly through Congress with no real trouble until this summer, when Sen. Hartke (D., Ind.) caused consternation among liquor importers by putting an amendment on it.

The amendment dealt with a fearfully complex tax problem for department stores using revolving credit plans. Wrangling between retail lobby groups and the Treasury over the amendment's exact wording held up Senate action on the whiskey bill during much of August. "At one point I was sure our bill would be lost," recalls M. W. Fillius, representing the National Association of Alcoholic Beverage Importers. "I was taking steps to have our bill attached as a rider to something else." This wasn't necessary as it turned out; the department store men reached a compromise and the amended whiskey bill went on to the President.

The Wild Animal Bill

Riders that bring dead bills to life are more rare. Examine more closely the history of that wild animal bill. Primarily to help an animal importer in his district, Rep. Teague (R., Calif.) last year introduced the measure making it easier for importers to claim exemption from the 7.5% duty on wild animals and birds. Such agencies as the Interior and Treasury departments had no objection to it, and the bill picked up strong support from Mr. Douglas and other zoo directors who thought it would reduce animal deaths caused by alleged customs clearance delays at dockside. The bill passed the House with little discussion Feb. 26, 1963.

But the measure soon was beset by complaints from the National Audubon Society, the Defenders of Wildlife, Inc., the Animal Welfare Institute, the Cape Henry Bird Club and the late Rachel Carson. They charged the bill would encourage scruffy roadside zoos. There was a brief hearing on the bill before the Senate Finance Committee, after which it was firmly caged up.

Last March, Senate pressures for a curb on meat imports became unrestrainable. Farm-state lawmakers despaired of getting any action from the quota-wary House Ways and Means Committee, where trade legislation ordinarily originates. So, Senate Majority Leader Mansfield (D., Mont.) asked Senate Finance Committee Chairman Harry Byrd (D., Va.) whether his panel was sitting on any House-passed trade measure to which a meat quota amendment could be attached. Only the wild animal bill was available.

Sen. Keating (R., N.Y.) was lying in ambush when the wild animal bill, carrying its meat import amendment, reached the Senate floor in late July. Echoing the complaints of the wildlife groups, he succeeded in having the original wild animal portion of the bill removed entirely. This left only Rep. Teague's original bill number, H. R. 1839, and the meat quota amendment.

Cattle industry lobbyists swarmed the Capitol for days as House-Senate conferees tried to work out a compromise meat quota plan. Only at the end did Rep. Curtis (R., Mo.), who is a constant critic of the Senate's ungermane amendments, ask his fellow conferees what happened to the wild animals. A modified provision was inserted broadening duty-free treatment for animals ultimately sold to zoos.

Mr. Douglas of the New Orleans zoo says the final version doesn't solve the problem of animals dying on the docks. "This child ain't mine," declared Rep. Teague in a comic speech to the House. The Californian says he's not sure whether to try again next year. If he does, he may once again need a timely rider to spur his bill through the Senate's jungles.

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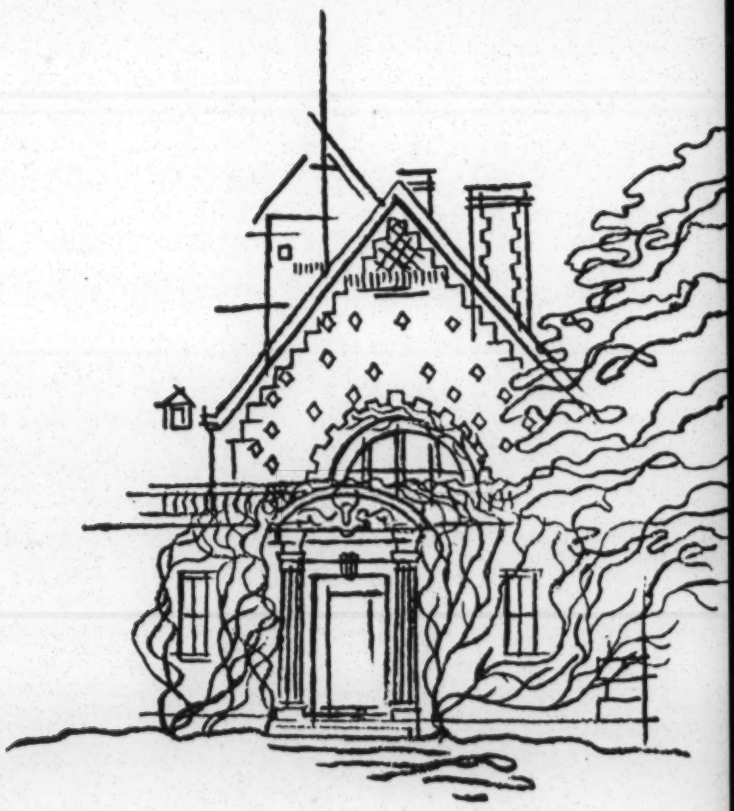
Twenty-sixth
American Assembly



The Congress and America's Future

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Creeping Congress?

Slow Legislating Pace Seen as Turmoil Marks Big Organizing Chores

Delays Likely for 'Medicare,' Excise Cuts, Education Aid Despite Big LBJ Majority

Struggles Over Leadership

BY ARLEN J. LARGE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The new Democratic Congress will approve, lickety-split, one request expected soon from President Johnson: A little extra time to submit his annual economic report, now awkwardly due on Inauguration Day.

To win the bulk of his "Great Society" legislation, however, Mr. Johnson will have to wait awhile—a wait that may seem surprisingly long in view of the massive Democratic majorities in both House and Senate.

The 89th Congress that convenes today is bound eventually to deliver handsomely for the President. But the pace of production is likely to seem disappointingly slow at times for advocates of early new doses of Federal aid to education, fast "medicare" for the aged and instant excise tax cuts. After Mr. Johnson outlines his wants in tonight's State-of-the-Union address, there will be a considerable delay while Congressional Democrats marshal the votes to put them through. In some instances the delay may stretch all the way into next year.

There are votes aplenty for a generously financed educational system, for example, which has come to be regarded as the Great Society's touchstone. But before these votes can be cast, the long deadlock over Federal aid to Catholic schools must be bypassed, even if the aid plan is narrower and more specialized than the old idea of general assistance to public schools. Before all the competing "solutions" can be reconciled, Congress may find itself well into the 1966 session.

Outlook for Medicare

Some form of hospital care for the aged financed by a compulsory payroll tax is almost sure to be approved this year. But hard bargaining still is required on its exact form; hardly anyone agrees with the forecast of Democratic Sen. Anderson of New Mexico, a longtime medicare sponsor, that a bill can be on the President's desk by Easter, April 18.

Retail merchants who are plugging for repeal of excise taxes on handbags and such by early spring will be rebuffed; passage of the excise-cutting bill will deliberately be held up until late June, to coincide with the start of the Government's bookkeeping year.

All new Congresses seem to start slowly on their two-year stints, as members spend the early months organizing committees and holding hearings on proposed bills. The wheels promise to move more slowly than usual this year, however, if only because of the huge number of newcomers brought in by November's Democratic landslide. Committee assignments must be found for no less than 71 new House Democrats, the biggest job hunt in years.

The opening organizational chores also are marked this year by unusual turmoil. Quarrelsome House Republicans meet this morning to choose between Charles Halleck of Indiana and Gerald Ford of Michigan for their leader; at about the same time, Senate Democrats will be settling an extra-sharp contest for Assistant Majority Leader between Russell Long of Louisiana, John Pastore of Rhode Island and Mike Monroney of Oklahoma. Both battles are sure to leave ill-feeling. Some Southern House Democrats already are boiling about Saturday's vote of the party caucus to yank the seniority privileges of two members—John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Albert Watson of South Carolina—who campaigned for Sen. Goldwater; Rep. Watson yesterday threatened he would pull out of the Democratic Party rather than remain a "second-class Democrat."

Milder Changes

The opening ferment could have been much greater, however, had Congressional liberals chosen to make a really ferocious assault on old traditions and procedures. The liberal Democratic Study Group in the House, rather than clip the bill-blocking power of all committee chairmen, settled for milder changes trimming the power only of the Rules Committee, which hasn't been much of a problem lately; the main change, giving Speaker McCormack authority to wrest a bill from the Rules Committee after a 21-day stoppage, was endorsed by a majority of House Democrats Saturday. Some Republican help will be needed, however, to vote it into the House rulebook today.

In the Senate, the biennial liberal attempt to make it easier to end filibusters actually promises to be less vigorous than in the past. Passage of the 1964 civil rights bill has taken much of the heat from this issue, and some liberals are discovering the filibuster's virtue as a protector of state legislative reapportionment.

The rather relaxed approach of would-be Congressional reformers, despite the expanded liberal numbers, reflects an unhurried atmosphere that generally pervades the new Congress. The mood contrasts sharply with that of early 1959, when the House was full of zealous new Democrats who found themselves unexpectedly elected from Republican districts.

"The people who climb the walls with zeal around here are the people who don't come back after one term," observes Rep. Sydney Herlong, a conservative Democratic ninth-termer from Florida. The caution of today's newcomers hints they're anxious to help their re-election chances by playing according to traditional rules. "I'm not going to be out carrying the torch for any liberal causes," asserts Rep. John Dow, a 59-year-old freshman Democrat elected from a normally Republican district in New York. "I'll judge each issue as it comes along."

Tinkering With Timetables

The less-than-frantic tempo also is reflected in some key committee timetables. Rep. George Mahon, the Texas Democrat who last year became chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, is considering a depar-

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Creeping Congress? Big Organizing Chores Will Slow Legislating Pace

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ture from the usual practice of handling the President's budget. In the past, it has been immediately split into sections for piecemeal consideration by subcommittees; Rep. Mahon would like to precede this with a few days of preliminary hearings on the whole budget by his full 50-man appropriations group.

There may be some exceptions to the sluggish legislative pace, especially among bills that were close to passage at the 88th Congress' adjournment last October. One of these was Mr. Johnson's aid-to-Appalachia proposal, which like all leftover legislation must be relaunched from the beginning. However, the Senate is expected to give a new Appalachia bill a fast start this month, and backers now are sure they have plenty of House votes to pass it. Another early-starting bill will provide new funds for loans to business firms in depressed areas, probably combined with added money for construction of local public works.

Not nearly so much speed is in store, however, for Mr. Johnson's highest-priority bills, notably an aid-to-education package. The President tonight will explain briefly his key proposals for sidestepping the church-state roadblock to Federal aid for secondary schools, and details will be spelled out in a special message targeted for next week. Lengthy haggling is sure to follow.

Another part of the education package, it's true, isn't expected to cause great controversy; it deals with college-level assistance where the religious issue isn't so pronounced. The President is expected to propose, for example, Federal scholarships for college undergraduates, expanding the existing assistance available to graduate students only. The package also may include a new system of Federal repayment guarantees for private loans to college students.

State-Religion Clash

In trying to help secondary schools, the Administration won't risk repeating President Kennedy's head-on push for direct school construction grants—the proposal which brought the clash between public school aiders and the Catholic hierarchy. Prospects for Congressional approval of such a plan are no more favorable than before; the 107 Catholics in the new Congress comprise the single largest religious group, bumping the Methodists from their accustomed first place.

It's clear now that Mr. Johnson will try to fuzz up the Kennedy era's sharp distinctions between public and parochial schools with a program of aid to both kinds, or some of both, for certain purposes. The exact form of the aid still is being studied; money could be offered to public and parochial schools in areas suffering from high unemployment, or to public schools attended on a "shared time" basis by Catholic children, or to both kinds for the purchase of non-religious textbooks.

All these possibilities have their champions in Congress, and it will be Mr. Johnson's main job to coax the lawmakers into agreement on a single plan. This could be a protracted process in the House Education and Labor Committee, which faces a heavy workload of other legislation.

This panel and its Senate counterpart also must consider a big expansion of funds for the antipoverty program established last year, plus organized labor's demand for expansion of coverage of the $1.25-an-hour Federal minimum wage and repeal of the Taft-Hartley provision authorizing state right-to-work laws that ban the union shop. Mainly because of the priority he's giving other bills, the President isn't likely to press for repeal of this provision until late in the 1965 session.

Before the House Ways and Means Committee can plunge again into the medicare fight, it must tackle heavy organizational chores. Two Democratic seats will be added to the existing 15, and the 10 Republican seats will be cut to 8. The committee's Democrats also have the job of making committee assignments for all other House Democrats, a process that may last almost until Inauguration Day, Jan. 20.

The medicare fight itself won't go fast. True, Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas now appears to favor some kind of medical care program for the elderly, as long as it's financed from a separate fund and contains benefits considerably short of the Administration plan for 60-day hospitalization. As a time-saver, Mr. Mills plans no new public hearings. But his committee may consume more than six weeks in argument and drafting before a medical bill, combined with a boost in regular Social Security pensions, is ready for a House vote.

More time will then be required for a public hearing on the bill by the Senate Finance Committee, chaired by medicare foe Harry Byrd of Virginia. The House bill probably will be extensively liberalized on the Senate floor, sending the measure back into the House-Senate conference room where it died last October. Democratic Rep. Cecil King of California, main House sponsor of medicare, is hoping final agreement on a compromise bill can be reached by June.

While the Senate toils on medicare, the House by about May should be considering an annual $2 billion or $3 billion of excise tax reductions. Certain to be repealed are $500 million in levies on handbags, furs, jewelry and cosmetics. The fight will center on reduction of various excises collected at the manufacturers' level, such as the 10% tax on autos.

Congressional tax experts, already worried about a squabble among affected industries over distribution of the cuts, hope the excise bill won't get mired in a lobbyists' fight over new revenue for the interstate highway program, which is mainly financed by excise taxes not slated for reduction. If any of these have to be raised, it probably will be done in separate legislation. The Treasury wants the excise cuts passed before June 30 if at all possible; any protracted delays might hurt sales of merchandise on which taxes will be cut.

Only after medicare and excise bills are enacted will the tax-writing committees have much time to consider other legislation, such as tighter tax rules for foundations and probable extension for another year of the 1964-imposed tax on American purchases of foreign securities.

Among other Administration measures facing almost certain delay is relaxation of tight immigration quotas; there's strong opposition deep within the House and Senate Judiciary Committees to any significant liberalization. While the Senate will easily approve again a Constitutional amendment on Presidential succession and disability, the House has done little spadework on the matter. Recent U.S. library-burnings in foreign capitals and the restiveness of foreign aid champion Sen. William Fulbright point to renewed trouble and delay for the Administration's 1965 economic aid request.

Delay doesn't mean ultimate defeat for Mr. Johnson's big bills, however. The heavily Democratic lineup in the new Congress prompted this gloomy prediction by defeated Republican conservative Ed Foreman of Texas in his last newsletter to constituents: "This probably means that the Great Society will have little, if any, trouble gaining approval by Congress—and by 1966, medicare, Federal aid and regulation of education, revised and more liberal immigration laws . . . et al may very likely be enacted into law as realities."

Senate Democrats Face North-South Clash Over Whip, Steering Committee, Filibuster

Wall Street Journal
Monday
January 4, 1965
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By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—Senate Democrats, not to be outdone by their brethren in the House of Representatives, will engage in a little intraparty bloodletting of their own today. Three important contests, two of which come up even before the curtain formally rises on the 89th Congress, will revive the old emotion-filled confrontation of North and South.

When the Democratic caucus holds its organizational meeting this morning, it must decide a three-cornered race for the post of Assistant Majority Leader and vote on a resolution to enlarge the Steering Committee. And probably the first order of business when the Senate convenes will be the regular attempt of liberals to make it easier to curb filibusters.

Increasing the Steering Committee's membership to 19 from 15, a liberal goal that has been largely overlooked in the excitement of the Assistant Majority Leader, or Whip, contest, is more important than it may appear on the surface. The Steering Committee wields the enormous power of appointment to the Senate's other standing committees. Liberals have complained for years that Southerners have employed their 9-to-6 domination of the committee to punish enemies and reward allies.

Under terms of the resolution to be offered by three Northern senators (Messrs. Magnuson of Washington, McNamara of Michigan and Jackson of Washington) one of the four new members would have to come from the West, two from the Midwest and one from the East. This could enable liberal-leaning Northerners to acquire the upper hand for the first time in parceling out committee assignments.

Whip Race Could Be Key

Advocates of Steering Committee expansion claim to be optimistic about their chances. But the dimension of their victory, if it's achieved, could depend to a large degree on the outcome of the Whip race which matches Sens. Russell Long of Louisiana, Pastore of Rhode Island and Monroney of Oklahoma. The whip is automatically a member of the Steering Committee, and Vice President-elect Humphrey, who is vacating the post, was one of the six members on whom Northerners counted in the past.

If Senator Long should win, the South would still enjoy a 10-to-9 edge even in an enlarged committee. The Steering Committee issue has thus sharpened the obvious geographic aspects of the contest to succeed Mr. Humphrey.

Sen. Long, because of his stand on tax and welfare legislation, has enticed some liberal support, including Sen. Douglas of Illinois. But of the roughly 30 votes he expects on the first ballot, 21 are expected to come from the 11 Southern states.

The Senator is banking heavily on the hope that what he calls "this North-South thing" is abating because of last year's passage of the civil rights bill. In a television interview yesterday (Face the Nation, CBS), he even voiced an ambition of eventually becoming Majority Leader.

"I would hope some day I might be considered for the next step up, as the Majority Leader of the Senate, if I did a good job as the assistant to the leader," he said. The remark evidently wasn't aimed as a threat to Sen. Mansfield, however, because a little later Sen. Long praised his incumbent chief as "one of the most considerate and honest and dependable men I have ever met in my life."

First-Ballot Win Unlikely

Although the Louisianan is conceded a slight edge in this morning's first ballot votes, it appears most unlikely he will have the 35 required for election. If the ground rules suggested by Majority Leader Mansfield are adopted by the caucus, the odds are for a paper-thin victory in the second round by either Sen. Long or Sen. Pastore.

Sen. Mansfield has proposed, to avoid a long series of ballots and maneuvering which could create ill feelings within the party, to eliminate the last man on each ballot. If only the three avowed candidates are nominated, and if most of the informal head counts are accurate, this will take Sen. Monroney out after the first ballot.

While Sen. Monroney has never acknowledged it, his strategy has always been that of a compromise candidate. He has hoped to pick up later support from backers of both Sen. Pastore and Sen. Long as a deadlock developed between those front runners. He has already announced his opposition to Sen. Mansfield's proposed rules, but his chances of altering them seem slim, as both Sen. Pastore and Sen Anderson (N.M.), manager of Sen. Long's campaign, have agreed to them.

Their willingness to abide by the Majority Leader's proposal indicates both the Long and Pastore forces expect to benefit from Mr. Monroney's elimination. Sen. Anderson reasons that even though Sen. Pastore will probably pick up the bulk of the Oklahoman's votes, Sen. Long will be so close to victory on the first ballot that he will need only a handful of added backers.

Filibuster Rule Change

Should the liberals win both the Whip fight and the battle over enlarging the Steering Committee, it would strengthen their hand enormously in the attempt to amend Senate Rule XXII. This permits the Senate to cut off debate by a two-thirds vote of those present. In the past, junior Senators have been dissuaded from helping to change this rule by fear Southerners on the Steering Committee would deny them the committee assignments they wanted. Southern forces have made the most of this concern by putting off meetings of the Steering Committee until after the filibuster question was settled. If the liberals take control of the Steering Committee, it will mean the end of Southern reprisals. In fact, the antifilibuster group would then be in a position to hand out rewards of its own.

A group of filibuster opponents met yesterday afternoon in Sen. Anderson's office to plan their tactics for this session. Details of the discussion were kept secret, but it is known an attempt will be made to amend Rule XXII so that a vote of only three-fifths of Senators present can cut off debate. Such an amendment of Senate rules must be brought up and disposed of before the Senate starts its regular business.

Ford Ousts Halleck as GOP House Leader As Younger Elements in Party Score Coup

The Wall Street Journal
Tuesday
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By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—House Republicans cast off the man who has come to symbolize their feelings of legislative impotence and anointed a new leader, Michigan's Rep. Ford.

Deposed as House minority leader in a well-executed coup by younger, innovation-minded elements within the party was Indiana's Rep. Halleck.

Though elected to succeed him by a margin of 73 to 67, Mr. Ford quickly set about fulfilling his pre-vote pledge to brighten up the party's image. Smiling before the television kleig lights, the ruggedly constructed lawmaker promised to "get Republicans from all parts of the spectrum working together" in "selling Republican alternatives to the public."

The struggle that led up to yesterday's leadership showdown involves a good deal more than imagery and symbolism, of course. Ford backers, emboldened by their success, are intent on a major renovation of GOP policy-making machinery. Their objective, one that younger Congressmen in particular feel Mr. Halleck thwarted, is to broaden participation in policy deliberations and to generate more new legislative ideas.

Impact Seen on Drive to Oust Burch

But the simple fact that the Republican status quo has been uprooted in the House would appear to have symbolic impact on the struggle for national party leadership. Indeed, several anti-Goldwater GOP "moderates" were quick to claim the Halleck defeat as a step in their drive to replace Republican National Chairman Dean Burch. Both Govs. Romney of Michigan and Scranton of Pennsylvania, according to Republican lawmakers from those two states, gave private encouragement to the anti-Halleck movement with at least one eye to their own efforts to wrest party control from Goldwater forces.

Mr. Ford, for his part, disclaimed any involvement in the national committee power struggle, which figures to come to a head later this month at a committee gathering in Chicago. "My election had no relation whatsoever to the election that will take place in Chicago," he told reporters.

Certainly a comparison of the Ford and Halleck voting records in the House gives no hint of any leftward move in GOP legislative policies. The two men have pursued almost identical courses through the years, always sticking closely to the party's middle. And although Mr. Ford shied away from Mr. Goldwater's Presidential campaign last fall, colleagues say he was more than ready to take second place on a Goldwater-led ticket at last summer's GOP convention.

Image More Than Ideology

In his successful bid for the House leadership post, the 51-year-old Mr. Ford drew largely on his reputation for fairmindedness and hard work, built up over 14 years of Congressional duty. His youngish face, football stardom at the University of Michigan and service as a Naval officer in World War II probably all contributed more to his success than any ideological appeal. In fact, he steadfastly resisted efforts by various party factions to pin him down to a specific course on coming legislation or on the appointment of a lieutenant.

"His firm refusal to make any deals was what ultimately put Rep. Ford over," insisted a loyal backer from the party's Eastern liberal wing. "He convinced both the Goldwater types and the Easterners that he wasn't anybody's captive."

When the showdown came, Ford support spanned the GOP spectrum, including such maverick New Englanders as Reps. Conte of Massachusetts and Tupper of Maine along with such conservative Dixie Republicans as Reps. Cramer of Florida and Callaway of Georgia. The hard core of his backing came, however, from young activists of the middle captained by Reps. Goodell of New York, Griffin of Michigan and Quie of Minnesota. They put together a force of more than 20 colleagues to carry the Ford campaign by telephone to the rest of the 140 House Republicans who survived last November's election. Mr. Halleck, by contrast, had to do most of his own contact work.

Ford Faces Immediate Tests

The construction of the Ford alliance remained shaky, however, and just holding it together should provde a quick and critical test of his leadership ability. Add to his worries the problem of establishing authority over Mr. Halleck and his backers, and the challenge becomes all the more imposing.

The mere naming of a second-in-command—a step Mr. Ford avoided yesterday—could well rekindle bitter factional rivalries that were largely patched over durng the contest for the top spot. Several Halleck supporters have made it clear that they will press for the retention of the present No. 2 man, Minority Whip Arends of Illinois. But his selection as a concession to the Halleck camp runs against the grain of younger Ford men who are committed to weeding out GOP Old Guardsmen from all posts of influence.

The election yesterday of Wisconsin's Rep. Laird, a conservative, to succeed Mr. Ford as presiding officer at House GOP conferences brings a useful activist and a Ford man to that position. Anti-Goldwater forces, joined in a group that calls itself the Wednesday Club, eye Mr. Laird suspiciously, however, and will press hard for one of their own number, probably Vermont's Rep. Stafford, as party whip. Wednesday Clubbers made a last-minute effort to derail the Laird selection, but ther candidate, Rep. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, was defeated by a 77 to 62 vote.

Democrats Pick Long of Louisiana As Senate Whip

They Delay Fights on Plans To Expand Steering Panel And to Block Filibusters

House Curbs Its Rules Unit

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — Senate Democrats chose Russell Long of Louisiana to be their assistant majority leader and put off a battle over a proposal to enlarge the steering committee, which makes assignments to other committees. A fight on the Senate floor over curbing filibusters was also delayed until tomorrow.

On the other side of the Capitol, Democratic leaders persuaded the House to accept a mild set of procedural reforms curbing part of the Rules Committee's power to block legislation.

Sen. Long's surprisingly easy victory in the contest for assistant majority leader, or whip, dampened hopes of some filibuster opponents that they can amend Senate Rule 22 to make it easier to end debate. "From a purely tactical standpoint, it doesn't change things much," one said. "But as an indication of the present mood of the Senate, it's a bad omen. Not many of those who voted for Long can be very enthusiastic about reforms designed to promote the Administration's program."

The first step in the biennial filibuster battle was taken when Sen. Anderson (D., N.M.) formally put the Senate on notice that he will introduce a Rule 22 amendment tomorrow. His proposal would permit three-fifths of Senators present to halt a filibuster; to carry, a motion for cloture currently requires two-thirds support of those present.

Antifilibuster Tactics

Antifilibuster forces believe their chances will be best if they can put off a decision until Vice President-elect Humphrey is inaugurated and becomes presiding officer of the Senate. This could be accomplished by engaging in delaying tactics, by a Southern filibuster or by referral of the resolution of the Rules Committee with instructions to report it to the Senate floor on some specific date after Jan. 20.

At any time the resolution is before the Senate, however, a motion may be made to table it. If the motion carries, the issue will be dead. Southerners have given every indication they will employ all the means at their disposal, including a filibuster if necessary, to keep Rule 22 as it is.

Sen. Long narrowly missed election on the first secret ballot of the Democratic conference, when he received 34 of the 35 votes needed. Sen. Pastore of Rhode Island obtained 20 and Sen. Monroney of Oklahoma, 14. Under rules adopted by the caucus, the low man, Sen. Monroney, was eliminated after the first ballot. In the second round, Sen. Long added 7 votes for a total of 41. Sen. Pastore had 25, and 2 write-in votes were cast for Sen. Hart of Michigan, who had refused to become a formal candidate.

Long Was Front-Runner

A 46-year-old veteran of 16 years in the Senate, Sen. Long had been regarded as front-runner in the three-man race. Most political observers had seen the outcome as doubtful, however, and had predicted a paper-thin margin for the winner. Sen. Long's first-ballot strength indicated his following included many besides his fellow Southerners, and he was apparently the second choice of most of Sen. Monroney's Southwestern supporters.

The son of the late Huey Long, one-time "Kingfish" of Louisiana politics who served as state governor and U.S. Senator, Sen. Long ran an energetic, skillful campaign. Assured of 21 Southern votes from the start, he traded on his position as heir presumptive to the chairmanship of the powerful Finance Committee and his record as a "populist" liberal in the field of tax and welfare legislation to attract votes from other regions.

Although the Louisianian's voting record was far less in agreement with the Administration's objectives than those of either of his opponents, he benefited greatly from the decision of President Johnson and Majority Leader Mansfield of Montana to remain neutral.

Fight Over Steering Panel

Defeated in the whip contest, Democratic liberals are trying to capture control of the steering committee by adding two Midwesterners, one Easterner and one Westerner to its present 15 members. The committee currently has six elected members from the South, plus Sen. Long as whip and Sen. Smathers of Florida as conference secretary.

Thus the South has absolute control of committee assignments and can, if its representatives wish, pressure junior Senators to vote against amendment of the filibuster rule. The addition of four non-Southerners would make this much more difficult.

In the Democratic conference yesterday, a resolution was offered by Sen. Lausche of Ohio to take away from the South two of its present members. This proposal was supplanted by a resolution of Sen. McNamara (D., Mich.), which would merely add the four non-Southerners. The time consumed by this parliamentary maneuvering, however, made it impossible to take final action. A new meeting to decide the question must await the call of Sen. Mansfield, who said the schedule hasn't yet been determined.

House Rules Changes

Yesterday's changes in the House rules were the first of any importance in several years, but they aren't likely to add much to the already-bright prospects for President Johnson's "Great Society" legislation. Perhaps most significant was the vote by the House on the rules proposal, which displayed the new power made available to Mr. Johnson's House lieutenants by last November's Democratic landslide. Democrats picked up 38 House seats in the election, bringing their total to 295 and cutting the Republicans to 140.

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The key roll-call vote came on whether to foreclose amendments to the take-it-or-leave-it package of reforms drafted Saturday at a meeting of all House Democrats. The ban on amendments was adopted, 224 to 201, with most of the freshman Democrats sticking with speaker McCormack of Massachusetts and Majority Leader Albert of Oklahoma.

Though 16 Republicans joined the majority, it was the freshmen who really offset the defection of 78 Democrats, nearly all Southerners, who either wanted to make the rules changes more modest or who regarded the whole thing as a slap at Rules Chairman Smith, the conservative Virginia Democrat who is the informal leader of the Southern bloc. But the Speaker even picked up a smattering of support within Southern ranks.

Congressional 'Reform'

Despite Increased Talk, No Big Changes Are Likely

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By DAN CORDTZ

WASHINGTON — "Reform"—that unassailable word which shelters a multitude of good, bad and ludicrous ideas—is being chanted louder than ever as Congress assembles this week.

As unprecedented as the volume of the chorus, moreover, is the variety of its suggestions for improving Congress' organization and procedures. "If everyone who has a pet project of his own could be persuaded to back a few of the better ones, we could turn this place upside down the first week," declares a Midwestern Senator's aide.

But even if there are a few changes in the way the national legislature does business (the House Rules Committee's power over legislation has already been clipped, and the Senate may alter its rules to make it somewhat easier to end filibusters), no one talks seriously of revolution. The guarded private talk of fervent reform advocates, in fact, suggests their secret hopes are much more modest than their public goals.

"I have the uneasy feeling that most of the extravagant demands were designed to make (President) Johnson look good when he intervenes to toss us a few bones later," admits a member of the House's liberal Democratic Study Group.

Reformers Strengthened

On the surface, it would appear to be no impossible task to rewrite the rule book in favor of easier passage of the Administration's legislative program. The reform-minded Democratic Study Group, for example, figures it has about 165 adherents among the 295 Democrats in the House—and can count on additional support across the aisle. Senate reform forces have been strengthened by the addition of a couple of presumed recruits and by the accession of Vice President-elect Hubert Humphrey to the presiding officer's chair.

But the obstacles to any major action are formidable, and many of their problems are of the reformers' own making. The proliferation of schemes, the divergent pulls of sectional and ideological ties, and personal antipathies all tend to divide and weaken the ranks of those who say Congress should be reformed.

In the House, it's true, the wauld-be reformers did manage to abandon the boldest ideas, decide on a set of limited objectives and attain them. The key change adopted is reimposition of the so-called 21-day rule. This would empower the Speaker to snatch away any measure from the Rules Committee (which must clear all legislation for floor action) after it has idled for three weeks—or even if the committee should decline to clear a bill.

An important number of reform backers, however, place little faith in such a rule—or indeed in any purely procedural change. "I learned long ago that the best Government in the world will collapse in a hurry if you don't have the right people running it," observes Minnesota's Rep. John Blatnik, elected leader of the Democratic Study Group. Hence the group's stated objective is to assault the seniority system head-on by seizing control of party committee assignments through action in the Democratic caucus. That, some leaders of the study group contend, provides a friendlier clime for liberal reforms than the full House—which must pass on rules changes.

How to Do It

These men envision something like this: The Ways and Means Committee, whose Democratic members double as the group for making committee assignments, goes through its usual motions of nominating senior members to head other committees. But when the slate is submitted for ratification, one of the bolder liberals stands and announces, "I move that the name of Howard Smith be stricken from the top place on the list for the committee on rules." A simple majority then easily and quickly disposes of this symbol of Southern obstruction.

"That's the one proposal we've got that really gets to the heart of the matter, and we'd sacrifice all the others to get it," says Rep. Frank Thompson (D., N.J.), who is coordinating the study group's efforts. But it's doubtful he and his colleagues will get the chance to make any such trade. Though liberals in the Democratic caucus seem sure to gain a few more votes in the Ways and Means Committee, too many Congressmen share the views of a deeply committed Senate reform advocate who insists:

"It's hopeless ever to make a frontal attack on seniority. The reply is always that there's no workable alternative, and I'm not sure that's wrong. The answer is to impose rules on the conduct of chairmen which limit them to maintaining order and prevent them from dominating their committees. Then the question of seniority becomes unimportant."

Revival of the 21-day rule is a timid step in that direction in the House, but the Senate is unlikely even to move toward such a goal. About its only hope is for amendment of Rule XXII, which now requires a two-thirds vote of Senators present to cut off a filibuster. The goal is relatively modest, a reduction in the votes needed to three-fifths.

The problem in revising Rule XXII, which

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has been amended a number of times in the past, is not one of getting the votes but of getting a vote. Because the Senate has been held in the past to be a "continuing body"—whose rules carry over automatically from one Congress to the next—rules change proposals can themselves be filibustered.

No matter how emotionally satisfying a revision of Rule XXII might be, however, the issue this year has become largely symbolic, in the view of many liberals. Passage of the civil rights bill demonstrated that cloture can be invoked when the Senate's determination to act is great enough. And when attention turns to more immediately practical reforms, wide differences in interests begin to appear.

The fact is that reform forces, even with a 10-year-old formal organization like the Democratic Study Group, are anything but monolithic. Loyalties to state delegations, fellow committee members, other less formal groups and even to party leaders may be stronger than their study group ties at times, the liberal body's guiding lights acknowledge. And nothing sharpens these loyalty conflicts like a reform fight.

Chary Eye on Change

Finally, the sometimes exaggerated human weaknesses of men eager to expand or conserve their own political power or influence causes many, both within the reform element and outside, to cast a chary eye on ideas for change. Backers of the caucus review of committee assignments, for example, insist they would try to remove chairmen only when they were guilty of "flagrant abuse" of their powers. But there are those who fear personal ambition may motivate some reformers as much as nobler purposes.

"There are quite a few liberal types on the Rules Committee who would gladly ditch Howard Smith just to get in position to make some of the horse trades he does," says a Democrat sympathetic to reform. Adds a Southerner with senior committee status of his own to protect: "You look at the guys who're carrying the ball against seniority and almost invariably they're out to do their own committee chairman in."

Curiously, in view of the prognosis for only minor reforms in the coming Congressional session, the outlook is considered very good for another proposal which could ultimately truly overturn the Capitol. This is the resolution to be introduced tomorrow by Sen. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.), co-author (as a Congressman) of the 1946 reorganization bill.

Eschewing the word "reform," Sen. Monroney calls for a year-long House-Senate study of ways to "modernize" Congress. But whatever its label, his investigation would take none of the legislature's sacrosanct institutions or practices for granted. If the Oklahoman has his way, seniority, apportionment of committee assignments, Congressional duties and even the time-honored "Tuesday-Thursday Club" would come under the microscope. (The "Tuesday-Thursday Club" is composed of those members, mostly from nearby states, who spend only three days a week in Washington—thus making effective work difficult on Mondays and Fridays.)

If the Monroney proposal is far reaching, however, it is also slow-moving and there are critics who charge its primary immediate effect will be to delay action on pressing problems.

"We don't need to study all this stuff," an eager reform partisan contends. "Everybody who has been around here for one term knows what the difficulties are. We need the will to act, and Mike's proposal furnishes a perfect excuse for delay."

There are others who claim the Monroney approach is too all-inclusive. "He has everything under the sun in there," a liberal staff assistant says. "Worrying about computers for the appropriations committees. Why, they can have computers right now if they want them. That shotgun approach isn't going to get us anywhere. The only way to achieve reform in this place is to fight like hell for attainable goals—one at a time."

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Many Ex-Congressmen Can't Find Jobs With Pay, Prestige Wanted

* * *

Corporate Post Might Prevent Future Politicking, Some Say; Returning Lawyer Has Fears

By JOSEPH W. SULLIVAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—What is an ex-Congressman good for?

To the bumper crop of three-score House members and four Senators "retired" by their constituents starting this month, the question is anything but academic. And except for former lawyers going back to home-town practice and half a dozen politician-farmers returning to their land, few have come by an answer easily.

While most of the election casualties report a variety of job offers from outside government, neither the pay nor the prestige, several are frank to say, match what they've grown accustomed to in Washington. And when a more lucrative proposal does come along, it almost inevitably entails an explicit or implied prohibition against further office-seeking—a deterrent for almost any political animal.

"This is without a doubt the most critical turning point in my life," declares a still-youthful House reject with a background in accounting and finance. "I've had some very attractive corporate offers, but all of them would take me away from my home state and out of politics. On the other hand, the sort of job I'd have to take to keep politically active, such as trade association work, holds no appeal for me and gives my wife the creeps."

Adds Iowa's vanquished Rep. John Kyl: "I've been approached about everything from selling insurance to going on the lecture circuit. But the only way I think I'll find satisfaction is to put together a combination of things." The probable fusion: Teaching government at a small Iowa college, television news direction in the evenings and lecturing "on the run."

Seniority Is a Handicap

The very attribute that can most enhance a sitting Congressman's worth—seniority—is proving a handicap to some job-seekers. On account of his age and the deferential treatment to which he's accustomed, the senior lawmaker has a tough time adjusting to other work, say Washington lobbyists, the privately employed group in closest touch with Congress.

"The widespread notion that old war horses from the Capitol all find happy and remunerative new hunting-grounds as lobbyists is without foundation," says the chief Washington representative for a major trade association. "Very few of them have the capacity to adjust to a new role. Most have either gotten muddle-headed or are too much the prima donna to take directions."

Yet Congress continues to nurture the belief that its finest are worth at least four times their $30,000 legislative salaries and would be getting it if they weren't so dedicated to public service. The comedown to reality is sometimes melancholy. "I know a man with more than 20 years' seniority who's sitting downtown in his apartment right now wishing he could land a part-time lobbying job to maintain his Washington base," relates a re-elected colleague. "But he's too proud to go out and ask for one, and so far nobody's offered him anything."

Contrary to Potomac folklore, the great majority of last November's rejects, young and old, are heading back where they came from. One reason is that all but a handful are Republicans who see strong chances for making a political comeback in 1966. Moreover, the Democratic Administration naturally hasn't exerted itself to find spots for many of the Republicans. (However, New York's defeated GOP Sen. Kenneth Keating may well become Ambassador Keating soon, and Colorado's ex-Rep. Donald Brotzman is being plugged by Westerners for a spot on the Civil Aeronautics Board that's reserved for the minority party.)

Among defeated Democrats as well, job paths mostly lead away from Washington. Of the dozen Democrats retired by the voters, only one, ex-Rep. Gillis Long of Louisiana, has signed up with the Administration; he's a legislative liaison man for the antipoverty program.

Head for Home

Several other former Democratic Congressmen, including Carl Elliott of Alabama, Roland Libonati of Illinois and John Lesinski of Michigan, have passed up Administration offers in order to get back home. Mr. Elliott, an outspoken Democratic loyalist who fell victim to a Dixiecrat primary election foe, even spurned offers of support for a $28,500-a-year post as Clerk of the House. He's now practicing law and politics in Jasper, Ala., while Mr. Lesinski is running his family's Detroit lumber yard and Mr. Libonati has reopened a Chicago law office.

As for a well-known former Senator of the same party, Pierre Salinger is back in California. He starts work Friday as an administrative vice president of National General Corp., which runs a movie theater chain and has television interests as well. Its headquarters are in Beverly Hills.

On both sides of the party fence, lawyers

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appear to have sustained the fewest relocation jolts. Just two days after his election licking, Mr. Brotzman of Colorado was retained as counsel by a group promoting a "research campus" for industry—linked to the University of Colorado—in his home town of Boulder. "I got so enmeshed in the land title and rezoning work that I wasn't even able to get back to Washington to close my Congressional office until the end of November," he recalls.

Similarly, two-term Rep. James Bromwell of Iowa reports a heavy workload at his Cedar Rapids law firm of Nazette & Bromwell and at the insurance, banking and mutual fund holding company of which he's a co-founder and director. "I'm keeping my family in Washington until the four kids complete their school year. But it now looks as if I'll only be getting here for occasional weekends," he says.

"They Needed Me Back"

For almost all the former farmers, the ready solution has been to go back to the soil. Republican Ralph Beerman of Nebraska, for example, has reassumed responsibility for alfalfa dehydrating operations and alfalfa sales on the 2,000-acre cattle feeding, feed grain and fertilizer combine he owns in partnership with five brothers. "When I sat down with my brothers after the election—it was the first real visit we'd had in almost four years—I came to feel that they really needed me back," Mr. Beerman says. "That was pretty important to me just then, you know, feeling needed."

A North Dakota Republican, Don Short, also has returned to the farm. He even managed to save on household moving expenses by purchasing a new farm truck here in Washington, loading on most of his furnishings and hauling them back himself.

The legal and farm fraternities aren't without trepidations, to be sure. "I'd be less than honest if I didn't admit to apprehensions about hanging up my shingle again after a 15-year lapse," acknowledges former GOP Rep. Edgar Chenoweth, who will reopen his law practice in Trinidad, Colo., and "keep politically active" despite his 67 years. Adds an Eastern Republican casualty: "Most of my old legal clients have developed firm ties elsewhere by now. I'm afraid all I'll get initially is sympathy business." And the return to farming holds some concern for Nebraska's Mr. Beerman. "I've tried to keep up with the cattle and feed grains markets since coming to Washington, but even serving as I did on the House Agriculture Committee you miss an awful lot."

Drawing on Experience

The few ex-lawmakers who are staying on in Washington are mainly legislative veterans who figure they're best equipped to make a living here. "After 20 years in Washington, my experience of value is mostly here," reflects another GOP November casualty, Michigan's Rep. George Meader. He will draw on the lessons of 14 years on the House Judiciary Committee and its antitrust subcommittee plus six prior years as a Senate committee counsel to launch a Washington law practice at 57 years of age. But he will maintain an Ann Arbor law office as well, with an eye toward coming back to Congress two years hence.

Only in the case of a few, such as Iowa's Ben Jensen, who are contemplating both political and professional retirement does the tug between Washington and their districts seriously raise the question of which place is really "home." In Mr. Jensen's case, the verdict so far is a stand-off. Recently turned 72—and dean of the defeated Republicans, with 26 years of service—the Iowan has moved his office library and memorabilia to his home back in Exira, population 1,111. But he's kept his Washington apartment and, according to associates, is participating in regular Tuesday-night poker sessions at the Army-Navy Club.

"It would take a lot of talking to get Mrs. Jensen to give up their solarium apartment here, and their daughter is living in the East," relates a long-time Jensen aide. "But Ben's roots are still in Iowa and when they named the town-square park for him the night before this last election, I think they caught his heart as well."

Along with the lawmakers actually defeated for re-election, there are the voluntary departers who chose not to run for one reason or another; many of these face similar readjustment problems. The most famous of the lot, ex-Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, enjoys an investment income that frees him from job worries. He's busying himself with writing his syndicated newspaper column and with active participation in Republican politics, and he's keeping his Washington apartment as well as his home in Phoenix.

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U.S. Senate E.U.

The Senate's 'Maggie'

* * * * * *

In a Casual Way, Washington's Magnuson Gets Much Done

By DAN CORDTZ

WASHINGTON—If a Senate poll were taken to pick that clubby group's half-dozen most popular, most influential and most anonymous members, chances are that on all three lists would appear one name:

"Maggie."

That's the way it would be put down on most ballots, too. For to his affectionate colleagues, the full name of Warren G. Magnuson is somehow too stiff to go with his casual, unbuttoned informality. Even after 20 years as Democratic Senator from the state of Washington, he exudes an air of good fellowship that prompts total strangers to call him by his nickname.

Presiding over a public hearing in his bluff, rambling fashion, chewing a big cigar and with his dark-rimmed spectacles slipping down his ruddy nose, he can appear a faintly comic figure. Grammatical slips, mispronunciations and malapropisms are not unknown to him, and he persistently confuses such terms as "balance of trade" and "balance of payments."

If this manner occasionally traps an outsider into taking Sen. Magnuson for less than he is, it doesn't deceive his peers. His name may mean little to the public outside his home state, but within the club it carries unmistakable weight. This point is being proved once more in the case of the proposed law to require health warnings on cigaret packages. The introduction of a Magnuson bill was the signal for two weeks of full-dress hearings which wind up today. If he cares to declare himself, the Senator from Washington will undoubtedly have a great deal to say about whether the final law applies to cigaret advertising as well as package labels.

Sen. Magnuson's official credentials alone guarantee attention to his views. He is chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, whose legislative jurisdiction affects an estimated 90% of the nation's industry and commerce; he is chairman of the Independent Offices subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, which holds the purse strings of most Federal regulatory agencies; and he is chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, which doles out contributions to colleagues at election time.

Sen. Magnuson also enjoys the special status that goes with long service (he ranks eighth in seniority), a place on the Democratic Policy Committee and membership in the Senate's shadowy inner circle. He is one of the few active remnants of the fading "establishment" which helped Lyndon B. Johnson run the Senate for nearly eight years. The President and Sen. Magnuson, in fact, share a close personal friendship that goes back almost to the day in 1937 when both were sworn into the House of Representatives.

He's not dogmatic or doctrinaire. He can give a little on most things. Some of these birds around here see everything in such categorical terms, they never have any room to maneuver."

Placing Sen. Magnuson within the ideological spectrum is not easy. Both the Americans for Constitutional Action and the Americans for Democratic Action rate him, on his voting record, as a solid liberal. He wears that badge proudly, but adds that he is a conservative in fiscal matters. "I helped cut $6 billion off the Federal budget in the last 10 years," he declares. Some of his friends describe him as an instinctive conservative whose natural bent is tempered by political realism and a soft heart.

Even when he is shepherding an Administration proposal or one of his own through his committee, moreover, Sen. Magnuson is always seeking the sort of consensus so dear to his friend in the White House. And if he finds it impossible to get, he's quite content to let the matter rest until a better day. "We seldom pass a bill in the Commerce Committee that isn't pretty well agreed on," he remarks.

No Arm-Twister

Nor is such agreement the grudging result of any arm-twisting on his part. The chairman of a Senate committee enjoys broad power, and more than one has been known to use it tyranically at times. But not the senior Senator from Washington. His permissiveness makes the public hearings of the Commerce Committee the most relaxed in town. It encourages many members to indulge their penchant for comedy, and occasionally reduces the time schedule to a shambles. Once the doors are closed on executive sessions, committee members say, their chairman is brisker, but never domineering.

So adroitly has Sen. Magnuson steered clear of controversy that he has really only been embroiled in a couple of bitter, knockdown battles. One was the dispute over construction of a multi-purpose dam in Idaho's Hells Canyon in 1956 and the other was the 1959 wrangle over Senate confirmation of Admiral Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. (Sen. Magnuson suffered one of his infrequent defeats when the big dam was rejected in favor of two low-level dams, but he was on the winning side as Adm. Strauss was retired to private life.)

When he is forced into line of fire, Sen. Magnuson usually emerges magically unscathed. He pushed the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill and the communications satellite bill through his committee without alienating either the Southerners violently opposed to the first or the liberals adamantly against the second. Second-ranking committee Democrat John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, on the other hand, was raked from both sides and lost the election for assistant majority leader partly as a result.

President Was Best Man

"We came here together, went to war together and came back together," the Senator declares proudly. He modestly omits the fact that the President served as best man last year when Sen. Magnuson married Mrs. Jermaine Peralta, a Seattle widow.

More important than official rank and highly placed friends, though, is the all but universal fondness felt for Sen. Magnuson by men of the most diverse political persuasion. Conservative Sen. Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), who has spent 38 years in the chamber, labels him "a Senator's Senator." (One popular definition: "A man who, if he can't help you win, helps you look good losing.") Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana declares, "Maggie doesn't have an enemy on either side of the aisle." Adds liberal Democrat Phil Hart of Michigan: "He's just one of the really nice guys in this place."

A psychiatrist might contend the 60-year-old Senator's desire for friendship reflects a childhood insecurity. Orphaned at the age of three weeks, he was adopted by a Swedish family in Minnesota. But at the age of 17, he worked his way West — riding freight trains and doing farm labor — until he reached Seattle. Seven years later, he had worked his way through the University of Washington and its law school and in 1933 won his first election, to the state legislature. Since then he has been in 23 more and won them all, although he received the scare of his life in 1962 when an unknown minister came within 45,000 votes of turning him out of his Senate seat.

Like many of those in the Senate, Sen. Magnuson seems to find most of his pleasure in the company of his fellow club members. He plays poker with a Congressional group almost every Thursday night, attends football and baseball games with Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia. A good companion, he is fond of telling funny stories about his fellow Scandinavians. Before his marriage, he was one of the capital's gayer bachelors; now he spends most evenings reading and works at painting on the weekends. He is an unabashed sentimentalist, a quality that endears him to his frequently thick-skinned Senate mates.

But popularity on Capitol Hill is more than a matter of being a pleasant, amusing "nice guy." To get along, goes the proverb, go along. And Sen. Magnuson tries hard to help his colleagues wherever possible. Some outside critics suggest he is a bit too accommodating and even something of a "wheeler-dealer." But the most sternly moralistic among his fellow Senators deny there is anything sinister about his horse-trading.

"Maggie wouldn't compromise with principle," one realistic Senate veteran says, "but he's not one of those fellows who looks for a moral issue in every little political proposal.

But his fellow Senators don't just like Sen. Magnuson, they trust him. "Everybody knows Maggie's not out to do anybody in." explains a colleague of years' standing. "He has no further political ambitions, so he's not trying to take anything away from somebody else. All he wants is to be liked." This attitude, plus his acceptability to LBJ and the Senate's elders, was responsible for Sen. Magnuson's selection (over then-Sen. Hubert Humphrey) as head of the Senatorial Campaign Committee.

As they trust his good faith, moreover, Sen. Magnuson's colleagues also trust his instincts and judgment. "I doubt," asserts a strong liberal, "that Maggie ever read the civil rights bill clear through. He doesn't have a mind that focuses on detail and niceties. But he came down hard on the right side." And if he is no deep thinker, he is also far from ill-informed where his own legislative specialties are concerned.

Reliance on Staffs

He relies heavily on personal and committee staffs whose abilities are acknowledged by Democratic and Republican members alike. (So many persons work for Sen. Magnuson directly or indirectly that one long corridor of the Senate Office Building is known as "Maggie's Alley.") And unlike many in Congress, he does not spread himself thin. He specializes in his committee's concerns, with particular interest in fisheries, merchant marine and the like which mean bread and butter to his home state.

It's a rare Senator, therefore, who can bring himself to turn Sen. Magnuson down when he entreats support. "He'll go to a fellow like John Stennis, for example, and tell him how desperately the Pacific fishing industry needs help," says an admiring associate. "Stennis won't give a damn one way or another, but Maggie will be so earnest and so determined that he'll figure if Maggie feels that strongly about it he must be right. Anyway, the demand is never outrageous and it never involves taking something away from somebody else. If Maggie usually gets what he wants, it's because he usually wants what he can get."

Nonetheless, his modest goals have resulted in such legislative plums as a $10 million Federal grant for the 1962 Seattle world's fair; a chain of dams along the Columbia and Snake rivers; and an amendment to the Food for Peace program adding fish to the surplus foods which can be sold to foreign countries under special, easy terms. (The only fish currently in surplus in the U.S. just happens to be pink salmon, most of which is caught and canned in the Pacific Northwest.) And Washington, 23rd state in population, collects one of every six Federal public works dollars.

Many of his contributions, his admirers say, go unnoticed because Sen. Magnuson avoids attracting attention. In fact, his manner of operating may have been best described by President Kennedy when he spoke at a 1961 dinner honoring Sen. Magnuson's 25th anniversary in Congress.

"Most members of the Senate," President Kennedy said, "have developed the art of speaking with precision and clarity and force. The secret of Sen. Magnuson's meteoric career has been the reverse. He may make clear speeches to you on great public occasions, but in Washington he speaks in the Senate so quietly that few can hear him. He looks down at his desk—he comes into the Senate late in the afternoon—he is very hesitant about interrupting other members of the Senate—when he rises to speak, most members of the Senate have left—he sends his messages up to the Senate and everyone says, 'What is it?' and Sen. Magnuson says, 'It's nothing important.' And Grand Coulee Dam is built."

Politics — Campaigns — Reform.

Congress

Republican Policy Committee

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

JOHN J. RHODES
CHAIRMAN

GERALD R. FORD
MINORITY LEADER

September 15, 1966

ROOM 140
CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
TEL.: 225-6168

Dear Sir:

One of the great political challenges of our times is presented by the much-discussed but long-delayed election and campaign contribution reform legislation.

At the present time, there appears to be general agreement that a serious need for such legislation exists and that something should be done. We have had a message from President Johnson to this effect and there have been a number of excellent studies and reports on this subject. Also, a special Commission on Campaign Contributions was appointed by President Kennedy, and in 1962 the report of this Commission sparked the introduction of several bills.

Now, after much fanfare and the introduction of an Administration bill, there is an evident reluctance on the part of the Democratic majority in Congress even to hold hearings.

In order to keep this important legislation moving forward, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives have prepared and introduced the enclosed election reform bill. This bill, as the explanation indicates, accepts a number of the President's proposals but it also contains significant improvements and additions. We are still hopeful that meaningful legislation can be enacted this year. Certainly, such legislation is imperative before the 1968 Presidential campaign. However, if this is to be accomplished, we will have to have the support and assistance of an aroused electorate.

We would appreciate receiving comments and suggestions regarding this bill. Undoubtedly, additional improvements and refinements will be required. Your observations and assistance would be most helpful as the consideration of this legislation continues.

Sincerely yours,

John J. Rhodes

John J. Rhodes, M.C.

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE) 10

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

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House of Representatives

ELECTION REFORM LEGISLATION

(Mr. LIPSCOMB (at the request of Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the need for election reform legislation is becoming more apparent with every passing day. Campaign contributions and campaign expenditures are intimately connected with the election process. When one is subject to question, there is an immediate reflection upon the other. Recently, we have witnessed a number of disclosures regarding the President's Club. Although this group is generally shrouded in mystery, it is now apparent that it is the major source for campaign funds for the Democratic Party. However, many of the contributions received by this club apparently were not required to be reported to the Clerk of the House of Representatives under the present laws. In commenting on this, the study entitled "Financing the 1964 Election" by the Citizens' Research Foundation of Princeton, N.J., stated:

> Using an old practice of secreting funds in certain states, where they need not be reported in Washington under common interpretations of federal law, Democratic leaders will not divulge how much more was raised or spent—though they admit to some. And state reporting requirements are so varied and loose that the complete picture cannot be known.
>
> The Democratic reports filed in Washington failed to reflect fully certain Democratic funds raised through $1000-a-year-memberships in the President's Clubs of New York and California, and the national share of a series of $100-a-plate dinners addressed by President Johnson in several states. The President's Clubs of New York and California did not file reports in Washington though sizeable portions of their funds were transferred to committees which did report as required by federal law. But national shares of funds in California, Michigan, Minnesota and perhaps other states were left in the states to be expended in those states for the presidential campaign at the command of the dnc. Thus they were never reported in Washington and are not included in our totals.

In order to correct this and a number of other problems associated with our present election laws, I, together with the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, have introduced an election reform bill. This bill—H.R. 16203—would make the following changes and modifications in our present laws with respect to campaign contributions and expenditures.

First. Require every candidate for Federal office and every committee—State, interstate, or national—that supports a candidate for Federal office, to report in detail on every contribuiton and every expenditure over $100.

A five-member Federal Election Commission would be established to receive and maintain the required reports and statements.

Second. Require the reporting of all gifts of over $100 received by decision-making officials of the executive department and Members of Congress for themselves, their wives and minor children—excluding gifts from a spouse, child, parent, grandparent, brother or sister—and all income from any source other than the Government for personal services received by such person or on his behalf—including salary, bonuses, fees, commissions, honorariums, and expenses paid or reimbursed.

In addition, individuals seeking election to the House of Representatives and to the Senate would be required to file a report disclosing the gifts and income received in the 12 months prior to the date they became candidates.

Third. Provide a special tax deduction in an amount up to $100, for contributions to any candidate or to any organizations supporting a candidate, in any election campaign or primary—Federal, State, or local. This deduction would be allowed in addition to the standard deduction and would not be limited to those who itemize their deductions.

Fourth. Limit to $5,000 the total amount that could come from any single source to the campaign of any candidate.

Fifth. Permit the sale of campaign souvenirs at prices not exceeding $5. These would become the only items of any kind—including advertising—that any candidate or committee would be permitted to sell in order to raise campaign funds.

Sixth. Repeal present ceilings on total expenditures by candidates for Federal offices.

Seventh. Prohibit political contributions in Federal elections by corporations, firms, or individuals contracting with the United States—if the contract is more than $100,000—and by any labor organization that is recognized as the collective bargaining representative of such contractor.

Eighth. Bring primary elections, conventions, and party caucuses under the reporting and disclosure provisons.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert a copy of the election reform bill, H.R. 16203, and a copy of an explanatory statement which I presented to the Subcommittee on Elections of the House Administration Committee.

H.R. 16203

A bill to revise the Federal election laws, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Election Reform Act of 1966".

TITLE I—AMENDMENTS TO CRIMINAL CODE

SEC. 101. Section 591 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"§ 591. Definitions

"When used in sections 597, 599, 602, 608, 610, and 611 of this title—

"(a) The term 'election' means a general, special, or primary election, and includes a convention, or caucus of a political party held to nominate a candidate;

"(b) The term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination or election as President or Vice President of the United States, Senator or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, whether or not such individual is elected. For purposes of this paragraph, an individual shall be deemed to seek nomination or election if he (1) has taken the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify him for nomination for election, or for election, to the office of President or Vice President of the United States, to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, or, (2) has received contributions or made expenditures, or has given his consent for any other person to receive contributions or make expenditures, with a view to bringing about his nomination for election, or election, to such office;

"(c) The term 'political committee' includes any candidate, committee, association, or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of a candidate, or presidential and vice-presidential electors;

"(d) The term 'contribution' includes a gift, donation, payment or loan of money, or anything of value, made for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of a candidate, or presidential and vice-presidential electors, and includes a transfer of funds between political committees;

"(e) The term 'expenditure' includes a purchase, payment or loan of money, or anything of value, made for the purpose of influencing or attempting or influence the election of a candidate, or presidential and vice-presidential electors, and includes a transfer of funds between political committees."

SEC. 102. Section 608 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"§ 608. Limitations on political contributions and purchases

"(a) Whoever, other than a political committee, directly or indirectly, makes contributions in an aggregate amount in excess of $5,000 during any calendar year, to any candidate or presidential and vice-presidential elector in connection with any campaign for his nomination or election or to any political committee whose activities are primarily in support of such candidate or such elector, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(b) Whoever, being a candidate, political committee, or national political committee, sells to anyone other than a candidate, political committee, or national political commitee, any goods, commodities, advertising, or articles of any kind, or any services, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(c) Whoever, other than a candidate, political committee or national political committee, buys from a candidate, political committee or national political committee, any goods, commodities, advertising, or articles of any kind, or any services, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(d) Subsections (b) and (c) shall not apply to the sale or purchase of political campaign pins, buttons, badges, flags, emblems, hats, banners, and similar campaign souvenirs for prices not exceeding $5 each. Such purchases shall be deemed contributions under subsection (a). Subsections (b) and (c) shall not interfere with the usual and known business, trade or profession of any candidate or with a normal arm's-length transaction.

"(e) In all cases of violations of this section by a partnership, committee, association, corporation, or other organization or group of persons, the officers, directors, or managing heads thereof who knowingly and willfully participate in such violation shall be punished as herein provided."

SEC. 103. Section 609 of title 18 of the United States Code is repealed.

SEC. 104. Section 611 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"§ 611. Contributions by Government contractors, certain labor organizations, and other related organizations

"(a) Whoever, including a corporation, enters into any contract with the United States or any department or agency thereof, requiring payments from the United States in excess of $100,000, either for the rendition of personal services or furnishing any material, supplies, or equipment to the United States or any department or agency thereof, or selling any land or building to the United States or any department or agency thereof, if payment for the performance of such contract or payment for such material, supplies, equipment, land, or building is to be made in whole or in part from funds appropriated by the Congress, during the period of negotiation for, or performance under such contract or furnishing of material, supplies, equipment, land or buildings, directly or indirectly makes any contribution, or promises expressly or impliedly to make any contribution; or

"(b) Whoever, being a labor organization lawfully recognized as the collective bargaining representative of the employees of any person (including a corporation) to whom the preceding paragraph applies, directly or indirectly makes any contribution, or promises expressly or impliedly to make any contribution; or

"(c) Whoever, being an organization or association that is sponsored, directed, assisted or supported directly or indirectly by a corporation or a labor organization, to whom subsection (a) or (b) applies, directly or indirectly makes any contribution, or promises expressly or impliedly to make any contribution; or

"(d) whoever knowingly solicits any contribution from any such person, during any such period—

"Shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years or both."

SEC. 105. So much of the sectional analysis at the beginning of chapter 29 of title 18 of the United States Code as relates to sections 609 and 611 is amended to read:

"609. Repealed.

"611. Contributions by Government contractors, certain labor organizations, and other related organizations."

TITLE II—DISCLOSURE OF FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Definitions

SEC. 201. When used in this title—

(a) The term "election" means a general, special, or primary election, and includes a convention, or caucus of a political party held to nominate a candidate;

(b) The term "candidate" means an individual who seeks nomination or election as President or Vice President of the United States, Senator or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, whether or not such individual is elected. For purposes of this paragraph, an individual shall be deemed to seek nomination or election if he (1) has taken the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify him for nomination for election, or for election, to the office of President or Vice President of the United States, to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, or, (2) has received contributions or made expenditures, or has given his consent for any other person to receive contributions or make expenditures, with a view to bringing about his nomination for election, or election, to such office;

(c) The term "political committee" includes any candidate, committee, association, or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of a candidate, or presidential and vice-presidential electors;

(d) The term "contribution" includes a gift, donation, payment or loan of money, or any thing of value, made for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of a candidate, or presidential and vice-presidential electors, and includes a transfer of funds between political committees;

(e) The term "expenditure" includes a purchase, payment, or loan of money, or anything of value, made for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of a candidate, or presidential and vice-presidential electors, and includes a transfer of funds between political committees.

Federal Elections Commission

SEC. 202. (a) There is hereby created a commission to be known as the Federal Elections Commission, which shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. One of the original members shall be appointed for a term of two years, one for a term of four years, one for a term of six years, one for a term of eight years, and one for a term of ten years, beginning from the date of enactment of this title, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of ten years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Commission, and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall be responsible on behalf of the Commission for the administrative operations of the Commission, and shall appoint, in accordance with the civil service laws, such officers, agents, attorneys, and employees as it deems necessary to assist it in the performance of its functions and to fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

(d) The Commission shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the action it has taken; the names, salaries, and duties of all individuals in its employ and the money's it has disbursed; and shall make such further reports on the matters within its jurisdiction and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

(e)(1) Section 303(c) of the Federal Executive Salary Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(47) Chairman, Federal Elections Board."

(2) Section 303(d) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(70) Members, Federal Elections Board."

(f) The principal office of the Commission shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise any or all its powers at any other place.

(g) All officers, agents, attorneys, and employees of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (the Hatch Act), notwithstanding any exemption contained in such section.

Treasurer of political committee; duties of treasurer

SEC. 203. (a) Every political committee shall have a treasurer. No contribution shall be accepted, and no expenditure made, by or on behalf of a political committee for the purpose of influencing an election until such treasurer has been chosen. It shall be the duty of the treasurer to keep the contributions received by or for a committee in a special account separate from any personal or other funds.

(b) It shall be the duty of the treasurer of a political committee to keep a detailed and exact account of—

(1) All contributions made to or for such committee;

(2) The name and address of every person making any such contribution, and the date thereof;

(3) All expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee, including the name and address of every person to whom any such expenditure is made, and the date thereof.

(c) It shall be the duty of the treasurer to obtain and keep a receipted bill, stating the particulars, for every expenditure by or on behalf of a political committee exceeding $100 in amount. The treasurer shall preserve all receipted bills and accounts required to be kept by this section for a period of at least two years from the date of the filing of the statement containing such items.

Accounts of contributions received

SEC. 204. Every person who receives a contribution for a political committee shall, on demand of the treasurer, and in any event within five days after the receipt of such contribution, render to the treasurer a detailed account thereof, including the name and address of the person making such contribution, and the date on which received.

Statements filed with the Commission

SEC. 205. (a) The treasurer of a political committee supporting a candidate or candidates for nomination or election as President or Vice President of the United States, Senator, or Representtive in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States shall file with the Commission between the 1st and 10th days of March, June, and September, in each year, and also between the 10th and 15th days, and on the 5th day, next preceding the date on which an election is to be held, and also by the 31st day of January, a statement, upon forms prescribed by the Commission, containing, complete as of the day next preceding the date of filing—

(1) The name and address of each person who has made a contribution to or for such committee in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, of $100 or more, together with the amount and date of such contribution;

(2) The total sum of the contributions made to or for such committee during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (1);

(3) The total sum of any contributions made to or for such committee during the calendar year;

(4) The name and address of each person to whom an expenditure in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, of $100 or more has been made by or on behalf of such committee, and the amount, date, and purpose of such expenditure;

(5) The total sum of all expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (4);

(6) The total sum of all expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee during the calendar year.

(b) The statements required to be filed by subsection (a) of this section shall be cumulative during the calendar year to which they relate; but where there has been no change in an item reported in a previous statement, only the amount need be carried forward.

Statements by others than political committee filed with the Commission

SEC. 206. Every person (other than a political committee) who makes an expenditure in one or more items, other than by contribution to a political committee, aggregating $100 or more within a calendar year for the purpose of influencing the election of a candidate, shall file with the Commission an itemized detailed statement of such expenditure in the same manner as required of the treasurer of a political committee by section 205 of this title.

Duties of the Commission

SEC. 207. It shall be the duty of the Commission—

(1) to develop prescribed forms for the making of the reports and statements required by this title and title III of this Act;

(2) to prepare and publish a manual setting forth recommended uniform methods of bookkeeping and reporting for use by persons required to make reports and statements required by this title and title III of this Act;

(3) to develop a filing, coding, and cross-indexing system consonant with the purposes of this Act;

(4) to make the reports and statements filed with it available for public inspection and copying during regular office hours, commencing not later than five days after their receipt and to make copying facilities available;

(5) to preserve such reports and statements for a period of ten years from date of receipt;

(6) to prepare and publish, within ten working days after the due dates of the semi-annual, April and postconvention reports and within seven calendar days after the due dates of the preconvention and preelection reports required by this title, summaries of the respective reports received; such summaries shall contain, in addition to such other information as the Commission may determine, compilations disclosing the total receipts and expenditures appearing in each report required by this title by categories of amounts as he shall determine, and shall also include the name and address, and amount of contribution of each person, listed alphabetically, shown to have contributed the sum of $250 or more; and such summaries shall be grouped according to candidates and parties;

(7) to prepare and publish an annual report including compilations of (A) total reported contributions and expenditures for all candidates, political committees, and other persons during the year; (B) total amounts expended according to such categories as the Commission shall determine and broken down into candidate, party, and nonparty expenditures on the National, State, and local levels; (C) total amounts expended for influencing nominations and elections stated separately; (D) total amounts contributed according to such categories of amounts as the Commission shall determine and broken down into contributions on the National, State, and local levels for candidates and political committees; and (E) aggregate amounts contributed by any contributor shown to have contributed the sum of $250 or more;

(8) to prepare and publish from time to time special reports comparing the various totals and categories of contributions and expenditures made in preceding election years;

(9) to prepare and publish such other reports as he may deem appropriate;

(10) to assure wide dissemination of summaries and reports;

(11) to make from time to time audits and field investigations with respect to reports and statements filed under the provisions of this title and title III of this Act, and with respect to alleged failures to file any report or statement required under the provisions of this title or title III of this Act;

(12) to report suspected violations of law to the appropriate law enforcement authorities;

(13) to prescribe suitable procedural regulations to carry out the provisions of this title and title III of this Act; and

(14) for the purpose of any audit or investigation provided for in paragraph (11) of this section, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 49, 50) are hereby made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Commission, or any officer designated by it, except that the attendance of a witness may not be required outside of the State where he is found, resides, or transacts business, and the production of evidence may not be required outside the State where such evidence is kept.

Statements; verification; filing

SEC. 208. Statements required to be filed with the Commission—

(a) shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the person filing such statement, taken before any officer authorized to administer oaths; and

(b) shall be deemed properly filed when deposited in an established post office within the prescribed time, duly stamped, registered, and directed to the Commission, at Washington, District of Columbia; but in the event it is not received, a duplicate of such statement shall be promptly filed.

Penalty for violations

SEC. 209. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this title shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

State laws not affected

SEC. 210. This title shall not be construed to annul the laws of any State relating to the nomination or election of candidates, unless directly inconsistent with the provisions of this title, or to exempt any candidate from complying with such State laws.

Partial invalidity

SEC. 211. If any provision of this title, or the application thereof, to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of said title and the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 212. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 1925, and all other Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent herewith are repealed.

Citation

SEC. 213. This title may be cited as the "Campaign Funds Disclosure Act."

TITLE III—DISCLOSURE OF GIFTS AND CERTAIN COMPENSATION

Definitions

SEC. 301. When used in this title—

(a) The term "income" shall mean all compensation for personal services, including (but not limited to) salary, bonuses, fees, commissions, honorariums, and expenses paid or reimbursed, whether in the form of money or anything of value, from any source other than the Government of the United States.

(b) The term "Representative" shall mean each Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States.

(c) The term "Federal executive" means a person holding an office the compensation of which is prescribed in the Federal Executive Salary Schedule.

(d) The term "candidate" means an individual who (1) has taken the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify him for nomination for election, or for election, to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, or, (2) has received contributions or made expenditures, or has given his consent for any other person to receive contributions or make expenditures, with a view to bringing about his nomination for election, or election, to such office.

Statement of gifts to be filed

SEC. 302. (a) Each United States Senator, each Representative, and each Federal executive shall file with the Commission by the 31st day of January a statement disclosing gifts of money or things of value, except contributions as defined in section 201(d) of title II of this Act, received by him, his wife or minor children, or on his or their behalf during the preceding calendar year or portion thereof during which he held office, containing—

(1) The name and address of each donor from whom he, his wife or minor children received, or from whom there was received on his or their behalf, one or more gifts of money of an aggregate amount of $100 within the calendar year, together with the amount and date of such gifts;

(2) The name and address of each donor from whom he, his wife or minor children received, or from whom there was received on his or their behalf one or more gifts other than money of an aggregate value estimated by the donee of $100 or more within the calendar year, together with the date and identity of such gifts; and

(3) The total sum of gifts of money received by him, his wife or minor children, or on his or their behalf, during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (1).

Gifts from a spouse, child, parent, grandparent, brother, or sister need not be disclosed under this section.

(b) Each candidate shall by the thirtieth day after he becomes a candidate, file with the Commission a statement disclosing the information with respect to gifts required by subsection (a) for the twelve-calendar-month period preceding the month during which he became a candidate.

Statement of compensation to be filed

SEC. 303. (a) Each United States Senator, each Representative, and each Federal executive shall file with the Commission by the 31st day of January a statement disclosing income received by him or on his behalf during the preceding calendar year or portion thereof during which he held office, containing—

(1) the name and address of each person from whom he or anyone on his behalf received any such income; the amount or, if not money, the identity and value thereof; and the name and address of each person for whom such service was performed; and

(2) a description of the service performed.

(b) Each candidate shall, by the thirtieth day after the day he became a candidate, file with the Commission a statement containing the information with respect to income required by subsection (a) for the twelve-calendar-month period preceding the month during which he became a candidate.

Statements; verification; filing

SEC. 304. Statements required to be filed with the Commission—

(a) shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the person filing such statement, taken before any officer authorized to administer oaths; and

(b) shall be deemed properly filed when deposited in an established post office within the prescribed time, duly stamped, registered, and directed to the Commission, at Washington, District of Columbia; but in the event it is not received, a duplicate of such statement shall be promptly filed.

Penalty for violation

SEC. 305. Whoever, being a United States Senator, a Representative, a candidate, or a Federal executive, violates any of the provisions of this title shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Citation

SEC. 306. This title may be cited as the "Disclosure of Gifts and Certain Compensation Act".

TITLE IV—AMENDMENTS TO INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

Income tax deduction

SEC. 401. (a) Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to additional itemized deductions for individuals) is amended by renumbering section 218 as 219, and by inserting after section 217 the following new section:

"Sec. 218. Political contributions.

"(a) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION.—In the case of an individual, there shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to so much of the political contributions as does not exceed $100, payment of which is made by the taxpayer within the taxable year, except that in the case of a joint return of a husband and wife under section 6013 the deductions shall not exceed $100, and in the case of a separate return by a married individual the deduction shall not exceed $50.

"(b) VERIFICATION.—The deduction under subsection (a) shall be allowed, with respect to any political contribution, only if such political contribution is verified in such manner as the Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe by regulations.

"(c) DEFINITION OF POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section the term 'political contribution' means a gift or donation to—

"(1) any committee, association, or organization (whether incorporated or not) organized and operated exclusively for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of one or more individuals qualified by law to seek any public office; or

"(2) an individual who is qualified by law as a candidate for any Federal, State, or local elective public office in any general, special, or primary election, or in any convention of an organization described in subparagraph (1), for use by such individual to further his candidacy.

"(3) an individual shall be deemed qualified by law to seek any public office or qualified by law as a candidate for any public office if such individual, or the organization supporting the election of such individual, has taken the action necessary under the applicable law to have his name placed on the ballot for the election to fill such office or to become a candidate for such office.

"(d) CROSS REFERENCE.—

"For disallowance of deduction to estates and trusts, see section 642(i)."

(b) The table of sections for such part VII is amended by striking out the last item and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 218. Political contributions.

"Sec. 219. Cross references."

(c) Section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to definition of adjusted gross income) is amended by inserting after paragraph (S) the following paragraph:

"(9) POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—The deduction allowed by section 218."

(d) Section 276(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to certain indirect contributions to political parties) is amended by striking out "No deduction otherwise allowable under this chapter" and inserting in lieu thereof "Except as provided in section 218, no deduction otherwise allowable under this chapter."

(e) Section 642 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to special rules for credits and deductions for estates and trusts) is amended by redesignating subsection (i) and (j), and by inserting after subsection (h) the following new subsection:

"(i) POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—An estate or trust shall not be allowed the deduction for political contributions provided by section 218."

TITLE V—EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 501. This Act shall take effect January 2, 1967, except that the amendments made by title IV shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 1966, but only with respect to political contributions payment of which is made after December 31, 1966.

STATEMENT ON ELECTION REFORM LEGISLATION BY GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, REPUBLICAN, OF CALIFORNIA, RANKING REPUBLICAN OF THE HOUSE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS OF THE HOUSE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, I support and urge the adoption of appropriate election reform legislation during this session of Congress. Such reforms are long overdue. The presently scheduled hearings before the Subcommittee on Elections of the House Administration Committee should be expedited but they must be thorough and complete. Even at this late date, election reform legislation can be enacted this year. Certainly, I will do everything I can to see to it that this is accomplished.

Unfortunately, the Administration bill has a number of serious defects. For example, it would continue the present unsatisfactory practice of having the reports of contributions and campaign expenditures filed with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate. Conventions and party caucuses are left uncovered although such activities call for major contributions and expenditures. Political contributions by labor unions and their closely-related organizations are totally ignored, even though it is generally agreed that the present laws that relate to such contributions are completely inadequate. Also, the gift and income filing requirements do not apply to the policy-making officials of the Executive Department.

In order to correct these and other defects, I, together with the House Republican leadership, have introduced a bill that contains the following important additions and improvements:

1. FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION

The Republican bill would establish a five-member Federal Elections Commission to receive and maintain the required reports and statements. The Commission would be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commissioners would serve for a ten-year term and not more than three could be from the same political party. The Commisioners would have the authority to develop forms for the making of reports and statements required by this Act and to prepare and publish a manual setting forth a recomemnded and uniform method of bookkeeping and reporting for use by persons required to make reports. The reports and statements filed would be available for public inspection and copy, and, on a regular basis, summaries of the reports received would be published. In addition, the Commission would have the authority to make audits and field investigations with respect to reports and statements filed under the provisions of this Act and with respect to alleged failures to file. Also, it would be authorized to issue subpoenas and to report suspected violations of the law to the appropriate law enforcement officers. (Title II)

I believe it would be a mistake to establish the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Seretary of the Senate as the offices that would receive the detailed reports of contributions and campaign expenditures. These offices are not equipped to handle the anticipated avalanche of reports. Moreover, under the present law, reports are now filed in these offices. It is generally acknowledged that this has not been a successful system. The new provisions and requirements should not be burdened by the discredited procedures of the past.

It would be most unfortunate if the proposed election reforms did not contain adequate and enforceable reporting and disclosure provisions. At the present time, there is widespread cynicism toward the legal regulation of campaign funds. We do not believe that the reporting provisions of the Administration's bill are strong enough to dispel this cynicism and to restore public confidence. Certainly, reporting provisions without adequate enforcement are no answer. Officials who are, in fact, employees of Congress cannot be expected to devote the time or determination that effective administration demands. I believe that the establishment of a bipartisan Elections Commission would correct these obvious deficiencies in the Administration's bill.

2. POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY BUSINESS AND LABOR

In the Repjublican bill, the prohibition against contributions by government contractors has been expanded to include labor organizations that are recognized as the collective bargaining representatives of the employees of such contractors and all organizations or associations that are directed or financially supported by such labor organizations or such corporate government contractors. (Title I, Sec. 104)

The prohibition against campaign contributions in the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, as it was enacted into law during the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt. applied only to corporations. It later became apparent that this prohibition should be broadened to include labor organizations. Thus, over a Democratic presidential veto, a provision was placed in the War Labor Disputes Act that specifically extended the prohibition in the Corrupt Practices Act to labor unions. Then, in 1947, and again over a Democratic presidential veto, the prohibition against campaign contributions by labor unions was made a permanent part of the law.

That political expenditures by labor unions and related groups are substantial and require continued Congressional atention is reflected by the following excerpt from the report entitled "Financing the 1964 Election" by the Citizens' Research Foundation of Princeton, New Jersey:

"Labor groups and other miscellaneous

non-party committees contribute to campaign chests, or wage parallel campaigns on behalf of selected candidates and causes. The Democratic financial picture, in particular, is not complete without data on labor financing. . ."

"In 1964, 31 national-level labor committees made gross disbursements of $3.7 million, compared with 21 committees disbursing $2.3 million in 1960. Labor transfers out, consisting mostly of allocations to other committees and candidates, were $2.9 million, or more than twice as much as in 1960; allocations to candidates for Congress were about twice their 1960 level. In 1964 and 1960, numerous labor committees spent more than they raised, indicating accruals from collections in non-election years."

In addition, the Republic bill would restrict the ban on political contributions by Federal contractors to Federal elections. Moreover, this restriction on political contributions by Federal contractors and unions that represent the employees of such contractors would not become operative unless the government contract required payments from the United States in excess of $100,000.

I believe that businessmen and unions should be placed on the same footing. One should not be prohibited from making political contributions at the State or local level because he is negotiating, or has negotiated, a contract with the Federal government. Moreover, it is ridiculous to prohibit an individual from making a political contribution at any level because he happens to have a small contract to provide janitorial services for the local post office or has entered into an agreement to lease a vacant lot to the government for use as a parking lot. Yet, this would be the result under Sec. 611, Title I of the Administration's bill.

Restrictions on contributions to State and local elections should be controlled at the State level. A contract with the Federal government should not disqualify anyone from contributing to a State or local campaign.

Similarly, I do not believe that a small contractor with the Federal government should be barred from making a political contribution. I would apply the de minimus rule in this situation. Thus, I would not prohibit contributions by contractors other than corporations where the United States payment under the contract is less than $100,000.

3. CANDIDATE AND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS REQUIRED TO FILE

The gift and income filing requirements of the Administration bill are expanded under my bill to apply to those Executive Department employees who occupy the offices and positions that are included in the five salary levels of the Federal Executive Salary Act of 1964. The occupants of these positions are the policymakers in the Executive Branch. They have the power of decision and most of them are presidential appointees.

The failure to extend the disclosure provisions of the bill to the Executive Branch is justified in the President's message as follows: "In the Executive Branch, the acceptance of gifts of more than nominal value is already strictly forbidden by Executive Order 11222 of May 8, 1965."

We fail to see how the fact that acceptance of gifts is forbidden by executive order is a sufficient reason for not extending the proposed provision to those in the Executive Branch. An executive order does not have the force and effect of a law nor does it contain criminal penalties. Certainly, public confidence in our government would be enhanced if reporting were required. Moreover, the President's statement, "For such reports to be made by members of the legislative branch can do much to demonstrate that wealthy interests are not permitted to affect—or even appear to affect—the conduct of government through their largesse" applies with equal force to the executive branch of the government.

In addition, those seeking election to the House of Representatives and to the Senate would be required to file a report disclosing the gifts and income received in the twelve months prior to the date he became a candidate. Certainly, this information should be available to the electorate. It is the same type of information that an incumbent is required to file.

4. CONVENTIONS AND PARTY CAUCUSES PLACED UNDER THE DISCLOSURE PROVISIONS

The definition of election has been clarified so that the provisions of the Act clearly apply to conventions and party caucuses held to nominate a candidate. (Title I, Sec. 101(a) and Title II, Sec. 201(a)).

Although in his message the President stated that his bill would bring convention nomination contests under the disclosure law, a closer reading of the submitted bill reflects that this may not be the case. In order to clarify this apparent ambiguity, or possible oversight, the language of the Republican bill specifically includes nominating conventions and party caucuses.

5. DEFINITION OF CANDIDATE CLARIFIED

The definition of a candidate as an "individual who seeks election" has been clarified by setting forth the specific actions that, if taken, will be construed as seeking nomination or election. (Title I, Sec. 101(b), Title II, Sec. 201(b), and Title III, Sec. 301(d)).

Thus, an individual shall be considered a candidate who (1) has taken the required action under a State law or (2) has received contributions and made expenditures or who has given his consent for any other person to do so with a view to bringing about his nomination or election.

6. LIMITATION ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS CLARIFIED

The $5,000 limitation on contributions to a particular candidate has been clarified so that such limitation applies only to a committee or committees whose activities are primarily in support of such candidate. Thus, an individual would be permitted to give $5,000 to the campaign committee of a particular candidate and then make an additional contribution to a Congressional Campaign Committee or a State or National Committee. (Title I, Sec. 102(a)).

7. PROHIBITION AGAINST SALES BY CANDIDATES OR COMMITTEES CLARIFIED

The prohibition against sales of any kind by a candidate or political committee has been revised so that normal arm's-length transactions by the candidate as well as the "usual and known business trade or profession" dealings of a candidate will be permitted. (Sec. 102(d)).

Under the Administration bill, a candidate could be prohibited from selling his home or his car or engaging in many other legitimate business transactions that are totally unrelated to his campaign. Similarly, a Campaign Committee could be prevented from selling used typewriters or waste paper. This type of normal business activity would be permitted under the Republican bill.

8. TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

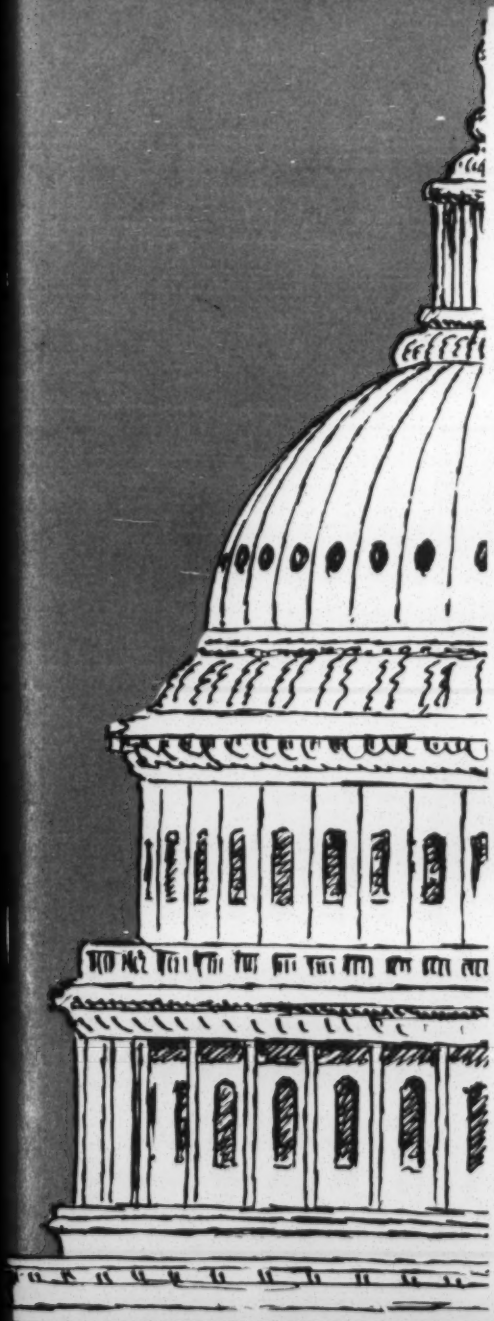
The Republican bill would provide a special tax deduction in an amount up to $100, for contributions to any candidate qualified by law to seek public office or to any organization supporting such candidate, in any election campaign or primary—Federal, State or local. This deduction would be allowed in addition to the standard deduction and would not be limited to those who itemize their deductions. (Title IV.)

A tax deduction for political contributions was advocated by the Republican Coordinating Committee in December 1965 and by the House Republican Policy Committee in its statement on "Election Reform and Deductions for Political Contributions."

That there is a growing interest in elections, and a willingness to participate through campaign contributions, is illustrated by the fact that in the 1964 campaign, a large percent of the total funds collected by the Republican Party was in contributions of $100 or less. Thus, for 800,000 Republican contributors, the average contribution was $11. Significantly, a recent report by the Citizens' Research Foundation of Princeton, N.J., states that in 1964: The Democrats received approximately 69 percent of the dollar value of their total individual contributions in amounts of $500 and over. The Republicans, by contrast, received only 28 percent of the dollar value of their total individual contributions in these large sums.

Certainly, small contributions must be encouraged. Providing a $100 tax deduction is, we believe, a logical and fair way to achieve this result. It would encourage individuals in all walks of life to contribute. Moreover, it would prevent candidates from becoming too dependent upon a few large contributors.

Mr. Chairman, undoubtedly as these hearings continue, there will be additional questions posed and many improvements suggested. Certainly, this is a very difficult field in which to legislate. However, the importance and the need for this legislation cannot be over-emphasized. It is my hope that the improvements which have been suggested in my bill, H.R. 16203, will be helpful to the subcommittee as it continues with its important work. I respectfully request that this bill be accepted as a part of my statement and that it be included at this point in the RECORD.



Labor Looks at the 89th Congress

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

An AFL-CIO Legislative Report

Congress

89TH CONGRESS } SENATE { REPORT
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ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

PURSUANT TO

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EVC Congress

The Powell Case: Bungling All Around

PAUL DUKE

ONE HOUR before the House took up the Adam Clayton Powell case on March 1, Democratic Representative John Brademas of South Bend, Indiana, received a telephone call from a Negro minister who felt that the punishment recommended by a special nine-man committee was too harsh. It was the only such protest received by Brademas from his Negro constituents or, for that matter, from anyone.

The failure to muster substantial Negro backing proved to be an unexpected handicap to the Harlem Democrat's efforts to be seated during the first two months of the new session. Not only was Powell deprived of any effective counterforce to the vociferous mail from whites demanding that he be kept out of Congress, but at least some House members were convinced that they could join in the assault without serious political injury from Negro voters. The case can even be made that the lack of Negro pressure was more crucial than the white pressure in the defeat by twenty votes of the special committee's plan to seat Powell while subjecting him to severe penalties and censure.

Wails came from Ralph Bunche, Martin Luther King, and many other Negro leaders only after the House decision to deny Powell a seat. The protests seemed incongruous in view of the earlier silence but showed that the leaders, surprised by the severity of the House action, now felt that the case transcended Powell himself and was rather an issue of a Negro being punished by white men, some with notorious records of bias. The protests also indicated that Powell would have at least the semblance of a united front when the House considered the case again in the wake of his re-election.

Above the Battle

The principal explanation for Powell's initial failure to gain significant Negro support lay in his estrangement from the civil-rights movement. When new leaders appeared in the late 1950's, Powell's response was to scoff at the challengers and to continue his old style of brash aloofness. Few expected him to take to the streets, but there was some expectation that for his own protection he might at least make some perfunctory gestures. He didn't bother. He didn't even show up to vote for the civil-rights bills of 1965 and 1966.

On January 10—the very day Congress convened and the day the House first refused to seat Powell—the Washington *Post* appeared with a front-page story that quoted him as lampooning "weak knees" Wilkins, Martin "Loser" King, and "Whitey" Young. The consequence was a disposition throughout the civil-rights movement to let Powell fight his own battle.

As Roy Wilkins put it: "It is hardly to be wondered that the civil-rights organizations did not spend sleepless nights in his defense. He thought himself all-powerful, all-wise. He didn't need help. Adam always spread the aura about himself that he had everything well in hand."

Even so, it is likely that the civil-rights groups would have rallied strongly to his side had the multitudes been stirred to battle. That they were not is evidence of what many leaders view as a growing sophistication among a Negro electorate no longer easily swayed by traditional demagoguery. Scattered surveys showed, in fact, that rank-and-file Negroes were not nearly so upset about Powell's plight as some accounts implied, despite a demonstration by a thousand persons on the Capitol steps on opening day. "Sure, most Negroes are mad at the refusal to seat Adam because they think it's a cruel application of the double standard," a Negro Congressman told me. "But this doesn't mean they like Adam all that much. There are a lot of them who think he's a disgrace to our people and ought to be punished."

The logical deduction is that Powell's megalomania led him into major miscalculations. One notable example was his brief flirtation with extremism last fall. Proclaiming himself the father of black power, Powell invited civil-rights leaders to attend a black-power conference in the suite of the House Education and Labor Committee. Not one prominent rights official showed up. This fur-

ther widened the breach with the Negro leadership and alienated many members of Congress who looked with disfavor on the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee serving as sponsor of such a meeting on Congressional property.

NOR DID Powell gauge the extent of the antipathy building up against him when the Democratic majority on his committee rebelled a few weeks later against his excesses and voted to curb his powers. When, finally, in December, a housekeeping committee began delving into Powell's travel vouchers, the chairman's reaction was to laugh off the whole thing as an unpleasant joke and to pursue even more vigorously the pleasures of Bimini, his favored island in the Bahamas.

By the time he returned to Washington on January 8, Powell's problems had multiplied. The housekeeping committee had confirmed suspicions about the abuse of government funds, and the New York courts had cited him for criminal contempt growing out of Powell's fight over a defamation judgment that had swollen to $164,000. A number of House members were now openly calling for his exclusion from Congress. Powell seemed unfazed. Arriving at the airport, he was as bouncy and breezy as ever, and even C. Sumner Stone, his chief aide, had a hard time convincing him that he was in deep trouble. When the truth finally sank in, Powell's tack was to resort to his customary line of defense—that he was being persecuted because of his race.

Despite Powell's blunders, it is entirely possible that he would have been seated but for the Democratic leadership's ineptitude in handling the case. Speaker John W. McCormack in particular seemed oblivious to the rising tide of opinion demanding that Powell be removed from office. To one member who visited him, the Speaker contended at some length that it was inconceivable that a duly elected member would be denied his seat. Although Democrat Lionel Van Deerlin of California announced on November 30 that he intended to offer a resolution to prevent seating, it was not until January 5 that McCormack called him in and tried to dissuade him. When a delegation from the House's liberal bloc, the Democratic Study Group, argued for some compromise to head off strong action on the floor, McCormack seemed stunned, making it clear that he was opposed to even mild disciplinary action.

Farewell to Moderation

If the Speaker was indeed unaware of the seriousness of the uprising, he was jolted to reality at the party caucus on January 9, when Democrats rejected by 122 to 88 a motion reluctantly supported by McCormack to suspend Powell as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. The caucus voted instead to remove him altogether as chairman after some Democrats argued that only such drastic action could save his seat. The chamber's mood plainly assured approval for Van Deerlin's plan to keep Powell on the sidelines while an investigative panel studied his conduct and made recommendations.

The special committee's conclusion on February 23 that Powell should be seated, censured, fined $40,000, and stripped of seniority was widely hailed as the most judicious compromise that could be framed. But again the Democratic command underestimated popular sentiment. With Southern Democrats almost unanimously against any kind of arrangement that would seat Powell and with the Republicans sharply split, the burden fell on Northern and Western Democrats, who normally support the leadership on crucial issues. But the 222-202 defeat of the motion to seat Powell found twenty-eight of these Democrats in the opposition column. Similarly, twelve of the twenty Democratic chairmen of legislative committees sided against the leadership.

The defeat of the special committee's recommendation removed the last vestige of moderation in solving the crisis. The House proceeded to approve, 307-116, the hastily drafted motion of Republican Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri that Powell be barred from the Ninetieth Congress. "At no time—neither on January 10 nor on March 1—did the leadership come up with any strategy for trying to prevent this mess," remarked one Northern Democrat.

The House decision was a classic example of overkill. Especially distressing was the chamber's disregard for the Constitutional issues raised in the committee's thirty-five-page report. Not only did the panel find that Powell had met the basic Constitutional requirements of age, residency, and citizenship, but it suggested that the nearly half a million persons in New York's Eighteenth District would be denied the fundamental right of representation if he was not seated. This was a tacit recognition of the fact that Powell's constituents were not likely to turn their backs on him even if Congress did.

IN ITS WAY, the committee's course represented a masterful conciliation of opposing approaches. The nine members, headed by the dean of the House, Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, were divided largely along partisan lines. The camp of hardliners included all four Republican members—Arch Moore of West Virginia, Charles M. Teague of California, Clark MacGregor of Minnesota, and Vernon W. Thomson of Wisconsin—plus Democrat Claude Pepper of Florida. They believed that the House should in some fashion keep Powell from taking his seat. The committeemen who favored a lesser punishment were Celler and the other three Democrats, James C. Corman of California, Andrew Jacobs, Jr., of Indiana, and John Conyers, Jr., of Michigan. Thus, at the start the committee stood five to four against seating Powell.

The majority's proposals for barring him dominated the committee's early sessions. But for one reason or another, various ideas proved impractical. Moreover, a study of the precedents for punishment provided impressive evidence that the House would be on dangerous ground in refusing to seat anyone for questionable morals.

The framers of the Constitution recognized as much when they debated the question. The 1787 convention delegates rejected as "improper and dangerous" suggestions that the national legislature be

given power to set qualifications beyond the enumerated ones for membership. On several occasions during the nineteenth century the House resisted the temptation to exclude members-elect after a majority acknowledged the Constitutional limitations. As early as 1807 a House report declared that deviation could mean "any sort of dangerous qualification might be established—of property, color, creed, or political professions." A more recent application of the Constitutional leash occurred in 1933, when the House voted to seat Francis N. Shoemaker of Minnesota after concluding that his conviction for a felony did not deprive him of "citizenship."

The records revealed that on the few occasions when admission was denied, the House was motivated largely by public hysteria. A wave of anti-Mormon feeling, for example, cost Brigham Roberts of Utah, who had three wives, a seat in 1900; and anti-radical attitudes kept out Socialist Victor Berger of Wisconsin in 1919.

The Harsh Half-Measures

"The more we studied, the more we realized Powell should be seated," said MacGregor. Accordingly, the hard-liners caved in.

The resulting coalescence of viewpoint on the seating issue left the committee only with the matter of fixing punishment. This was no easy chore. Conyers, the lone Negro member of the panel, felt that a stiff censure would suffice. Celler and Corman wanted to go further, but questioned taking the unprecedented step of docking Powell's pay to reimburse the government. The four Republicans, having retreated on seating, made it plain that they would accept nothing less than the full measure of punishment, and ultimately they prevailed. Committee sources suggest that the severity of the sentence would have been tempered with at least some mercy had Powell, in his lone appearance before the group, displayed any willingness to co-operate with the inquiry.

To some, the outstanding merit of the committee verdict was its very harshness. As they reasoned, Powell would never submit abjectly to such humiliation after having

been defiant for so long, and thus would involuntarily retire from Congress. "What proved to be sound Constitutionally turned out to be the best practically," observed one member. "It could have made him a quitter instead of a martyr."

The subtleties of such thinking were obliterated in the tide of emotionalism that engulfed the House floor in the ensuing March 1 debate. Those conservatives prone to hold up the Constitution as the great shield of American freedom did not appear impressed with the argument advanced by MacGregor in one of the few memorable speeches. "Many of you in this chamber have joined me in criticizing the Supreme Court for its broad constructions of the Constitution," he said. "We have called for strict interpretations, and will again. How anomalous it would be for those of us in this chamber who have berated the Court for its broad constructions to now act on the question of Mr. Powell's exclusion under the broadest interpretation possible."

THE DEBATE ranged mainly from the extraneous to the ridiculous. Republican Representative Durwood G. Hall of Missouri, one of the more notorious Constitution-wavers, assailed Powell for calling his colleagues "hypocrites." Curtis cited a violation of the Ten Commandments. Many saw the issue primarily as one of protecting the integrity of Congress, implying that the removal of Powell from the scene would reverse the low rating given the Legislative branch in opinion polls. Few contended, as Conyers did, that to reject the committee's solution would be "to throw the Constitution into the wastebasket."

It is questionable whether the case will produce any historic confrontation between the courts and Congress, even though Celler's committee warned that refusal to grant seating might lead to a Constitutional crisis. There are no clear guidelines because there has never been a test of Congressional authority in such matters. The suit filed by Powell's lawyers in Federal District Court in Washington on March 8 was the first directly to challenge the power of the legislators to go beyond the enumerated qualifications in barring members.

Some scholars believe that the Federal judiciary could agree with Alexander Hamilton's assertion that "the qualifications of the persons... are defined and fixed by the Constitution," and direct that Powell be seated. In its landmark decision of 1962 ordering the reapportionment of state legislatures, the Supreme Court discarded the old restraints against entering "the political thicket." Moreover, it explicitly claimed for itself the role of "ultimate interpreter" of the Constitution. It should also be noted that in its unanimous ruling last December 5 that the Georgia legislature could not bar membership to Julian Bond for pacifism, the court asserted supremacy in judging the qualifications for a legislative assembly.

A large body of legal opinion, however, holds that the courts would decline to intervene in what is essentially an internal action by a co-equal branch of government. The judiciary has tended historically to take the broad view when challenges have been directed at Congressional authority. And even if the House did go outside the Constitutional rules for membership, there is no general mandate for the courts to redress such violations. Federal Judge George Hart suggested in arguments before the District Court on April 4 that intervention might be an assertion of "unequal power" by the judiciary that would contravene the sovereign immunity of Congress. In addition to its lawmaking function, Congress has a number of institutional powers that are quasi-judicial in nature. Among

these are the powers to judge the elections, votes, and qualifications of its members. The courts have long acknowledged that in its consideration of these matters a branch of Congress becomes, in effect, a judicial tribunal. Thus the courts could hold that the Powell case is not justiciable because it is outside their jurisdiction.

There is an important distinction between the political rights upheld in the reapportionment ruling and in the Bond case and those cited by Powell's lawyers. The Supreme Court is plainly superior to state legislatures and has the power to enforce its decrees relating to the states. It was, as the court stated in *Baker* v. *Carr* in 1962, a question of "the consistency of state action with the Constitution." Powell's case involved a separate but equal branch of government and posed the question, as Judge Hart observed, whether the courts would now go deeper "into that thicket."

At the Door Again

From a practical standpoint, there would be no assurance that the House would honor a Supreme Court declaration affirming that Powell's rights had been violated. The House might instead defy the judiciary. It is not inconceivable that many members who have lambasted Supreme Court rulings on race, religion, and crime would welcome the opportunity to give the justices their comeuppance.

In any event, the legal complexities were not expected to be resolved prior to a resubmission of the case to the House following Powell's victory in a special election to fill the vacancy. If the chamber reversed its stand, the Constitutional questions would become academic. With most civil-rights groups now behind Powell, Democratic leaders hoped that the outcome would be different this time. The atmosphere in the House remained charged with anti-Powell sentiment, however, and Powell's continuing arrogance and pronouncements from Bimini about a Negro third-force movement only made things more difficult for those who were trying to persuade the House to heed the letter of the Constitution rather than the letters of constituents.

India's Opposition Scents Power

SUNDAR RAJAN

BOMBAY

THE FEBRUARY national election, resulting in unexpectedly large gains for a widely divergent assortment of Congress Party enemies, has brought in its wake a number of unusual events. Some hours before the new legislative assembly of West Bengal State opened its budget session on March 8, policemen quietly withdrew from the legislative building. Wild with enthusiasm, more than ten thousand Calcuttans flocked in to witness the first meeting of what was described by the Communist Finance Minister as a "people's assembly." One columnist noted how factory workers, rickshaw pullers, and bootblacks went round the chamber and affectionately touched the speaker's chair. Later, when Governor Padmaja Naidu, a federal appointee, ceremonially entered the House to deliver her inaugural speech, there were cries of "Long live the revolution!" from the public galleries. A few days earlier, the thirteen-party left-wing government's action program had been presented to forty thousand people at an "open-air legislature" held on one of the city's huge playgrounds.

To members of West Bengal's humbled Congress Party, occupying the opposition benches for the first time since independence nineteen years ago, the scenes were galling. Like their counterparts in seven other states where the party has lost power as a result of India's fourth general election, they began to wonder whether the parliamentary system nourished with typical British care was not being degraded by such displays. "A virus seems to have taken hold of the country. May God save our people!" cried the defeated Congress Party Chief Minister of Madras State. But this was only a panicky reaction. Soon, Congress leaders were sending congratulatory messages to the new Chief Ministers of West Bengal, Kerala, Orissa, Madras, Bihar, and Punjab. (Haryana and Uttar Pradesh were lost later.) There were long-distance calls from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi assuring them of the federal government's good will and co-operation. Congress Party Chairman Kumaraswami Kamaraj announced that in all the opposition-controlled states his party men would function "in the best parliamentary tradition." He told party leaders to set a "fine example" to the opposition—implying that, unlike their political rivals, Congress members would not seek to paralyze legislative bodies through violent tactics.

THE RESULTS of the February election, the biggest democratic exercise known to history, have exceeded the fondest expectations of opposition parties. The Kerala Communists alone had seemed to be sure of capturing power. On the eve of the election, differences had weakened the party coalitions in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa States. Neither the Dravidian Progressive Federation (DPF) in Madras nor the Akali Dal in Punjab was certain of winning absolute majorities. At the national level, opposition leaders were privately admitting that they would be satisfied if the Congress Party's strength in the 521-member Lok Sabha (lower house) was reduced to 300 from 365.

The opposition now controls eight states, with the possibility of another —Rajasthan—coming under their sway in the months ahead because of the ruling party's precarious position in its legislature. The loss of Uttar Pradesh, which came when Congress Party dissidents joined the opposition on a routine vote of confidence as the new state legislature convened on April 1, was a particularly hard blow. The state borders New Delhi, is India's most populous, and as the center of the

The story of Congressional Appropriations Committees

EV Congress

ENORMOUS POWER and ANTIQUATED PRACTICES

The power to veto, curtail or delay Congressional action is vested in the Appropriations Committees

By David Cohen

Congressional appropriation procedures need overhauling. Current appropriations practices, adopted nearly a century ago, are clearly unfit and inefficient for the latter part of the 20th century.

The House and Senate Appropriations Committees have acquired enormous power as a result of these antiquated practices—a power so great that even when the Congress legislates for a modern age the Appropriations Committees have the power to veto, curtail or hinder Congressional action.

This power to negate often results in the Appropriations Committees (especially in the House) frustrating the will of the House, the Senate and the President.

To put the appropriations process on a rational basis that serves society's needs requires comprehensive action to achieve long-term and short-term targets. It requires fundamental changes in the institutional practices of both the Legislative and Executive Branches of government. It requires legislative reforms that allow the majority of the majority party to work its will in the Appropriations Committees. It requires democratic procedures that result in the committee chairman being made responsible to the majority of the majority party. It requires the Executive Branch to begin broader, more intensive economic planning.

The power of the Third House of Congress—the Appropriations Committees—is neither fully realized nor well understood. Horror stories abound. Increas-

IUD AGEND 6/67

ingly, it is evident that the 90th Congress will use the annual appropriations requirement to repeal or delay the significant progress made by previous Congresses.

Conservatives and reactionaries on the Appropriations Committees—especially in the House—are leading an onslaught that already threatens effective civil rights enforcement.

Incentives for metropolitan planning (only a $30 million request) are apparently dead for fiscal 1968. After slicing rent supplements to skeleton-size ($10 million of a $40 million request) the conservative-reactionary coalition eliminated even the $10 million on the House floor. Only the most intense efforts by the Administration, the labor movement, and city officials prevented the demise of model cities.

How does the Third House do its wrecking?

Typically, when Congress enacts federal grant-in-aid legislation—such as aid to elementary and secondary education to assist children from low income families—it authorizes funds. In fiscal 1967, $1,433,589,014 was thus authorized, and that fund level established a ceiling.

No more than the authorization may be spent. Moreover, no funds may be spent until the money is appropriated, which requires an entirely separate Congressional action. Congress then has the power, on the second go-round, to appropriate less money, or no money—but not more money—for a specific program.

It often exercises that power. In fiscal 1967 it appropriated only $1,070,410,000 for educating children, thereby prohibiting the expenditure of over $350 million of education funds previously authorized.

Another typical appropriation problem is illustrated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VI prohibits the expenditure of federal funds for programs that discriminate on account of race. This ban is not self-executing. Federal employees must be hired to enforce the Congressional mandate, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act specifically authorizes such funds as may be necessary to enforce the law.

But the Appropriations Committee slashed the Administration's requests for personnel. Thus, the Civil Rights Act's prohibition on discrimination remains inadequately enforced. The Congressional mandate was further undermined when the House Appropriations Committee severely chastised federal officials for enforcing the act.

On June 30, fiscal 1967 will end. By then, or shortly thereafter, the Congress will have appropriated approximately $125 billion. But apart from some briefings by the Budget Bureau, neither the House nor the Senate Appropriations Committee studied the total budget. Since Congress disposes of budget recommendations piecemeal, through a dozen or more appropriations bills, it discards the bare mini-priority framework used by the Budget Bureau.

The appropriations process is so ungeared to present-day needs that even on the basis of annual appropriations, existing programs are neither evaluated against existing needs or purposes nor examined systematically. No real attempt is made to relate either present needs to future ones or present federal expenditure effort to present needs.

The result is that old established domestic and military programs—sacred cows of the Appropriations Committees—have little difficulty obtaining the federal dollar while new programs are treated like poor relations.

The immediate challenge to liberals is to develop feasible ways of breaking the stranglehold now held by the Appropriations Committees. Increasingly, this is a high-priority matter, for we will meet our public service needs only with adequate federal funding.

Appropriation bills originate in the House. On controversial issues the point of Congressional origin

is of critical importance, so that the House plays a crucial role in determining the final Congressional result.

The House Appropriations Committee's power will not be circumscribed by a frontal assault. Until the Executive Branch engages in planning—determining necessary outlays to meet our needs over a certain number of years—there is no realistic chance of bypassing the gantlet of annual appropriations.

To limit the power of the House Appropriations Committee requires making changes that are far-reaching but are within the framework of the House as an institution. To understand that committee is to learn how its members are chosen, what views they hold, why the subcommittee system is so important, and the role Chairman Mahon (D.-Tex.) plays in committee recommendations.

The political composition of the House Appropriations Committee has special importance. In the 90th Congress the committee consists of 30 Democrats and 21 Republicans but, without regard to party label, the conservatives have a commanding majority.

Democratic members are chosen for this coveted assignment by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, which serves as the 'Committee on Committees' for Democratic House members. The usual practice is to have the membership reflect a geographical distribution that de-emphasizes political viewpoint. The House Democratic Party is overwhelmingly liberal, but liberal Democrats are greatly under-represented on the Appropriations Committee.

In contrast, the House Republicans on the Appropriations Committee represent a majority of the House Republican party. Most House Republicans are arch-conservative and, of its 21 Appropriations members, 18 fit this category.

Since 1963, the House Democratic leadership has elected additional liberals for membership on the committee, but this effort has only reduced the conservative majority. Even in the liberal 89th Congress, the conservatives had a majority.

The subcommittees usually decide the divisive issues. Rarely does the full committee overturn a subcommittee's decision on a major issue.

Under existing practices the committee chairman has absolute power to appoint chairmen and members of subcommittees.

In conflicts between the chairman and the subcommittee chairman, the chairman invariably prevails. Rep. Mahon favors drastic budget cuts in "non-essential" programs. In January, Mahon defined as "non-essentials" the Teacher Corps, model cities, rent supplements and some OEO programs.

Liberal battles that are lost in subcommittee stay lost. The full committee is neither liberal nor likely to oppose its chairman by being more liberal than he. Efforts to change subcommittee bills in the Appropriations Committee are as they are on the House floor: to cut or eliminate new, innovative and socially significant programs.

Once a bill is reported out by the full committee, it is even more difficult to increase funds on high priority domestic programs.

Since 1961, the exceptions are few: in 1963 on an accelerated public works program, and in 1966 on the rent supplement program. Both efforts had the full support of the White House and House Democratic leadership. Even with such support, the struggle is all up-hill.

On controversial matters, House Republicans are obviously not bound by Appropriations Committee decisions. In the non-roll call teller votes, and especially on the motion to recommit (a parliamentary device available to opponents of the bill through which minority party members may exercise first rights) decisions of the Appropriations Committee may be reversed.

If the issue is sufficiently important, and the program has little support within the House Republican Party, the GOP Policy Committee will support severe cuts. Invariably, this kind of move gets the overwhelming support of House Republicans.

On the recent vote to eliminate rent supplements —a goal sought by the Republican Policy Committee —only 12 Republicans, of 187, opposed their party's position.

In the 90th Congress, the Senate has a narrow liberal majority, but the Senate Appropriations Committee does not reflect this majority.

On the Democratic side, conservatives are much over-represented. Republican liberals are reasonably well represented on the Senate Appropriations Committee, but the conservative coalition is in a commanding position when it gains support from some moderates.

If the Democratic Party remains the majority party in the House, it must act responsibly. The large majority of the Democratic Party is liberal, yet, the committee system, especially in Appropriations, stymies

efforts to implement the programs the majority supports.

The majority party should no longer be the slave of party ratios on the Appropriations Committee based on the number of Democrats and Republicans in the House. Under an old arrangement between Speaker Rayburn and Minority Leader Martin, party ratios were fixed at 30 for the majority party and 20 for the minority party.

From the 1958 elections until 1964, this represented roughly the Democratic-Republican party ratio. The 1964 Democratic landslide resulted in a readjustment that reflected the actual ratios.

One method to achieve party responsibility would be to assign enough seats on the committee to assure control by a majority of the majority party. This has been accomplished in the Rules Committee by providing for a two-to-one party ratio, and by filling vacancies with liberal members.

Such a policy would give a majority of the majority party, when it is Democratic, a chance to have its views concurred in by a majority of the Appropriations Committee. When Republicans have a House majority, conservatives would obviously have committee control.

Such an adjustment requires a change in the rules at the opening of Congress, and could be achieved only in a liberal Congress. Obviously, conservatives would resist the change, as would those legislators who traditionally support the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. But with strong leadership, such difficulties could be overcome.

One other basic change is essential when the Democrats are in the majority. The Democratic caucus should require all committee chairmen to be responsible to it.

There are several methods of achieving this. The caucus could elect committee chairmen each Congress. Or the Speaker could nominate committee chairmen and the caucus would ratify them. Or the caucus could elect from the three senior members on the committee.

Whatever alternative is chosen, the principle that committee chairmen are responsible to the majority caucus should be established. Such a principle would tend to place constraints on Rep. Mahon's power and on the other committee chairmen who use their power in ways that violate the will of the House Democratic Party's majority.

Permitting the majority party to have twice as many members as the minority party on Appropriations, and making committee chairmen responsible to the caucus would be notable achievements. No real progress can be made until these reforms are obtained.

A basic alteration in the funding procedure is ultimately required for domestic programs. The pattern of chaos in legislative appropriations is more chaotic only in degree than the resource allocation procedures used by the Executive Branch.

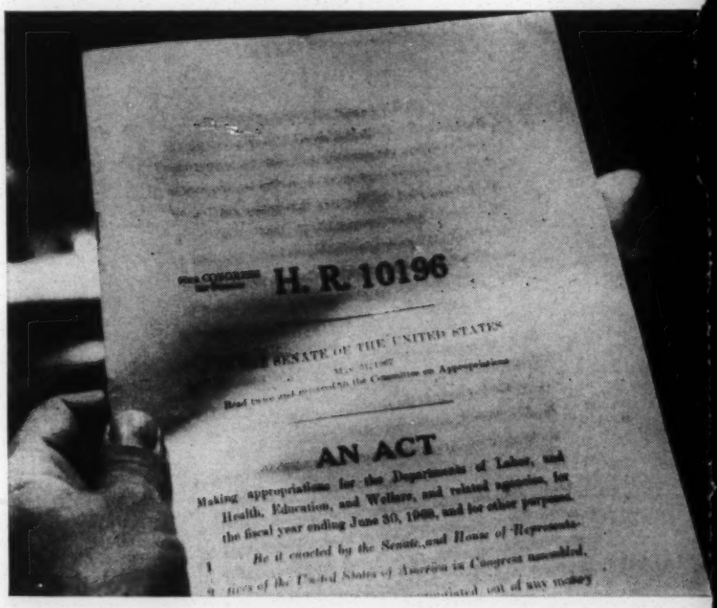
Since 1961, the Executive Branch of government has initiated many improvements, but the salient fact remains: the Budget Bureau is institutionally incapable of planning the nation's priority needs.

The Executive Branch needs to be organized so that it can plan adequately for the complex needs of our society. It must establish goals and priorities geared to meeting our requirements for policies in employment, income and public services. It must set target dates to meet these priorities.

Until that is done, we can expect Congress to insist on annual appropriations, with all its uncertainties. Until the Executive Branch engages in full-scale economic planning Congress will rigidly insist on all of its appropriation prerogatives.

An examination of the nation's known needs in housing for low- and moderate-income families and in other public facilities reveals the non-planning process that runs through the Executive Branch and, by necessity, Congress.

A large housing production gap exists. Overall



housing production has been about 60 percent of what is needed.

Our tremendous national needs for housing and public facilities dramatize the urgency of planning and acting. Nevertheless, the Executive Branch has failed to develop and articulate the means of meeting these needs with selected target dates.

Until it does so, the Congress will remain singularly unresponsive to the nation's overall needs, and the appropriations procedure will remain a hindrance rather than a help.

On some programs, the Executive Branch has supported new departures. President Johnson's Education Message on Feb. 28, 1967, pointed to the need for "a better education timetable," so that education funds would be appropriated sufficiently early to enable schools and colleges to plan effectively. At least the pertinence of time scheduling and certainty of funding has been articulated.

In seeking a $400 million appropriation for model cities for fiscal 1968, the Administration was merely asking for funds that Congress had already authorized. The Administration believed, on the basis of the demand generated within cities, large and small, for model cities funds, that all $400 million could be efficiently allocated within fiscal 1968, but not all the monies could be efficiently spent.

The Administration sought the full authorization to assure the participating communities that as planned programs began, the funds would be available. Assurance that funds will be available once programs are underway is vital to the model cities concept.

Citizen participation is a requirement in the planning and operation of model cities programs. Inevitably, such a program results in raising the aspirations and expectations of citizens in a model city. If funds are uncertain, discouragement costs the program its momentum and may even defeat it.

The techniques for funding urban, education, employment and other vital social programs outside the annual appropriations process are well known to legislators, but having been used so sparingly, they are hardly known to the general public. One method is to permit authorizations to be spent from debt receipts—authority for the Treasury to use borrowed money or for the activity itself to borrow from the public.

Another method is to use contract authorizations—authority to incur obligations before the money is appropriated. These techniques will remain unused until the Congress believes that a compelling need and political demand exist for their use.

Essential long-term change must be initiated by the Executive Branch. As part of its policy, and in its public expressions, the Executive Branch needs to relate its social programs to an overall scheme of priorities that considers how fast they must be implemented and what size the federal outlays should be.

At present, federal programs are discussed in a vacuum. Although the Executive Branch has made a small start in emphasizing certain programs, its approach remains piecemeal and lacks an overall strategy. It has failed to relate time schedules to resource allocations.

The dramatic growth of American society has multiplied our needs and our problems. The needs cannot be met, nor the problems solved, with antiquated governmental machinery. Both Congress and the Executive Branch must move effectively to modernize their procedures for a modern society.

David Cohen is a legislative representative of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1969

The House and Its Self-Imposed Gag

By NORMAN C. MILLER

WASHINGTON—The House of Representatives is largely composed of cowardly and incompetent boobs who can't be trusted to vote responsibly on major issues.

Stripped of smooth-sounding verbiage, that is an accurate summary of reasons House leaders give for repeatedly invoking procedural restrictions that prohibit the amendment of important legislation once it reaches the House floor. These "closed rules" leave the general membership helpless to do anything except vote a bill up or down, no matter how objectionable a majority might find parts of a package a committee has put together. Significantly, however, the members do not rebel against their helplessness.

Traditionally, the closed rule is invoked for legislation developed by the Ways and Means Committee, on the ground that it would be folly to expose the complex Internal Revenue code to amendment by all 435 House members. In this session of Congress, however, the no-amendment rule has been extended to legislation allowing lottery selection of draftees and, just last week, to a resolution on Vietnam policy. The first formal expression of House sentiment since the war became the nation's overriding issue was pushed through without allowing attempts to amend it.

Thus, on three of the most important matters of the year, only a relative handful of Congressmen played any effective role in shaping the legislation. And, surprising as it may seem, a large majority of Congressmen voted each time for the gag rules that so seriously eroded their own power. For each time the Rules Committee recommends a no-amendment procedure, the House membership must approve it before the legislation itself is considered.

Ducking Exposure

Cynical politics explains, in large part, why most House members go along with the closed rule. They can duck a lot of embarrassing exposure and specific commitment when there is only an all-or-nothing vote to be cast. And they can loudly proclaim support for a popular but impossible cause like a bust-the-Treasury tax cut when they know there is no risk of having it included in the tax laws.

Republican Rep. Paul Findley of Illinois calls the closed rule an "escape machine" for the House. "In it we can waft dreamily through the stormiest clouds, never get struck by lightning, or even experience the slightest discomfort," he says. "It protects everyone from voting on anything politically sensitive."

Mr. Findley was complaining in this instance about the closed rule that protected the resolution affirming House support for President Nixon's "efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam." He maintained that the broad generalities of the 161-word resolution lacked meaning, and wanted to offer an amendment giving specific endorsement of Nixon troop-withdrawal policy.

Others feared that the seemingly innocuous resolution could have too much meaning, that it could be interpreted by the President as carte blanche support for anything he decided to do in Vietnam. And, indeed, during two days of debate, there were almost as many interpretations of the resolution as there were speakers, making a shambles of the sponsors' argument that amendments would risk confusing the meaning.

The no-amendment rule on the Vietnam resolution provoked an unusually bitter attack on the bipartisan House establishment. "Their desperate effort to avoid debate or examination of the President's policy only indicates their fear of the results of such examination," charged Democratic Rep. Jerome Waldie of California.

"To be limited to a quick and severely restricted yes or no vote regarding the one issue which has completely dominated this nation and its people for more than five years. . . . is blatantly unfair, improper and in the worst possible traditions of governmental and legislative process," complained GOP Rep. Silvio Conte of Massachusetts.

Some hard-line hawks also voted against the no-amendment procedure. "I can see no reason why, on a resolution involving policy as vital as this, that it should be brought to the House floor under a closed rule," said arch-conservative GOP Rep. H. R. Gross of Iowa.

Still, as a prelude to the adoption of the resolution, 333 to 55, the closed rule was approved by a vote of 225 to 132. Indeed, far from rising up against closed rules, the House this year has devised ways of preventing any amendments even when an "open rule" ostensibly allowed them.

This occurred when the House acted in October on the Nixon Administration's bill to allow a draft lottery. Amendments were effectively barred by adoption of a procedure limiting votes to the one-sentence section of the draft law that prohibited lottery selection of draftees. Proposals to amend all other sections of the law—to change draft-deferment rules, for example—were held to be non-germane, and thus out of order.

House leaders defended the no-amendment procedure for the draft bill on pragmatic grounds. The lottery proposal was the only draft-reform idea commanding a broad consensus, they said, and allowing controversial amendments would have risked killing the bill. That risk was real, to be sure, but it wasn't necessarily fatal. After all, the lottery bill subsequently passed the wide-open Senate without amendments, after Senators desirous of more comprehensive reforms were persuaded that it wasn't the right time to press for them.

A Possible Compromise

Of course, the 435-member House needs rules more restrictive than the Senate's, lest it become chaotic. But even in respect to complex tax legislation, the alternative to chaos need not be gag rule. One possible compromise: To allow a limited number of amendments, thus forcing votes on the biggest issues. Or, as some Congressmen have suggested, the membership could at least be permitted to vote yea or nay on each section of a bill such as the comprehensive tax-reform measure, which revises 27 sections of the Internal Revenue Code.

The habit of giving closed rules to all legislation from the Ways and Means Committee forecloses floor amendments on many other matters besides taxes. Tariff bills are protected, too. So are Social Security bills that cover a wide range of Government social policy—including Medicare, Medicaid and welfare as well as old-age benefits and payroll taxes.

Yet most Congressmen seem content to be cut out of the action on all the sensitive issues handled by the Ways and Means Committee. Their sentiment was expressed by Democratic Rep. Thomas O'Neill of Massachusetts when a closed rule for the tax-reform bill was being debated in August.

The veteran Rules Committee member opened by indignantly attacking the Ways and Means reforms as inadequate and wound up arguing against allowing amendments to improve matters. "If we ever have an open rule on this bill, you will be here not only to Christmas but the year after Christmas and probably beyond," he declaimed. "Furthermore, we would be deluged with vans bringing in all the lobbyists from all over the United States who were working on this legislation."

The result, said old hand O'Neill, would be inevitable: "All of the interests in the House would join together to eliminate even these minor (tax reform) improvements and we would wind up with nothing. . . give this bill an open rule and there would be no bill."

That may be an exaggerated appraisal of the weakness of the House membership. But no majority seems willing to dispute it.

Ex
Congress

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The Dodd Case

The Fund-Raising Furor Spotlights Problems Many in Congress Face

Income Often Fails to Cover Expenses; but Gifts Raise Tricky Legal, Moral Issues

Profitable Birthday Parties

By JERRY LANDAUER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Thomas J. Dodd, long-time campaigner against crime, subversion and juvenile delinquency, is quite unintentionally turning the spotlight now on the delicate legal and moral questions involved in financing a Congressional career.

The stocky, white-haired Democratic Senator from Connecticut is accused of diverting to personal use, and evading income taxes on, part of the proceeds from three testimonial dinners held in Connecticut since 1961; it was widely assumed by guests that the purpose was to raise political funds. A fourth, hitherto unpublicized fund-raising reception was held for him here in Washington. All told, the four affairs yielded around $200,000.

Soon the Internal Revenue Service will demand an accounting. And within a month the six-member Senate Ethics Committee will begin hearings to publicize the facts and weigh the disputed charges. Ultimately the committee will examine this larger issue: Is it proper for a politician to accept cash contributions when he isn't a declared, active candidate for office?

A few lawmakers unhesitatingly shout "no." Says New Jersey's Republican Sen. Case: "I feel strongly that both the giving and the receiving of such contributions are thoroughly bad public policy." GOP Sen. Young of North Dakota agrees. "I'm satisfied with what the people are paying me. They never begged me to take this job. I asked for it."

The Majority View

But a majority of legislators regard contributions made outside regular campaign fund-raising channels as perfectly proper, always assuming that the recipient doesn't mortgage his independence to the givers. What's more, many of them are unabashedly accepting such help to meet various political expenses.

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No less a political luminary than Senate GOP Leader Dirksen of Illinois maintains a fund in a special bank account from which he draws $10,000 to $12,000 a year to pay for radio and television broadcasts, ads in various journals and other "exposure"-generating expenses. The generous donors, he explains, give "from the heart," knowing that a politician is always campaigning, 365 days a year; Mrs. Dirksen keeps the special fund's books.

Dozens of others allow wealthy supporters to set up office funds or let lobbyists for business and labor sponsor testimonials, anniversary celebrations, birthday parties and other occasions or excuses for fund-raising not necessarily related to campaign needs—namely, office, entertainment and travel expenses.

In recent weeks, Chairman Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, a Pennsylvania Democrat, benefited from a $100-a-plate dinner; Democratic Rep. Blatnik of Minnesota from a $25 silver anniversary "salute"; Democratic Rep. Giaimo of Connecticut from a testimonial that netted $35,000; Democratic Rep. Udall of Arizona from a Tucson dinner that yielded slightly less. In each case, the recipient says he will spend the money for political purposes. But some other affairs seem less related to political costs. Friends of Harlem's Democratic Rep. Powell tossed a party to help him pay a $40,000 libel judgment incurred when he hurled the epithet "big-woman" at an innocent New Yorker.

Prime Targets

The standard testimonial fete isn't necessarily a spontaneous outpouring of well-wishers. People for whom a Congressman has performed services tend to become prime targets for invitations. "I've had the bite put on me three times this month already," one Capitol Hill lobbyist grumbles, "but I can't afford not to show up."

The varieties of opinion about political gifts illustrate the Ethics Committee's tricky task and help illuminate the shadowy world of Congressional finances. In that world, regardless of the dictates of morality, it appears that each member is generally legally free to raise and spend money for political purposes as he wishes. There are few guidelines this side of bribery. For that reason, some Senators on the Ethics Committee hesitate to approve or condemn Sen. Dodd's fund-raising.

One of these, Democratic Sen. McCarthy of Minnesota, regrets that the committee didn't have time to develop standards before the Dodd case erupted (it took a year to find six Senators willing to serve). "We shouldn't presume to judge a man against standards that haven't been defined," he remarks. "If we're going to judge Dodd we've got to judge the system, too."

Anonymous Contributors

Sometimes the "system" works in weird ways. On the fund-raising side, it sanctions sidestepping the intent of laws governing disclosure of campaign contributions, particularly the provision requiring every candidate for Federal office to itemize contributions to him "or to any person with his knowledge or consent."

Thus, without wrenching current interpretations of the law, Democratic Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts could affirm to the secretary of the Senate that not one cent was collected or spent for his well-financed campaign against Republican George Lodge in 1962 or for his re-election campaign two years later.

Like many other candidates, Sen. Ted presumed that he didn't know who was raising campaign cash for him. Dozens more Congressmen, fearing to drive off contributors who prefer anonymity, similarly thwart the law's intent.

Occasional oddities of timing are also part of the fund-raising system. Friends of Harold Cooley, the North Carolina Democrat who heads the House Agriculture Committee, chose

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The Dodd Case: Fund-Raising Furor Spotlights a Widespread Problem

Continued From Page One

his birthday celebration on July 26, 1965, to raise $35,000 for his re-election campaign this fall. Sponsors of the event have no immediate explanation for the unusually early fund-raising date. But sugar lobbyists who were solicited to buy $50 tickets suspect a reason: On Aug. 18, 1965, Mr. Cooley's committee began hearings on the always controversial bill allocating sugar import quotas; there won't be a sugar bill this year.

Some Congressmen jumped off to an even earlier start for the 1966 campaign. Louisiana's Democratic Rep. Morrison scheduled a testimonial dinner for April 30, 1965, three months ahead of Mr. Cooley. The Louisianan says he doesn't know how much was raised at the $100-a-plate dinner in Baton Rouge ("In our state we don't keep records") and he thinks it best not to tell where the money is stashed. "I'm not going to tell my opponents what I've got or where I got it," he explains.

On the spending side, the system leaves conveniently (some say necessarily) indistinct the boundaries between campaign expenditures, personal expenses and the reimbursed costs of running a Congressional office.

In an election year, an incumbent's office or committee staff may spend full-time back home on political chores while drawing pay from the U.S. Treasury. The cost of a reception for visiting bigwigs from home can come from a Senator's unused stationery allowance, from a special campaign fund or from the Congressman's personal purse.

Dodd's Defense

Sen. Dodd will rely on these fuzzy distinctions to prepare his defense. He will contend that the proceeds from testimonial dinners that weren't clearly billed as campaign fund-raisers qualify as tax-free gift income that he could have used for any purpose. But he will try to prove that he actually spent the money to repay campaign debts, some dating back to 1956, and to defray political expenses averaging about $20,000 annually. If any political funds were spent for personal purposes, he will argue, then it's equally true that personal funds went for political purposes.

In a libel suit filed last week against his original accusers, columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, the Senator said his tax returns fully reflected taxable income. No campaign funds were diverted to personal use, he insisted, and no services were ever rendered in exchange for gifts. A "Persian rug" supposedly received from Julius Klein, registered U.S. agent for West German business interests, actually was a 9-by-14-inch imitation worth $2, according to the court document. And a "whopping" $50,000 payment said to have come from the Teamsters Union was a court-approved legal fee earned by Mr. Dodd before he came to the Senate for representing dissident Teamster locals.

Some side-effects of Sen. Dodd's troubles are already apparent. President Johnson, perhaps skittish about lending his prestige to such affairs, passed up an expected appearance at ("Naturally you tell 'em what they want to hear," one Senator says) and article-writing (generally by the Congressman's ghost) also yield extra income.

These taxable supplements to Congressional salaries are rarely questioned. But political gifts raise more doubts, and the Dodd affair, no matter how it turns out, is likely to increase these doubts. Rigorous moralists like Delaware's Republican Sen. Williams can't quite believe that people who give money to a politician expect nothing in return.

Democratic Sen. Hart of Michigan stubbed his toe a while back when he publicly called for contributions from constituents to help defray unreimbursed expenses. The Senator's intentions were honorable. He named a committee to handle the money and placed a $100 limit on each contribution; names of donors and figures on committee-approved expenditures were made public. But his attempt to elevate gift-giving to respectability backfired. "He caught so much flak that he quit," an aide says. "Now he digs into his own pocket."

Tax Cases Raise Suspicions

This experience helps explain why the reasons for testimonial celebrations are generally kept deliberately vague, the feeling apparently being that the public is willing to help foot campaign bills but balks at contributing money to be used for a politician's other expenses. Several widely publicized trials of political figures for income tax evasion haven't helped dispel suspicions about the uses to which politicians sometimes put gifts. "Obviously a lot of people think we keep the dough," a Southern Congressman says.

Actually, politicians or any other lucky beneficiaries of testimonial affairs are free to do just that. Moreover, tax rules say the income is tax-free if the celebrators intended "to provide a gift out of respect, in appreciation of public service, or similar non-political motives." (The donor, of course, must pay a Federal gift tax on any amount over $3,000 given to any individual in one year.) Campaign contributions and other politically motivated gifts are taxable income, however, if diverted to the recipient's personal use.

So far, no Washington political figure sufficiently powerful or respected to rate a testimonial has come forth to contend that the proceeds were his to keep. At the state level, though, gift-giving to politicians for their personal benefit is not unknown.

One such fortunate fellow is Massachusetts State Sen. Philip Graham, a respected Republican legislator who, ironically, helped push to passage a state law prohibiting testimonial fund-raising for appointed officials in 1962. Last fall, 2,500 admirers paid $25 each at a dinner to honor Mr. Graham; the event yielded $20,000. "It was," according to Julian F. Begien, Jr., dinner chairman, "a genuine outpouring of friendship because people knew Sen. Graham was ill and needed the money."

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Some side-effects of Sen. Dodd's troubles are already apparent. President Johnson, perhaps skittish about lending his prestige to such affairs, passed up an expected appearance at a recent garden party here celebrating the 25th wedding anniversary of Democratic Sen. and Mrs. McIntyre of New Hampshire; celebrators paid $100 each to help the Senator defray office expenses. North Dakota's Mr. Young, among others, is reassuring constituents that "appreciation" dinners held for him back home weren't intended for his benefit but to fill local GOP coffers.

A Sympathetic Hearing

Even before his current troubles arose, Sen. Dodd was a lone-wolf member of a body that cherishes clubbiness. (Once, an after-dark duel on the Senate floor between Mr. Dodd and Arkansas' Democratic Sen. Fulbright got so heated that some of the language was expunged from the Congressional Record.) Nonetheless, with their own finances in mind, many members will listen sympathetically to Sen. Dodd's explanation that the mounting costs of political life required him to rely on testimonial gifts.

Senate Democratic Whip Russell Long of Louisiana has estimated his "unreimbursed costs of being a Senator" at nearly as much as his $30,000 annual Congressional salary. On one tax return, Sen. Long claimed deductions totaling $28,078 for office expenses back home in Louisiana, plus outlays for television c[illegible] photographs, entertainment, dues to professional organizations, office petty cash, a clipping service "so I could see what a low rat[illegible] I've been getting in the newspapers" and similar costs not covered by regular Congressional allowances. Unlike many lawmakers, Mr. Long has a substantial outside income from which to pay such expenses.

Making Money on the Side

Other examples abound. Democratic Sen. Douglas of Illinois kept track of his "extra" expenses in 1964; they totaled $10,175. Lecture fees and book royalties helped him foot these bills. New Jersey's Democratic Sen. Williams spent $7,245 of his own money one year "in connection with the performance of official duties." He can count partly on outside income from his law practice.

The costs of political life apart from direct campaign expenses are often cited as justification for permitting Congressmen to keep up business associations, practice law or lend the use of their names to help law firms attract clients. Speech-making to trade associations

mittee to handle the money and placed a $100 limit on each contribution; names of donors and figures on committee-approved expenditures were made public. But his attempt to elevate gift-giving to respectability backfired. "He caught so much flak that he quit," an aide says. "Now he digs into his own pocket."

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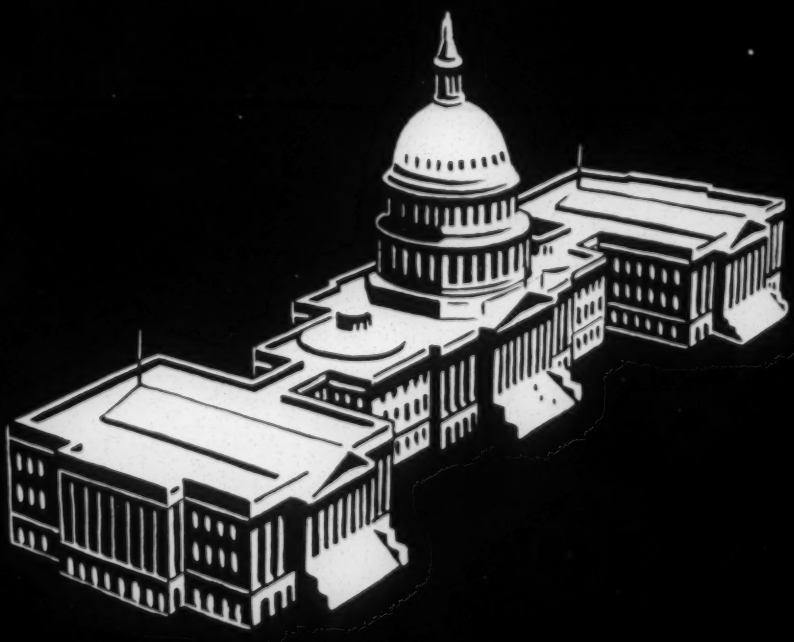
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 116

FOR A STRONGER CONGRESS

BY PHILIP S. BROUGHTON



Wall Street Journal
Monday
May 11, 1964
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EV
Admin Law

Court Tells CAB To Restudy Ruling On Florida Routes

Move by Appeals Bench a Gain For Northeast Air, Which Faces Loss of Florida Runs

Judges Seek More Evidence

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

Northeast Airlines won the first round in its fight to reverse a Civil Aeronautics Board ruling that would oust it from the East Coast air route to Florida.

A Federal court of appeals in Boston ordered the CAB to reconsider its decision that would end Northeast's flights from Boston and New York to Florida, reducing it from a trunk to a local airline. Northeast will be able to continue flights to Florida until a final decision is reached.

The court indicated it wants the CAB to hold new hearings and submit new findings on the Northeast case. The court, which is retaining jurisdiction of the case, would then decide the future of Northeast on the basis of the new CAB decision and other evidence offered.

In Washington, the CAB refused official comment on the court ruling. A CAB aide said a court rejection of a CAB ruling normally can be appealed by the board to the Supreme Court. He added that the board was undecided whether it would take such a course or submit a new decision to the appeals court.

In any case, it was calculated that a final decision in the Northeast case is probably at least a year away.

CAB Planning at Stake

The appellate court decision was a sharp rebuff for the CAB. The board's decision in the Northeast case was probably the CAB's boldest effort in recent years to engage in economic planning for the airline industry.

The CAB has been thinking of reassessing the "supply" of airline service against "demand" in other areas, too. If the courts ultimately reject the Northeast decision, in all probability the board will back away from economic planning in all areas.

The rejection by the appellate court of the CAB decision is a setback, too, for Eastern Air Lines and National Airlines, Northeast's competitors on the New York-Florida route. They had strongly backed the CAB's attempted ouster of Northeast.

The fundamental basis for the CAB's Northeast decision was that three airlines aren't needed in the New York-Florida market. But Justice Peter Woodbury found that the CAB didn't have, or at least didn't present to the court, sufficient evidence supporting its position that Northeast shouldn't be allowed to fly the Florida route.

Decision Quoted

In a statement concurred in by the two other justices on the court, Judge Woodbury said: "The case must go back to the board for further study, followed by an explicit statement of the issue or issues actually decided and a statement of relevant bases for its decision supported by intelligible findings of fact.

"When we know what the board's decision is and why, the time will be ripe to consider the legal sufficiency of the evidence to support the board's finding."

Northeast Airlines is controlled by Hughes Tool Co., which is owned by Howard Hughes.

Northeast took the Florida route case to the court of appeals last fall after the CAB had ordered it to discontinue flights to Florida. At the time the court accepted the case, it granted Northeast authority to continue the Florida flights until a final court decision was reached. Earlier a decision had been expected by April 30.

The CAB granted Northeast a five-year temporary certificate to fly to Florida in 1956. After lengthy hearings the CAB refused to grant Northeast a permanent certificate for the Florida routes and ordered it to end the Southern flights by last Nov. 15. Northeast then appealed to the courts.

When Northeast was granted the temporary certificate, it was expected that the Florida routes would enable it to be a profitable airline. Northeast has failed to operate profitably, and the competing Eastern and National airlines both have had financial problems.

In its decision the court told the CAB, "We do not say that a strong Eastern Air Lines is not a legitimate consideration. We do say good and sufficient reason ought to be given for robbing Peter to pay Paul."

Both Eastern and National had attributed losses to excessive competition on the Florida routes.

James Austin, Northeast president, said: "We are naturally pleased with the decision of the court, and we look forward to the opportunity of having the record opened again before the CAB to prove that Northeast Airlines is rightfully entitled to permanence on the Florida route. We will, of course, continue to operate on the route under the Administrative Procedures Act, and we are entitled to this."

Too Many Regulators

* * * * * *

Reserve Official Argues for Unifying Bank Supervision

Wall Street Journal
Tuesday
June 23, 1964
Page 14
EV
Cadwalader Law
Govt & Econ

BY J. L. ROBERTSON

What is H. R. 5874 about? What would it do? Actually, it is about a situation so obviously and admittedly unsatisfactory, and would provide a solution so obviously sound, reasonable and effective, that an intelligent visitor from another planet might be puzzled at its being a matter of controversy.

This bill would put an end to the existing hodge-podge in Federal supervision of the banking industry. It would do this in a very simple and practical way—by unifying in a single agency, concerned exclusively with the supervision of banking, functions that are now, by unfortunate historical accident, scattered among three authorities: The Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

Imagine a city served by three television stations—all regulated by the Federal Government, as is actually the case. But in my suppositious situation, absurd as it may seem, each station is supervised by a different agency: One by the Federal Communications Commission, one by a Federal Television Board, and one by a Federal TV Authority. Each of these agencies issues its own regulations and interprets the laws as they apply to the stations within its jurisdiction. Consequently, one station is permitted to broadcast commercials at twice normal volume; the second is required to maintain uniform volume at all times; the third must reduce volume by 50% during commercials.

This is a condensation of testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee by J. L. Robertson, member of the Federal Reserve Board.

Perhaps air transport would provide a better illustration. Imagine two competing lines on the Philadelphia-Chicago route. One is permitted to provide coach service for $30, including a steak dinner; the other, with similar equipment, is required to charge $32 and is restricted to a cheese sandwich.

Of course, these imaginary situations are ludicrous. Any such situation would be unthinkable and intolerable, one would say; and yet this is essentially the way Federal supervision of banking is set up today.

Suppose, in the imaginary instances I have mentioned, a bill was introduced to correct the obvious difficulties by combining the three agencies into one. And suppose further that the bill was opposed on the grounds that perhaps the three might be able to work out an endurable modus vivendi by constant consultation, solicitation of each other's views and study of each other's rules and decisions. I sincerely hope that the Congressional committee would ask: "Why should we continue to muddle along with such an awkward, inefficient, expensive arrangement?"

I shall not go into a long catalog of the built-in deficiencies of the present structure of Federal bank supervision. A handful of instances should suffice. Some of us can recall, for example, the prolonged controversy over absorption of exchange charges. Bank "A" may solicit an important account by offering to absorb all such charges for a prospective customer, but its competitor across the street, Bank "B", also subject to Federal supervision—but by a different supervisor!—is forbidden to do so. This particular struggle "culminated" 20 years ago in extensive hearings, but no solution was developed.

Banking Inconsistencies

There is hardly a section of bank supervision of which a similar sad tale could not be told. In the same town, and subject to the same Federal laws and regulations—but different supervisors—one bank may acquire stock of corporations (even the controlling stock of another bank), but its competitor may not; one is denied the privilege of establishing a drive-in branch, but the other may do so on the ground that the facility is not a branch at all.

In 1960 the Congress passed the Bank Merger Act, which "in the interests of uniform standards" required the three banking agencies to "report" to each other on every proposed merger. Ever since, streams of documents have been flowing between us. Every single merger must be studied by all three agencies. In the past three years the members and staffs of the three agencies have spent on this task innumerable hours that were urgently needed for something more constructive than this duplication of effort. The worst of it is that the duplication has been fruitless; nothing resembling "uniform standards" has evolved.

Particular instances like these are easy to pinpoint. However, the most detrimental results of our divided responsibility are not the direct conflicts and inconsistencies, but rather the delay it causes in the performance of our functions and—most fundamental of all—the seemingly insurmountable obstacles to adequate and correct performance.

Federal bank supervision began just a century ago, with the establishment of the National Banking System. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 added a second supervisory body, and 20 years later the Federal Deposit Insurance Act created the third. Both of these additions stemmed from economic crises—the Federal Reserve System from the panic of 1907 and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation from the Great Depression. The need for each was urgent and its benefits patent; for this reason "details" of administration and structure were matters of little concern, and perhaps that was warranted.

However, after these fundamental improvements were achieved, and the structural deficiencies revealed themselves, no correction was made, notwithstanding the introduction in Congress of several bills.

H. R. 5874 is designed to do, and would do, just one thing—it would unify Federal supervision of banking. But simply by doing

this, it would accomplish much more. It would end much friction and conflict among banks and bank supervisors. It would eliminate wasteful duplication and overlapping among agencies. It would abolish the existing "triple standard" and enable the banking industry to operate under a single, consistent set of rules, as far as Federal supervision is concerned.

It would do away with a dangerous tendency toward a "race of laxity" in bank supervision that will lead, at an accelerating rate, to deterioration of the standards of sound banking which it is a function of bank supervision to maintain. And it would enable the Federal Reserve Board of which I am a member to devote its time and attention exclusively to its most vital—and increasingly difficult—function: The formulation and execution of monetary policy for the leading industrial nation of the world.

In view of the foregoing, how are we to account for the absence of universal enthusiasm for this bill? For lukewarm acceptance in some quarters and downright opposition in others? In my opinion, it is due principally to lack of complete understanding of the bill and its effects.

Cliches of Opposition

I hope it is realistic, rather than unduly cynical, to say also that it is easier, especially for one who has not read this bill, to take a negative stand. This is particularly true, it seems, if opposition is based on one of the accepted cliches.

I should like to mention a few of these and to comment on them: (1) "The bill would create a Federal super agency in the banking field." (2) "H.R. 5874 would jeopardize the dual banking system." (3) "This proposal would result in a dangerous concentration of power over banking," or, swinging around 180 degrees, (4) "A unified Federal agency would soon become the spokesman for the banking industry rather than its supervisor." And finally, (5) "If there is one thing we don't need it's another Federal commission."

As applied to H.R. 5874, all of these cliches are superficial and erroneous. The pending bill simply does not "create a Federal super agency." The proposed Commission would have no new powers over the banking industry, but only those that are now exercised by one or more of the three agencies. This is not quite true; it would have one new and important power—the power to administer the Federal banking laws in a consistent, equitable, and efficient manner.

What of the charge that H.R. 5874 would jeopardize the dual banking system? On the contrary, enactment of this bill would tend to strengthen the dual banking system. State bank supervisors and their Association would find it possible, for the first time, to solve problems common to state and national banks, member banks of the Federal Reserve System and non-members, by working with a single Federal agency.

Furthermore, H.R. 5874 provides that the costs of supervision of all insured banks—state and national—shall be met out of deposit insurance assessments. In a number of states, because of insufficient funds, bank supervisors have been unable to maintain a staff adequate to carry on the work of their departments, and have had to rely on assistance from Federal examiners. The arrangement provided by the pending bill, by relieving this situation, would enable those states to raise the quality of their own supervision to a satisfactory level.

As this is accomplished, it is contemplated, Federal examination of banks in those states would become less necessary and gradually would be terminated. If this plan succeeds, within a relatively few years we would have a dual banking system in which state banks ordinarily would be examined only by the state authorities, and national banks by the Federal.

As I said before, it is not easy to grapple with the statements of those who oppose the pending bill. For example, how does one deal with the charge that the proposed Commission would have too much power—or too little power? Is it unreasonable to place the burden on those who make these claims, to ask them to show, by chapter and verse, by facts and reasoning rather than unsupported conclusions, how the plan embodied in this bill would produce the evils they describe?

Reduction in Agencies

The last of the cliches I mentioned is that rarity—a fallacious argument that can be refuted by arithmetic. The objection that the bill would create "another" Federal agency simply has the facts backward; the bill actually would result in one less.

I feel compelled to make one further comment. Of course, unification of the supervisory functions is more important than the administrative locus of the combined functions. Instead of a separate Commission such as is provided in this bill, the consolidated functions could be invested, for example, in the Federal Reserve System, as was suggested by the Commission on Money and Credit of the Committee for Economic Development. In my judgment, however, this would be a decidedly inferior solution.

In the first place, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System is fully burdened with functions relating to domestic and international monetary matters. It hardly has enough time, over and above that which is needed to deal effectively with this principal responsibility.

Some witnesses may tell you that bank supervision is a necessary adjunct to the Federal Reserve's responsibilities in the field of money and credit. In response, I would say that bank supervision is too important in the public interest to be treated as an adjunct to any other function. But, even more important, the basic contention is fallacious. The Federal Reserve System could function as a central bank at least equally well—in my judgment, better—if it were to devote its full time to the formulation and execution of monetary policy.

Finally, the argument may be advanced that if unification takes place, the agency might become a captive of the industry. All I can say in rebuttal is that I have too much faith in responsible Government officials to think that risk should be given much weight.

But if the risk does exist, its eventuation would be far more calamitous to the general welfare of the nation if the captive agency also was responsible for the formulation of monetary policy, one of the most vital functions in a free enterprise economy such as ours. Hence, in my view, the plan of unification set forth in H.R. 5874 is markedly preferable.

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For
Admin Law
Bank & Com

Mrs. Brown, Adding Female Touch to ICC, Tongue-Lashes Majority on Shielding Rails

The Wall Street Journal
Monday
February 1, 1965
P4

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—Virginia Mae Brown, the attractive brunette President Johnson picked to bring the woman's touch to the Interstate Commerce Commission, gave her male colleagues a tongue-lashing.

"The majority's fear of the forces of competition (in transportation) is unwarranted," she said. The prospects "frighten me not." The ICC's all-male majority is so concerned with protecting railroads from themselves that it is ignoring the public, Mrs. Brown maintained. "Are shippers orphans under the Interstate Commerce Act?" asked the trim mother of two.

Then, with language seldom if ever before heard in the staid old ICC, she declared: "It is well known that there are several ways to kill a cat. Drowning appears to be the most favored. The majority . . . waters the facts and drowns the case."

The case at issue wasn't very big. The Monon Railroad wanted to extend its tracks slightly at Michigan City, Ind., and in Jefferson County, Ky., near Louisville, in order to set up a route for moving coal to steel mills in the Chicago area and, by Great Lakes ships, to other mills.

But Mrs. Brown wasn't alone in feeling the case involved important matters of principle. Four other commissioners also dissented from the majority's decision to reject Monon's application.

The charges leveled by Mrs. Brown, and reflected in the considerably less vigorous dissents of the other four, are the sort that have been voiced in recent years by some—usually professorial types—outside the commission. ICC insiders on occasion have denied vigorously that the agency has tried harder to protect the railroads from competition than to encourage rival services and innovations that shippers want.

Mrs. Brown's dissent was interesting, too, because, as President Johnson's sole appointee to the ICC thus far, she was reflecting and seemed to be elaborating on the Administration's transport policy. The late President Kennedy began a drive to loosen ICC control over rail rates, and Mr. Johnson has endorsed the principle of greater reliance on competition. The ICC opposed the Kennedy approach. It is waiting to see the details of Mr. Johnson's legislative package before taking a stand on it.

To Mrs. Brown, the Monon case seemed classic in terms of what the ICC's role should be. Monon proposed an innovation in coal transport, combining barge movement with an "integral train" that would shuttle between Louisville and Michigan City. Kentucky and West Virginia coal would be moved down the Ohio and other rivers, by barge line, to a rail transfer facility Monon planned to build near Louisville, then shuttled up to a proposed rail-marine terminal at Michigan City. American Commercial Barge Lines supported Monon's application, as did a number of coal shippers, such as Inland Steel Co. It was opposed by a number of coal-hauling railroads, including the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Norfolk & Western, the Pennsylvania and the Illinois Central.

To the ICC majority, the Monon proposal offered no "inherent advantage over existing service." Thus, the majority said: "It would necessarily follow that the construction of superfluous lines and facilities not needed to insure adequate service to the public should not be authorized, and existing carriers should not be required to face unnecessary competition." Anyway, the majority added, railroad tracks cost money "and if operations are not successful, only scrap is left." Monon's proposal wasn't "prudent," it concluded.

Mrs. Brown accused the majority of substituting "the judgment of the regulators" for that of "the market place." She said: "What the majority really has determined here is that no reliance can be placed on the forces of competition." Monon, she said, isn't worried its investment might wind up as scrap, so "should the commission be afraid?"

"Carried to their logical conclusion, the standards applied here would constitute such a straitjacket that any hope for modern, progressive innovations in surface transportation would disappear," Mrs. Brown said.

ICC Chairman Charles Webb, in his separate dissent, said he shared Mrs. Brown's thoughts on innovation. He also charged that the decision gives all-rail movements of coal "unwarranted protection from the competition of barge-rail and barge-rail-lake routes."

Dissenters Laurence Walrath, Kenneth Tuggle and Paul Tierney joined in asserting that "an oversupply of coal transportation does not equate an overabundance of service available to shippers."

Struggle's End

* * * * * *

General Aniline Sale Today Wraps Up 18-Year Battle

(1) The Wall Street Journal Tuesday March 9, 1965 Page 16

By JERRY LANDAUER

WASHINGTON--Moments before 10:30 this morning two businessmen in separate rooms at the Justice Department will make final whispered double-checks with their home offices via telephone, seal the bulky envelopes they clutch tightly, and scamper 25 yards down the fifth floor corridor to Attorney General Katzenbach's office.

Precisely at the appointed time Mr. Katzenbach will open the envelopes and read the two sets of figures. Immediately thereafter, a seven-man advisory committee headed by Donald C. Cook will retire to an adjoining conference room. Perhaps within minutes, but in no event later than 4:30 p.m., the Attorney General will announce his choice between the bids submitted by representatives of two large competing syndicates of securities underwriters.

There's always the possibility that Mr. Katzenbach, acting on the advisory committee's recommendation, will reject both, but nobody involved in the negotiations expects this. So the winning syndicate probably will register its bid and reoffering price with the Securities and Exchange Commission in New York this very afternoon. And that, except for housekeeping details which include a $25,000 expenditure for printing new stock certificates, will finally complete preparations for selling to the public 11,166,438 shares of General Aniline & Film Corp. (GAF) stock seized by the U.S. as enemy property 23 years ago shortly after the outbreak of World War II.

Today's expected sale not only gets the Government out of the chemical, photographic and dyestuff business; it also ends the exhausting David and Goliath struggle between Interhandel, a Swiss holding company so small that it can operate from a converted residence in Basel, and the mammoth Uncle Sam.

Interhandel's chief reason for existence has been its claim to the vested GAF stock, which represents fully 84% of Interhandel's listed assets. For 18 years the holding company challenged contentions by Republican and Democratic administrations alike that its claim was invalid because its nominal pre-war title to the stock was really a ruse to camouflage the true owner, I. G. Farbenindustrie, the German chemical trust.

With the courts and Congress as the battleground, little Interhandel fought the executive branch to a draw that prevented the Justice Department from ridding itself of GAF. It wasn't until 1963 that Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy broke the deadlock by approving an out-of-court settlement that divides the sales proceeds; Interhandel hopes for $100 million as its share.

Mystery Still Remains

Whether the holding company did conspire to cloak GAF's true ownership will never be known. For despite prolonged legal proceedings that included two trips to the Supreme Court and one to the World Court, the controversy never went to trial. Yet considering the disparity of resources between the contestants and the seeming hopelessness of Interhandel's cause at the start, the handsome share it extracted must be recorded as a memorable upset in the annals of corporate warfare with the Federal Government. How it happened is only now beginning to trickle out.

When American troops stormed into I.G. Farben's smoldering Frankfurt central offices in 1945, documents they retrieved from stairwells, from suitcases buried in a garden and from nearby beer halls and monasteries seemed to show conclusively that GAF indeed was Farben's creature. By 1953, GAF's Government-appointed president was still saying matter of factly, "before the war we were one of the many foreign interests of I. G. Farben." As late as 1958 it seemed certain that Interhandel wouldn't get a dime.

But the fading of war's passions, a series of bad breaks for the Justice Department in court, hidden diplomatic cross-currents and by no means least, the tenacious, clever tactics of Interhandel's gregarious Washington lawyer, John J. Wilson, slowly transmuted what had been Government trumps into deuces. Mr. Wilson has been well rewarded; he has, and will, share substantially in the $4 million to $5 million Interhandel has or will have spent for lawyers, lobbyists and agents.

Another with a stake, political not financial, in the GAF sale is Bobby Kennedy. The settlement he approved with Interhandel became an issue in his ouster of incumbent Sen. Keating last fall; and if the freshman Senator should seek higher office, charges that he "gave away" millions to a former "Nazi front" could be revived.

Mr. Kennedy was clearly aware of the political risk during his final meeting with Alfred Schaefer, who as top man in the Union Bank of Switzerland was Interhandel's chief negotiator. Dissatisfied with the settlement reached with Mr. Katzenbach, then the deputy attorney general, Mr. Schaefer sought sweeteners from the boss.

"My people tell me they can beat you (in court)," said Mr. Kennedy, brushing

(2) The Wall Street Journal
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in tax claims disputed by Interhandel, would be siphoned off the top before an equal division of remaining proceeds. But Mr. Katzenbach induced Interhandel to pay the $24 million from its half. And because the Swiss haven't contested 11% of the stock up for sale today, Mr. Kennedy can contend that the division of dollars favors the U.S. by about 2 to 1; most of the U.S. share will go into the war claims fund.

The jousting that led to this settlement took place in three arenas: Congress, the courts and the conference room. Legislatively, the Justice Department repeatedly over the years sought permission to sell GAF and place the proceeds in escrow pending outcome of the continuing court struggle. Early passage of the sales bill might have compelled Interhandel to settle for a few cents on the dollar, for the holding company's major bargaining lever was the Government's increasing desire to unload its corporate ward. But if the Government could divest GAF before settling with Interhandel, then it could afford to wait for the holding company to approach it hat in hand.

The Swiss, however, neatly deflected the department's legislative thrust. Interhandel's lawyers persuaded some Congressmen that conversion of vested assets without the claimant's permission was unconstitutional. For $40,000 a year, the holding company employed a lobbyist, now dead, who enjoyed convivial relations with key members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Justice Department had no better luck in its courtroom skirmishes with Interhandel's Mr. Wilson. Federal judges tended to agree with Mr. Wilson that the statute under which the Government vested GAF prohibited tampering with the company's stock if ownership was in dispute. Hence, GAF couldn't recapitalize, amend its charter to permit expansion, or, when one supplier said it no longer could supply highly sensitized photographic paper, trade stock for a new source.

Interhandel's harassment not only harmed GAF's competitive position but it combined with two key legal developments in 1958 that shoved the Government to the bargaining table.

Most important was a Supreme Court decision in June that ended an eight-year effort to kick Interhandel out of court on grounds that it hadn't fully complied with judicial orders calling for the production of voluminous bank records. Overriding four lower court decisions, the Justices held that Interhandel's claim couldn't be dismissed solely because Swiss secrecy laws blocked the records.

Government Surprised

This reinstatement of Interhandel's claim burst like a bomb on the Justice Department, for by then the Government was unprepared for trial. The mainstays of the original litigating team, including several German Jewish refugees, had departed in 1957, confident that the case into which they had poured brain and heart for a decade was finally won; the Supreme Court had already rejected one petition for review.

As a result of the unexpected setback the Department found itself in an ironic situation. For years it had alleged that Interhandel sought refuge behind the bank secrecy laws to withhold incriminating documents. But now that the case was headed toward trial the department lacked the manpower to cope with the records it had. "The records piling up in this case are appalling," moaned Assistant Attorney General Dallas S. Townsend in 1960. When Messrs. Kennedy and Katzenbach assumed responsibility for GAF, the department's files bulged with 240,000 documents, mostly in German script, on miles of microfilm. Only the opposition's Mr. Wilson knew where to find what. For him the litigation was a career, not a case.

The second 1958 development was barely noticed. Liquidators of the Farben empire, believing that Interhandel had swiped at least part of GAF's stock from Germans, filed suit to intervene in the U.S. litigation. Farben's claim signaled potential dynamite. To the suspicious it meant that some dollars from Interhandel's share of any settlement might wind up in Germany. Moreover, Farben's assertion of interest in the vested stock tended to undermine Interhandel's denial of the cloaking charge.

The West German government was no more anxious than the American to exhume Farben's ghost. So, after one motion by the liquidators to intervene was rejected, Bonn quietly exerted influence to quell the claim; even a routine appeal wasn't taken. With the specter of Farben dispelled, another obstacle to U.S. bargaining was removed.

The holding company sought the services of Charles E. Wilson, the well-connected retired president of General Electric Co., to press its advantage. Mr. Wilson satisfied himself that Interhandel's cause was just; moreover, he believed the sanctity of private property was at stake. So, in May 1960, he signed on as Interhandel's uncompensated negotiating agent with full power-of-attorney.

Mr. Wilson, however, had no luck in persuading the Eisenhower Administration, perhaps because the 1960 Presidential election loomed, to settle on terms satisfactory to the Swiss. When the Kennedy Administration took office, Mr. Schaefer decided he'd test the new Washington mood alone.

The Swiss banker crossed the Atlantic thinking he had appointments with Secretary of State Rusk and Secretary of the Treasury Dillon. But his arrival coincided with the Bay of Pigs disaster. No one with decision-making authority could see him, so he left in a huff. Earnest negotiations didn't resume until a year later when a Justice Department team met him in Germany.

Later Mr. Katzenbach, today's envelope-opener, sealed the bargain—a bargain that concludes a decades-long journey for Interhandel from, in the words of John J. Wilson, "zero to a hundred million."

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Decision Makers

Hearing Examiners Play Key Role in Operations Of Regulatory Agencies

Rulings Usually Become Final Verdicts; Some Don't Balk At Breaking New Ground

Angering the Broadcasters

By WAYNE E. GREEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Officials at the Federal Communications Commission groaned a few days ago when they learned what Thomas H. Donahue had done.

At a time when the FCC is sensitive to industry charges that it's putting broadcast licenses up for grabs to new applicants, Mr. Donahue, an FCC hearing examiner, calmly recommended that the agency strip RKO General Inc. of its license to operate a Los Angeles television station. He said the license should go to Fidelity Television Inc., a competing applicant, although neither Fidelity nor RKO General "is any bargain" as a broadcaster.

"I'll bet the commissioners recoiled when they read that," says an FCC staff official, adding that "those examiners run wild sometimes."

As one of some 600 hearing or trial examiners who hear cases and make preliminary decisions for 22 Federal agencies, the silver-haired Mr. Donahue isn't unaccustomed to such comments. But examiners have had to get used to more of them lately because they're handling bigger cases, with knottier problems, and a few maverick examiners like Mr. Donahue seem determined to speak their minds even when it ruffles someone's feelings.

At the Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, ICC Examiner John S. Messer has kicked up a hot controversy by telling the ICC it should force railroads to improve their passenger service; the agency decided this month it didn't have the authority. And the Civil Aeronautics Board found itself the target of thousands of irate letter-writers after CAB Examiner Arthur Present recommended abolishing the popular airline youth-fare discounts; the board refused to go along.

Losing Anonymity

As a result of such cases, the examiner—long anonymous despite his influence in big economic decisions—is growing less anonymous. He is drawing some of the attention heretofore focused on an agency's governing board or commission. He's "more and more the embodiment of whatever justice there is in the system," says John T. Miller, [illegible]

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An examiner's job is similar in many ways to that of a trial judge. (In fact, examiners want their name changed to administrative trial judge because too many people think a hearing examiner is someone who doctors ears.) He presides over court-like hearings, complete with harried stenotypists, bickering lawyers and nervous witnesses. He makes rulings—called initial or recommended decisions—that are subject to review by the agency's governing body.

Regulatory experts generally agree the hearing examiner plays a crucial role in Government regulation of industry. He gets first crack at a case, for one thing; his decision on, say, motions to introduce evidence may largely determine the shape of the factual record the agency later reviews. His analysis and conclusions are increasingly relied on by agency members inundated by growing caseloads. And in most cases, the examiner's decision becomes the final verdict.

Numbers Grow

What's more, the corps of hearing examiners has been gradually expanding in number and scope. There are now three times more hearing examiners than there were just after World War II, and they deal with about one-third more kinds of cases, says John W. Macy Jr., former Civil Service Commission chairman.

What makes examiners unique in the Government's regulatory system is their independence. The law makes examiners subject to an agency's administrative direction, but they aren't dependent on it for decisions about pay, promotion or removal; those are handled by the Civil Service Commission. The aim is to insulate the examiner from undue pressure that might affect his decision.

Some examiners bluntly assert their independence, as Mr. Donahue did in the case of RKO General, a subsidiary of General Tire & Rubber Co. That decision defied broadcasters who contend that recent FCC decisions have had the effect of subjecting their licenses to claim-jumpers. It also came at a time when the FCC is trying to soft-pedal those decisions, fearful of a bill introduced by Democratic Sen. John Pastore of Rhode Island that would make it tougher for a new applicant to compete for a license at renewal time.

ICC Examiner Messer discomfited both his agency and the rail industry in a case involving charges that the Southern Pacific Co. had deliberately let passenger service deteriorate. The ICC has been under Congressional pressure to do something about the rapid decline of passenger trains, and the Southern Pacific case raised the basic issue of the commission's jurisdiction to investigate and rule on the adequacy of rail passenger service.

Setting Standards

To the ICC's chagrin, Mr. Messer not only concluded the ICC has the authority but said the agency should set minimum standards for such things as comfort and cleanliness in dining and sleeping cars and for speed. "The time has come when the commission can no longer act like a county coroner," Mr. Messer admonished. "The urgent need is for preventive medicine." Not surprisingly, his decision was appealed to the ICC, which ruled that it would need new legislation before taking such action.

While Mr. Messer's ruling apparently was popular with the public, that's not always true of independent-minded decisions. Consider CAB Examiner Present's ruling on complaints by several bus companies against youth-fare

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Decision Makers: Hearing Examiners Play Key Role in Agencies' Affairs

Continued From Page One

discounts offered by 24 U.S. airlines. Mr. Present, himself the father of two teen-agers eligible for the discounts, recommended that such fares be abolished because they're "unjustly discriminatory" against older passengers who must pay full fares.

Following that decision, the CAB was bombarded with more than 10,000 protesting letters, telegrams and petitions from campuses across the country. One Western Michigan University student even threatened to organize a national student boycott against airlines if the CAB upheld the decision. In late August, the CAB decided such fares aren't discriminatory, though it ordered rehearing of the case on other grounds.

Some regulatory experts believe these independent decisions tend to strain relations between examiners and their agency. They create "an unspoken hostility," as one examiner puts it. Commission members like ICC Chairman Virginia Mae Brown dispute that assertion, however. Mrs. Brown says it "gives us a sense of direction when an examiner tries something new."

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There were 370 witnesses in all, and the hearings lasted eight weeks, finishing on Jan. 10, 1968. It took another three months for the lawyers to file their final briefs. Meanwhile, Mr. Messer was perusing 3,958 pages of transcript and 172 exhibits, and he was beginning to write an opinion. Before finishing, Mr. Messer put together 19 different drafts "using scissors, Scotch tape and rewriting." His final opinion, 50 pages long, was announced on April 23, some eight months after the case began.

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Decision Makers

Hearing Examiners Play Key Role in Operations Of Regulatory Agencies

Rulings Usually Become Final Verdicts; Some Don't Balk At Breaking New Ground

Angering the Broadcasters

By WAYNE E. GREEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Officials at the Federal Communications Commission groaned a few days ago when they learned what Thomas H. Donahue had done.

At a time when the FCC is sensitive to industry charges that it's putting broadcast licenses up for grabs to new applicants, Mr. Donahue, an FCC hearing examiner, calmly recommended that the agency strip RKO General Inc. of its license to operate a Los Angeles television station. He said the license should go to Fidelity Television Inc., a competing applicant, although neither Fidelity nor RKO General "is any bargain" as a broadcaster.

"I'll bet the commissioners recoiled when they read that," says an FCC staff official, adding that "those examiners run wild sometimes."

As one of some 600 hearing or trial examiners who hear cases and make preliminary decisions for 22 Federal agencies, the silver-haired Mr. Donahue isn't unaccustomed to such comments. But examiners have had to get used to more of them lately because they're handling bigger cases, with knottier problems, and a few maverick examiners like Mr. Donahue seem determined to speak their minds even when it ruffles someone's feelings.

At the Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, ICC Examiner John S. Messer has kicked up a hot controversy by telling the ICC it should force railroads to improve their passenger service; the agency decided this month it didn't have the authority. And the Civil Aeronautics Board found itself the target of thousands of irate letter-writers after CAB Examiner Arthur Present recommended abolishing the popular airline youth-fare discounts; the board refused to go along.

Losing Anonymity

As a result of such cases, the examiner—long anonymous despite his influence in big economic decisions—is growing less anonymous. He is drawing some of the attention heretofore focused on an agency's governing board or commission. He's "more and more the embodiment of whatever justice there is in

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An examiner's job is similar in many ways to that of a trial judge. (In fact, examiners want their name changed to administrative trial judge because too many people think a hearing examiner is someone who doctors ears.) He presides over court-like hearings, complete with harried stenotypists, bickering lawyers and nervous witnesses. He makes rulings—called initial or recommended decisions—that are subject to review by the agency's governing body.

Regulatory experts generally agree the hearing examiner plays a crucial role in Government regulation of industry. He gets first crack at a case, for one thing; his decision on, say, motions to introduce evidence may largely determine the shape of the factual record the agency later reviews. His analysis and conclusions are increasingly relied on by agency members inundated by growing caseloads. And in most cases, the examiner's decision becomes the final verdict.

Numbers Grow

What's more, the corps of hearing examiners has been gradually expanding in number and scope. There are now three times more hearing examiners than there were just after World War II, and they deal with about one-third more kinds of cases, says John W. Macy Jr., former Civil Service Commission chairman.

What makes examiners unique in the Government's regulatory system is their independence. The law makes examiners subject to an agency's administrative direction, but they aren't dependent on it for decisions about pay, promotion or removal; those are handled by the Civil Service Commission. The aim is to insulate the examiner from undue pressure that might affect his decision.

Some examiners bluntly assert their independence, as Mr. Donahue did in the case of RKO General, a subsidiary of General Tire & Rubber Co. That decision defied broadcasters who contend that recent FCC decisions have had the effect of subjecting their licenses to claim-jumpers. It also came at a time when the FCC is trying to soft-pedal those decisions, fearful of a bill introduced by Democratic Sen. John Pastore of Rhode Island that would make it tougher for a new applicant to compete for a license at renewal time.

ICC Examiner Messer discomfited both his agency and the rail industry in a case involving charges that the Southern Pacific Co. had deliberately let passenger service deteriorate. The ICC has been under Congressional pressure to do something about the rapid decline of passenger trains, and the Southern Pacific case raised the basic issue of the commission's jurisdiction to investigate and rule on the adequacy of rail passenger service.

Setting Standards

To the ICC's chagrin, Mr. Messer not only concluded the ICC has the authority but said the agency should set minimum standards for such things as comfort and cleanliness in dining and sleeping cars and for speed. "The time has come when the commission can no longer act like a county coroner," Mr. Messer admonished. "The urgent need is for preventive medicine." Not surprisingly, his decision was appealed to the ICC, which ruled that it would need new legislation before taking such action.

While Mr. Messer's ruling apparently was popular with the public, that's not always true of independent-minded decisions. Consider CAB Examiner Present's ruling on complaints by several bus companies against youth-fare

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Decision Makers: Hearing Examiners Play Key Role in Agencies' Affairs

Continued From Page One

discounts offered by 24 U.S. airlines. Mr. Present, himself the father of two teen-agers eligible for the discounts, recommended that such fares be abolished because they're "unjustly discriminatory" against older passengers who must pay full fares.

Following that decision, the CAB was bombarded with more than 10,000 protesting letters, telegrams and petitions from campuses across the country. One Western Michigan University student even threatened to organize a national student boycott against airlines if the CAB upheld the decision. In late August, the CAB decided such fares aren't discriminatory, though it ordered rehearing of the case on other grounds.

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 87th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

A Study of the American Character

SPEECH

OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 7, 1961

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of the Fund for the Republic late in May sponsored a week long conference in Washington, D.C. This conference marked the opening of the Center's project to make a study of the American character.

As a part of the conference, a dinner meeting honoring Justice Hugo Black of the U.S. Supreme Court was held on June 1. The chairman of the meeting was Elmo Roper, and the main speakers were Dr. Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, two men who have done much to influence the course of philosophy, of theology, and of education in the United States in this century. Their speeches were important in two respects: First, in setting the framework for an inquiry into the American character; and second, as a means of giving direction to that inquiry. We must not expect a study of the American character to deal only with the good, the reasonable, and the logical. We must expect it to deal also with contradictions, with faults of character, with inadequacies.

Dr. Niebuhr's speech was not so much a criticism of the American character as an objective, honest, and searching inquiry. The burden of his plea was basically this, that we be honest with ourselves.

Dr. Hutchins spoke primarily of political philosophy, the Constitution, and the role of law and of education. A necessary part in clarifying our judgments concerning the American character is the capacity for self-criticism, both as to our ideas and our institutions and procedures. These two speeches, together with the remarks of Elmo Roper and the gracious response of Justice Hugo Black should sustain and stimulate every American who is concerned to know himself and his country better.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the speeches of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Dr. Robert Hutchins, together with the introductory remarks of Elmo Roper, chairman of the board for the Fund for the Republic, and also the remarks of Justice Black made at the dinner meeting in his honor.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY ELMO ROPER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IN INTRODUCING DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR AT A DINNER MEETING ON THE AMERICAN CHARACTER AT THE SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 1, 1961

Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished Members of the Congress, fellow Americans, I should now like to introduce to you a distinguished scholar, theologian, and social critic, a man whose contribution to the thought of our time has arisen from a unique ability to understand both sides of any intellectual or social problem, to grasp the ambiguity of all human truth and the transitoriness of all human solutions, but who has never let his all-encompassing insight paralyze his ability to judge and to act in the name of the highest religious ideals.

He has had the courage and clear-sightedness to work for the relative and partial goods that are attainable on earth. He has never fallen under the spell of utopian dreams that permanent social justice can be achieved, and he has never forgotten that the only justification of social reforms lies in their ability to enlarge the freedom of the individual human being. Yet he has never drawn from these insights into the nature of man the conclusion that social change is futile and that things were better left as they are. On the contrary, through his double vision of man's divine potentiality and man's human actuality he has been inspired to work for as much liberty, equality, and justice as it is humanly possible to achieve.

In his 30 years as professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary and in his even longer career as writer, he has inspired students, religious scholars, and secular thinkers by his religious and social insights.

I present to you the vice president emeritus of Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr.

ADDRESS BY DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Justice Black, and ladies and gentlemen, apologies are boring and I am not going to spend time in apologizing for speaking even for half an hour on this tremendous subject of "The American Character," particularly to an audience that is made up of learned scholars and learned practitioners of the political art who, as it were, know American character in the raw. I can only say that we of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions have launched this project this week—our study of the American character—and I hope, though it is precarious and hazardous, that it will succeed and be creative and that my contribution this evening will be valid if it is related to the historical setting.

Let me begin by giving my definition of "character." I think that the character of individuals and of nations is a pattern of consistency that is woven by historical circumstances. The "woof" is the physical circumstances of life, and the warp comprises the cultural, spiritual, and moral endowments of individuals or of nations.

I think all judgments about character are bound to be speculative and challengeable though they can be partially validated by setting them in historical context.

As far as our great Nation is concerned, we can simply define the "woof and warp" of it. The "woof" is the fact that we were born on a virgin continent. (My English friends remind me that it really wasn't "virgin"; there were Indians here, and after we prayed to God we preyed upon them). Anyway we were on a partially virgin continent and had a tremendous hinterland and

could occupy it without let or hindrance under the sanction of "manifest destiny." And the continent was endowed with great natural resources. This is the "woof" of our national character.

The "warp" of it is that we fancied, for obvious but in the light of history, not very plausible reasons, that we had embarked on an entirely new beginning for mankind. The settlers of Massachusetts thought they had made a new beginning for a purified church; in Virginia settlers thought they had made a new beginning for a purified political community, because they assumed that if you got rid of the absolutism of monarchy, you got rid of evil—as the Communists now think if you get rid of capitalism, you get rid of evil. There has been, therefore, a note of messianism in our national character from that day to this day. Think of how near hysterical we have been recently about the national purpose, whether we have a national purpose or what the national purpose is. (Obviously our national purpose is to do our duty within the limits of our capacities in the situation in which we find ourselves.)

So we are basically Messianists. The spiritual endowments we have and on which we pride ourselves are also somewhat dubious, more dubious than we like to admit. The Calvinists of Massachusetts said the proof of our virtue would be found in our prosperity—which was a questionable proposition, because in this great country we were bound to be prosperous, but prosperity would make for self-righteousness.

This was the original woof and warp of our historical destiny. I am going to speak briefly now of how this has worked out in history on various levels of life and in different realms of thought and action. I will begin with the obvious—our character in the international community. All of our thoughts and responsibilities are now suffused with the idea that we are one of the two great imperial powers that control the world; we are engaged with the other imperial power in a tremendous wrestling match on the abyss of a possible nuclear catastrophe.

How did we get this way? It was only a quarter of a century ago that we were isolationists, and rather neurotic isolationists at that. A persistent theme running through our national life was the idea of designing European devils trying to outrage our American innocence and to draw us into the competitions of Europe. For instance, we were—in our own view—seduced into the First World War. But then we emerged out of the Second World War the most powerful democratic nation on earth. I think we have to admit now that we are the leader of the free world not purely by our virtue, but by our power, by controlling—as the Russians control—a vast continental economy.

It is an interesting thing that our isolationism was partly selfish. It wasn't quite what the psychiatrists call a "return to the womb" that we sought—it was merely a grasping after the cradle of our continental security. After technology had overwhelmed this continental security, the original desire for our primitive innocence remained. We had a dark suspicion that power meant responsibility and responsibility meant guilt—the guilt that we are involved in by the evil that we do in order to do good. We are never quite willing to accept that there is evil in our good—that's what makes us rather vexatious partners to our allies.

But we have done fairly well, and now we are in this imperial position, knowing full well that our power spells responsibility, and that exercising that responsibility means that our actions are all mixed with guilt.

There are some remaining problems for us. There is, for instance, the problem that we think our own history should point the way to the world how to get out of the nuclear dilemma. Weren't we one of the two nations (with Israel of old) that was formed by a contract? Can't we form a world community by a similar contract? Can't we get rid of all this terrible conflict and competition between two communities by a contract? By a world constitutional convention? I know that I am stepping on the tender toes of some of my intimate colleagues in this vicinity when I say that this is an evasion. I don't see how it is possible to establish a supersovereignty by a pure contract and subordinate the prestige and the power of these two great imperial nations, the United States and U.S.S.R., not to speak of de Gaulle's France.

Another great temptation that we have faced with relative success is that it is very difficult for us, who believe we are masters of our fate and destiny, to be so frustrated in the day of our great power. Can't we use our power to cut through all these frustrations? But that might entail bringing history to a tragic end by bringing it to a neat conclusion.

Now I don't think I can solve the nuclear dilemma, but I would like to observe that we all hope some kind of disarmament agreement will gradually come—some solution will emerge out of these tortuous negotiations. I assume of course that there is a possibility of some kind of uneasy partnership between these two imperial nations despite the fact that one of them is governed by a very dogmatic utopian and messianic creed.

In regard to adjusting ourselves to an industrial civilization, let me be equally modest and say that I think we ought to realize that not only we but all the Western European democracies had the great problem in the late 19th century of adjusting the individualistic idealism of the 18th and early 19th century to the social facts of an industrial civilization, which is bound to be collective. Here we succeeded as did the West European nations and the British Commonwealth. All of us, therefore, made ourselves immune to the Communist rebellion against democracy.

We succeeded, first, because we had proved on the one hand that there was a real force in equal political power guaranteed by the right of suffrage. And secondly, we established justice by raising up a countervailing power—the strong labor union—against the power of the corporation, which had centralized power by its innate capacities. So we have two quasi-sovereignties today, the big union and the big corporation.

There is no way to establish a tolerable justice without an equilibrium of power. That is what we have learned and learned it rather tardily. But why were we so tardy? Because, among other reasons, we were a wealthy nation and our social mobility made class resentment less pervasive. The class resentment that for good reasons was the instrument of social change in Europe evaporated among us. And then there was the frontier. You could always solve the vexatious problem of collective justice, or at least put it off, by heeding Horace Greeley's advice, "Young man, go west." So we had the frontier. The frontier established the kind of liberty and equality without revolution that eluded the most radical revolution—the democratic revolution of Europe. But this put a note of sentimentality into all our politics. I don't think there is a question about it, a note of sentimentality. We think all these things are easier than they are: we do not recognize fully the recalcitrance of human nature against the norms and ideals of human history and destiny.

Let me move on to another great question about our national character—racial justice. You remember the distinguished Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal wrote on the American dilemma, how tragic that dilemma is. A dilemma throughout our history. For instance, while Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," Negro slaves were working in his garden. It may be heretical to say anything critical of Thomas Jefferson, but I am going to repeat what John Quincy Adams said; he said that Thomas Jefferson himself wasn't rigorous enough in applying the Declaration of Independence to the conditions of Virginia. Anyway the Declaration of Independence didn't help our Negro friends very much nor were the 13th and 14th amendments of immediate help. Now we are engaged in the agonies of establishing the validity and the honesty of our democratic creed for our Negro fellow citizens.

This is a tortuous process. I mustn't speak too much about that in the presence of distinguished members of the Supreme Court, because what is involved in it, I think, is a fascinating relationship between the majesty of the law, and the recalcitrance of local mores. I have had some difference of attitudes about the great decision that your Court made, Mr. Justice Black, 7 years ago. Sometimes I thought it was morally the greatest thing; then I thought since it tended to polarize and make the bad people

worse and the good people better, it wasn't politically prudent even though it might be morally wise. But now I realize that it was absolutely necessary, because the basic difficulty is that the Negro is guilty of a crime against the rest of us: he diverges so obviously from the white man's God-like image of himself. You cannot get rid of that, either by moral suasion or by law but you have to do it both ways.

And I am glad we are doing it both ways. I am sorry that in this respect the Protestant Church has been so tardy. I say the Protestant Churches not the Catholic Church because the Protestant Church has proved itself in this case to be a kind of middle-class white conventicle that has forgotten the universal norms of the Christian faith. But we are making progress here too, so we can be moderately proud and moderately humble about our character as an interracial community.

Certainly, as Henry Steele Commager reminded us during our conference this week, our religious life is unique on account of our pluralism. We have every Protestant sect in America and here every sect becomes a church, and every church becomes a sect. Even the Catholic Church becomes a sect in America—that is, not in their esteem but in our esteem.

We have the largest and most creative Jewish religious minority group of any Western nation. I am particularly interested in this, because the relationship of Christians to Jews is one of the scandals of Western civilization as we all know. When I took the position 5 years ago—I took it 20 years ago but it was not publicized until 5 years ago—that Christians didn't have any business converting Jews, I had three kinds of reactions to my proposal. One was, "You are right, no matter what." The second was, "You're right, but you are heretical." And the third was, "You are wrong because you are heretical."

There is a simple way of solving the third one by saying, "You must have a wrong definition of heresy."

There was this great challenge, a Jewish minority. We haven't begun fully to fulfill our democratic and Christian moral creed in regard to the Jewish minority, particularly with reference to recognizing that the Jews—in my opinion—have a positive ability, not to say genius, for civic righteousness. I could elaborate on that much more but I'll leave it at that.

Another important challenge was the growth of a great disciplined Church, the Roman Catholic Church, first by immigration, and then, may I say, perhaps by outbreeding us, they have become more numerous. So all of our defensive reactions as Protestants are engaged in the power of this great Church. We had some experience in the last campaign which would indicate that this is not an academic question. The amount of hate mail I received from Protestant sectarians—on the whole from the fundamentalist sects—was shocking. They thought that if we elected Mr. Kennedy President, the Pope would run America. At that time I had a little dialog with the distinguished Jesuit theologian, Gustave Weigel, and I agreed that he was right in saying that the Catholic Church allows Catholic statesmen to speak for a consensus beyond anything the Church might say, but I added what also must be observed, that frequently the Catholic statesman takes more freedom than the Church finds convenient.

I think we non-Catholics ought to appreciate this church that from our standpoint may represent a bit of medieval vestigial remnant. We ought not condescend to it like that, because we ought to recognize that it has two great virtues which, on the whole, individualistic Protestantism, or secularism, or what-have-you does not have. I am going to say this in appreciation of Catholicism. I hope that Monsignor Lally after I have finished won't say, "God deliver us from our friends." I appreciate the Catholic Church because it was able to do something that I think is quite marvelous and that is, to take a priestly monarchy which at one time in the Middle Ages thought it was going to be the supersovereignty over all the nations, and make it a general instrument of a universal religious community, the only really universal Christian community. Incidentally, I hope that this isn't a liberal heresy—but I don't think this can be done without the institution of monarchy. If that be heresy, make the most of it.

Now the Catholic Church has two great advantages, one is that it never questions the social substance of human existence, that we are not just individuals but individuals who are fulfilled in, and frustrated by, our communties. The Catholic Church has an abiding sense of community. Its conceptions of justice are too fixed for me; they do not care enough about or take enough cognizance of the historical contingencies. For instance, take the population problem—the church's prohibition of birth control. But why should I go into this, when I want to appreciate the fact that the Catholic Church supports a natural law that has some relevance to an industrial civilization? I think it is marvelous that a church which I once thought could not extricate itself unaided from a medieval society has done very well in adjusting itself to a modern industrial society—better than most of us. This is one of its great virtues.

It is also a citadel which has guarded by its dogmas, which are probably irrelevant to many modern secular or Protestant Americans, the integrity and responsible freedom of the individual against the hazards of a technical, technocratic culture and civilization. This is a tremendous achievement.

I don't say that the Catholic Church is the only one that does this. I think that every institution of learning, and every religious institution ought to do this, but one of the great problems of the American character is how are we going to come to terms with the pressing problems of a technical society? We define "technique" simply as the mastery of nature, man's scientific mastery of nature, which leaves many questions of human existence out, particularly the question about the individual, and the question about the meaning of his existence. Here is the Catholic Church, which is a very nonindividualistic institution, nevertheless having this citadel for the individual. I think we ought to be grateful that in an open society, there could be this voice about individual destiny that transcends all our social destinies.

What about this strange and pathetic individual, who is so insignificant in the coherences and incoherences of nature and history and so significant to himself and to the people who love him? He is going to die as all the animals die. Though he thinks he ought not to die and hopes that he is not going to die, he would not know what to do with eternity if he had it—what are you going to do with the pathos and incongruity of this individual existence? And what are you going to do if he asks the question, "What is the meaning of my individual and my collective destiny anyway?"

Now, here I must confess another heresy. Being a liberal in politics I have been rather consistently antiliberal in culture because I think it is rather pathetic that this great liberal culture of ours, this Western culture of ours, should interpret the meaning of human existence in terms of two very dubious dogmas, the "perfectibility of man," and the "inevitability of progress" in a nuclear age. Certainly, there must be some voice that says "this isn't true," and for my part I am glad that we have an open society in which either the Christian standpoint, or the Catholic Christian standpoint is not annulled or silenced, and where the secular society with all its wonderful scientific disciplines can challenge the inevitable obscurantism of the religious community, which is always involved in obscurantism because it claims that its symbols or its historical facts are more than historical facts. This is, in other words, a problem we are not going to solve, but thank God we have a community in which every one of these answers is still heard. We haven't solved the problem of the meaning of our existence and it has become more unsolvable because we are in conflict, in competition, with a very technocratic society that defines the uniqueness of man by saying that he is a toolmaking animal. We are certainly a little more than that.

I must admit that my friend Sir Charles Snow is right and say we have a particular reason for being somewhat technocratic because all the poor nations of the world are trying to get our technocracy; we are legitimately technocratic, but we ought to have some apprehensions about the preoccupation of man with the tools of life.

I must come to a conclusion. There are many other problems we could consider in the American character. I should say that any of our studies would have to analyze the American heritage in order to show what

is perennially valid in this glorious liberal heritage of the 18th century Founding Fathers, and what must be adjusted to the facts of a collectivist society. There, I think it is worth observing that we don't necessarily turn from error—the error of utopianism, messianism, and liberalism and individualism—to the truth of our realism, but that we are turning back to a much richer truth that our Founding Fathers collectively had. You take the idealism of Jefferson, the sober realism of a Madison, and the wintry pessimism of John Adams, not to say the cynicism of an Alexander Hamilton, all have their place in the threshing floor of an open society where truth is separated from error and error from truth. Incidentally, in this open society, we have a place even for those systems which believe that the truth should be guaranteed by authority, religious or political, against error. This is also a great achievement of our free society.

We must look at the past not only because it shows us how finite we are, what creatures of our determinations, but because we are also responsible agents in history and we must study the past to free ourselves for the future. Freedom is the knowledge of necessity, though not in the way that Hegel and Marx said it was. We must have the knowledge of our finite determinations of the past, in order that we may be free to master our destiny in the future. We must know the past, and then we must not be preoccupied with it.

I must close with a word from one of the greatest statesmen of our age, Sir Winston Churchill. In a memorable address he made in New York after the war, during the Berlin airlift, he said something like this about the past and the future and about man's determination of freedom. He said: "Our airlift has won us the hearts of the German people, gentlemen. I hope you won't be offended that I think it important to win the hearts of the German people seeing they did us so much wrong—but, gentlemen, let us only remember so much of the past as will make us creative in the future."

STATEMENT BY ELMO ROPER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IN INTRODUCING DR. ROBERT M. HUTCHINS AT A DINNER MEETING ON THE AMERICA CHARACTER AT THE SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 1, 1961

And now I should like to introduce a man whose interests have spanned many areas but who has devoted his life to a single faith: faith in human rationality. Faced with overwhelming evidence of man's unreason, he has nevertheless subbornly maintained his belief that man at his best is a wonderful thing, and man at his best is man thinking. Perhaps I should say man speaking, for it is the great dialogue between the best minds of the ages, between the developing minds of today and the great minds of the past, through which Robert Hutchins has always believed human enlightenment will come.

As a corollary to this faith in reason, he has also placed his faith in democracy and in freedom. Only in an atmosphere of freedom, when there are no restrictions on man's inquiring mind and when no sacred body of so-called truth is allowed to block the flow of man's intellectual adventuring, can civilized discourse flourish and rationality be a governing principle in human affairs. So Robert Hutchins has fought for freedom, and for the freedom of all men. Knowing that most journeys into truth have been taken first by lonely, stubborn men, he has upheld the right of lonely, stubborn men everywhere to seek the truth and declare it as it appears to them. His life has been a steadfast dedication to the famous proposition of John Stuart Mill: "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

From time to time there have been those who wished to silence, or at least to tone down, Robert Hutchins, resenting his gadfly probing into the sacred areas of American complacency or shocked at his defense of such dubious documents as the Bill of Rights, but like most gadflies he has persisted in his ways, and I daresay he will be remembered when his critics are forgotten.

The radical concept of education Dr. Hutchins developed as president and then chancellor of the University of Chicago is considered by many the most revolutionary phase of his career. Yet it well may be that the present phase at the Fund for the Republic's center for the study of democratic institutions will ultimately seem even more revolutionary, because in that a man steeped in a tradition of Aristotelian logic, 18th century rationalism and old-fashioned Yankee independence, has undertaken a study of a uniquely modern phenomenon, the impact on freedom of 20th century institutions, with a view to making a reevaluation of the meaning of freedom in contemporary life.

I present to you the president of the Fund for the Republic, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY

(By Robert M. Hutchins, president, the Fund for the Republic, Inc.)

Our guest of honor accepted our invitation on one condition, and that was that no complimentary remarks should be made about him. Since it is impossible to ignore a guest of honor, I have no course but to make uncomplimentary remarks about him. This I shall do from a deep sense of personal grievance.

When I taught law, we taught that law was what the courts would do. Although there were some progressives who thought that what the courts did was determined by what the judges had for breakfast—tell me what you eat and I'll tell you what you are—the more authoritative view was that the courts would do what they had done. Among other unattractive subjects, I taught the law of public utilities. What the Supreme Court had done, in 1898, was to hold, in *Smyth* v. *Ames*, that regulatory bodies could not constitutionally fix rates that did not give a fair return on the fair value of the property, and fair value came to mean cost of reproduction new, less depreciation. My course was based on *Smyth* v. *Ames*.

What a bonanza the rule of *Smyth* v. *Ames* turned out to be. Almost everybody, except the public, profited by it. When New York City began its rate case against the Edison Co., that corporation's expenditures for appraising, accounting, and legal fees were over $4 million. New York Telephone's, in a similar case, were over $5 million. And in 1932 it appeared that the valuation of the American railroads, which had been going on for 18 years, had cost $178 million.

No sooner had Justice Black got on the Court than he attacked the rule of *Smyth* v. *Ames*. Perhaps little more could have been expected of a man who as a Senator had announced that stare decisis, adherence to precedent, did not apply to the Constitution. We took some temporary comfort in the fact that his attack was a dissent. But such was the pertinacity and persuasiveness of our guest of honor that by 1944 he had brought the majority around to his opinion, and *Smyth* v. *Ames* was overruled. Thus at one stroke Justice Black hit the utilities, and the appraising, accounting, engineering, and legal professions a tremendous blow in the pocketbook—and repealed everything my students ever knew.

Most of my colleagues of those days will tell you the same story. What Justice Black did to me and my students he did to them and their students. He assailed the rule, unquestioned since 1842, on the interpretation of State law by the Federal courts, and got it overturned in 1938. He inveigled the Court into upsetting an almost equally ancient tradition by holding that insurance was commerce. He seemed to suggest in *Marsh* v. *Alabama*, decided in 1945, that corporations, under certain circumstances, might be subject, like governments, to the prohibitions of the Bill of Rights. In the Lovett case he renovated an almost forgotten piece of furniture, the bill of attainder, and turned it into a weapon with which he repulsed a rapacious majority in Congress.

Nor is this all. If we explore the Black country, the world of Justice Black's dissenting opinions, we see that if we lived there we should be living in a different atmosphere. The protections accorded the accused in criminal cases would be extended. Aliens would be treated almost as well as citizens. The protection of the 5th amendment would be broadened. It would be regarded as guaranteeing the right to be silent; the waiver of the privilege would be more narrowly interpreted; and no governmental penalty of any kind could be inflicted on a witness availing himself of it. The imme-

morial rule permitting the trial of criminal contempts without a jury would be abolished. So would blue-ribbon juries. The rights of labor unions to picket peacefully and to engage in political activity would be widened. No test oaths of any sort would be permitted. Censorship, obscenity legislation, and group libel would be unconstitutional. A corporation would not be a person within the meaning of the 14th amendment, as it has been ever since Roscoe Conkling, by carefully editing history, convinced the Court many years ago. The Federal Government would be held to have completely preempted the field of repressing subversion. The House Un-American Activities Committee would be regarded as an un-American activity. The whole of the Bill of Rights and not just part of it, would operate against the States. The doctrine that the necessities of the community must be balanced against the rights of the citizen, so that the citizen usually loses, would go out the window. Neither subway conductors nor applicants for admission to the bar would be declared unreliable because they refused to answer questions about membership in the Communist Party.

When we recall that all the great movements in constitutional law in the last 75 years have been made by dissenting opinions, we recognize that such opinions are not to be trifled with. We ought to make up our minds whether we like the Black country. We may find ourselves living in it.

I like it. But the question is why. I can't say I like it because I like it. If I did, all anybody else would have to say would be that he didn't like it.

I can't say I like it because I was brought up that way. Too many people were brought up another way.

I can't say I like it because it reflects the consensus in the United States. It probably does not.

I can't say I like it because I think it would work well. Though I have no doubt that what is not true will somehow fail to work, the crucial word is "somehow," which includes "sometime." Life is so complicated, and so short, that I am not sure that I would know whether or not something was working. And what is the standard of working well, and where do I get it?

I can't say I like the Black country because an historical investigation of what the Founding Fathers meant convinces me that they intended us to live there. Such investigations are likely to be as useless as the Court says they were to it in the desegregation decision, or as the Fund for the Republic found they were when it tried to determine the historical origins of the religion clauses of the first amendment. We certainly are not to take the meaning of the fathers at the time they wrote as binding on us today. Only Chief Justice Taney ever did that. Of course in the Dred Scott case he misrepresented the founders. But even if he had told the truth he would not have been using a good method of constitutional interpretation.

I can't say I like the Black country because the precise words of the Constitution compel me to. The plain language of constitutions, statutes, and precedents requires interpretation. The precise words of the religion clauses of the first amendment are as precise as any in the Constitution. The phrase "separation of church and state" does not appear in that document. Still less is there any talk therein of a high and impregnable wall of separation. Yet these phrases are the commonplaces of judicial discussion of the freedom and establishment of religion.

The precise words and plain language of the religion clauses, though very precise and exceedingly plain, were not sufficiently so to produce a line of decision from the Everson case, through the McCollum case, to the Zorach case that was altogether clear to the non-judicial mind. These words and language have not always seemed to be precise and plain even to the judicial mind, as the praiseworthy changes of that mind in the flag-salute cases show.

In 1934, Chief Justice Hughes said, delivering the opinion of the Court, "The vast body of law which has been developed was unknown to the fathers, but it is believed to have preserved the essential content and the spirit of the Constitution * * *. This development is a growth from the seeds which the fathers planted." The Founding Fathers meant us to learn. They meant us to learn how to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquillity, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity. They founded a political community; a community learning together to discover and achieve the common good, the elements of which they set forth, but did not elucidate, in the Preamble. The reliance on us to continue learning is evident in every line of the Constitution and in the brevity of the whole.

The Constitution is to be interpreted, therefore, as a charter of learning. We are to learn how to develop the seeds the Fathers planted under the conditions of our own time. This political botany means that nothing we have learned and no process of learning could be unconstitutional. What would be unconstitutional would be limitations or inhibitions on learning. I like the Black country because this is the essential content and spirit of its constitution. Justice Black is a great teacher of the challenges posed in our time by our Constitution to the American character.

Learning is a rational process. Law is an ordinance of reason, directed to the common good. The process of deciding to make or not to make a law, or the process of reaching a judicial conclusion, is to be criticized in terms of its conformity not to local or popular but to universal standards of reasonableness. If the Constitution is to teach us, and we are to learn under its instruction, the dialogue that goes on about its meaning must be about what is reasonable and unreasonable, right and wrong, just and unjust. The question is not what interests are at stake, not what are the mores of the community, not who has the power or who is the dominant group, not what the courts will do or the legislature has done, but what is reasonable, right, and just.

Certainly conformity to the precise words of the laws and the Constitution is not enough. It is well to remember that Hitler was called Adolf Legalité. Everything he did, like everything that is being done in South Africa, was strictly according to law. Critics of President Eisenhower were correct in saying that his defense of the desegregation decision was ineffectual. He should have said not merely that the decision was the law of the land, but also that it was based on reason, right, and justice.

Since, as John Dewey remarked, we have a government of lawyers, and not of men, lawyers should understand that there is or ought to be a normative jurisprudence which prescribes something more than correct procedure. The lamentable state of legal education, admirably exemplified by the way I used to teach public utility law, is one of the principal obstacles to our learning in and through the political community.

There are others. Our ideology, by which I mean that set of ideas which has hardened into a linear series of slogans, one of which leads into the other without the intervention of thought, is far behind the facts of life. Our institutions, operated in terms of that ideology, seem sometimes primitive, sometimes unreal, sometimes fantastic, when we think of the obligations and opportunities of our country in the contemporary world. We know that tremendous changes are going on, and that still greater are impending. Of the two pillars of our society, property and work, the first has now been transformed; it has changed from tangible goods into a series of claims; and the second is certain to disappear. We are going to have to live in a world without work, a world without want, a world without disease, and, if we are to live at all, in a world without war.

With the gross national product hovering around an alltime high, one-third of the productive capacity of our industries lies idle. What are we going to do with our goods? What are we going to do with ourselves? We now have to learn more, and learn it faster, than any other people in history. The time to revive and reconstruct the political community is at hand.

It seems likely that this age will be one either of innovation or of extinction. Without innovation the human race may not be extinguished, though the technical means of achieving this result are now available. What will be extinguished, in the absence of innovation, is the free society, the political

community. Only if we can tear ourselves loose from our prejudices, from our ideology, from slogans, only if we can take a fresh look at the world and exercise the same kind of intelligence, character, and inventiveness that the Founding Fathers showed can we hope to revive, reconstruct, and preserve the political community. Take 4 successive days out of the last 10 in the work of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. On the first our staff economist demonstrated that the market was not working and could not work. He then demonstrated with equal clarity that economic planning, the only visible alternative to the market, was not working either. He said it would be necessary to develop new economic ideas and new economic institutions to meet the problems of a totally new world.

On the second day a Canadian expert reporting on experience with broadcasting in Canada and England and his observations elsewhere declared that no form of public, semipublic, or quasi-public control of broadcasting had been able to resist the advertising agencies anywhere and that if they were to be resisted, which he thought essential to the health, morals, and sanity of the world, new ideas would have to appear and new methods be invented.

On the third day a professor from the Australian National University, beginning with a conviction that the United Kingdom would join the European Common Market, and going on to trace the effect of this action on the British Commonwealth, concluded that we were rapidly moving into some form of world political organization, and speculated that, if such an organization was to be in any sense free and democratic, new political forms would have to be developed. Something is going to replace the nation states. But what?

On the fourth day a student of the American character from Berkeley recalled de Tocqueville's remark that the individual is a defaulted citizen, that democracy fosters individualism, and that individualism first saps the virtues of public life and ends in pure selfishness. De Tocqueville said that democracy, by way of individualism, throws every man "back forever upon himself alone and threatens in the end to confine him entirely within the solitude of his own heart." The citizens of the United States, de Tocqueville thought, would escape this fate because our Constitution required us to learn together to seek the common good. We would be forced, he said, by the necessity of cooperating in the management of our free institutions, and by our desire to exercise our political rights, into the habit of attending to the interests of the public.

The student of the American character from Berkeley pointed out that de Tocqueville's expectations had not been fulfilled, that the people of the United States are in fact defaulted citizens, with an indifference and even a hostility to government, politics, and law that would have astounded de Tocqueville—and the Founding Fathers. Instead of being a citizen, the American individual is a consumer, an object of propaganda, and a statistical unit. The conclusion of the professor from Berkeley was that the political community had been wrecked on the rocks of our ideology, by such slogans as free enterprise and that government is best which governs least, and was now extinct. In view of the condition of our education, our mass media, and our political parties, he believed that in the absence of some dramatic new effort to reconstruct our attitudes and our institutions the outlook for democracy, for the free society, and for the political community was hopeless.

All the studies that the center has been carrying on come out at the same place. We are entering a totally new world, and we are not very well prepared for it. The new world is described by the great French historian and philosopher, Étienne Gilson, as follows: "The throes of the contemporary world are those of a birth. And what is being born with such great pain is a universal human society. * * * What characterizes the events we witness, what distinguishes them from all preceding events back to the origins of history is * * * their global character, or to say it perhaps more exactly, their planetary character. The unity of the planet is already accomplished. For reasons economic, industrial, and technical, reasons all linked to the practical applications of science, such a solidarity is established among the peoples of the earth that their vicissitudes are integrated in a universal history of which they are particular moments. * * * These peoples are in fact parts of a humanity * * * something of which they must now become conscious, in order to will it instead of being subject to it, in order to think it with a view to organizing it."

The demands of this new world, like the demands of the political community, are first of all demands that we think, and learn. We face them ill prepared. Our educational system is not unfairly characterized by reference to the course in family living in the high school of Lockport, N.Y. The last unit of this course is called, "How To Be Livable, Lovable, and Datable." Or, as bearing more directly on our topic, you may prefer reference to the Resource Guide for English and Social Studies for the 10th Grade, published by the Pasadena schools. It reads as follows: "In the 10th grade, study is concentrated on the growth of democracy, and especially on the form of government which developed. Such a study should be brief and to the point, in order to allow time for the unit on driver education."

I remind you that on April 14 the superintendent of schools of New York City announced that 10,000 seventh-graders under his jurisdiction could not read third-grade books. The education of adults, which might be the answer to the question: What shall we do with ourselves? is in a deplorable state. Thirty million Americans, for example, are without any library service whatever.

We have triumphantly invented, perfected, and distributed to the humblest cottage throughout the land one of the greatest technical marvels in history, television, and have used it for what? To bring Coney Island into every home. It is as though movable type had been devoted exclusively since Gutenberg's time to the publication of comic books. William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia in the 17th century, said, "Thank God there are no free schools or printing, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy into the world, and printing has divulged them. God keep us from both." We are combining Berkeley's ideal of no communications at all with the democratic ideal of communications for everybody by having mass communications without content. In the same way it sometimes seems as though we are trying to combine this ideal of no schools at all with the democratic ideal of schools for everybody by having schools without education.

When it comes to learning through the political community, the object is to learn how to be a responsible citizen, enjoying liberty under law. The freedom of the individual must be protected, but in addition the citizen must grow in responsibility if our country is to become conscious of itself as a part of humanity and to think humanity in order to organize it. Individual freedom and liberty under law are not incompatible, and they are both indispensable.

Law is a great teacher. It does not represent that minimum of morality necessary to hold the community together. It stands rather for such moral truth as the community has discovered that can and should be supported by the authority of the community. The conception of law as coercion, or the command of the sovereign, or the expression of power, or what the courts will do leads to the conclusion that every effort should be made to avoid law and that it is proper to do anything that nobody can compel you to abstain from doing. Some such misconception must have been in the mind of our Government when it organized a foray into Cuba in violation of our own laws and in violation of international law. This fiasco suggests either that our officials are hypocritical when they make obeisance to the rule of law or that when they use the words "rule of law" they do not know what they are talking about.

Some of the principles of world law are of great antiquity. Others are gradually emerging. Justice Black referred to them in 1941 in the submerged land cases and again in 1946 when he said that "there has grown up in the field of international relations a body of customs defining with more or less certainty the duties owing by all nations to alien residents." The principles of world law are the principles of thinking humanity in order to organize it. Of necessity they must be principles of universal validity. I think

they will be found to be the principles embodied in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States.

We must revive and reconstruct the political community in the United States because the task before us is nothing less than the organization of the world political community. We have thought that we had hold on some truths that would mean something in the universal history of mankind. The Founding Fathers believed that the truths in which America was conceived would stir the aspirations of all men everywhere. If we are now to exemplify these truths, we have to keep hold on them; we have to keep learning them; we have to learn all they can imply for today and tomorrow. The proposition to which the Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln dedicated us now extends to the whole world. Once more Americans, on a new scale, have the duty of forming a more perfect union, which will involve establishing justice, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to all the peoples of the earth.

RESPONSE OF JUSTICE BLACK TO DR. HUTCHINS

Mr. ROPER. I would like to ask Justice Black to stand up so that we can all pay our respects to him directly. Justice Black. [Applause, audience rising.]

Justice BLACK. I like that introduction. It is better than the one that makes you feel that you don't know yourself as well as you thought you did. I like it because it is very much like Mark Twain's—his favorite—and I can think of no better one, because it is very short.

A man was called on to introduce him who had never seen him. Didn't know anything about him. The man said: "I have been asked to introduce the speaker of the evening. There are only two things I know about him. One is that he has never been in the penitentiary, and the other is I cannot imagine why."

That has always seemed to me like a better introduction than one that lasts about 15 minutes, preaching at your funeral. I am very happy to be here. I came not to talk, but to listen.

I wanted to sit at the feet of a man whom I have admired for many, many years, a man who in my judgment has contributed far more to the ideas of liberty than I have. When I first heard about him he was making people think. When I next heard about him he was still making people think. Tonight you have heard him, and he has made you think. What greater service can a man live—perform—in a world that depends more than anything else upon what people think, far more in my judgment than what people do.

It is because he told me—or I was told—that this meeting was to be dedicated largely to the idea of liberty, the idea of freedom, the idea of expanding freedom in this country, that I was happy to come to the gathering. As I have looked around tonight from the time I entered the door until now, I have looked into the faces of men and women who have been contributing and are now contributing very greatly to the basic ideas of a free democratic country. Such men and women will continue to do what Dr. Hutchins said that the Founding Fathers hoped this Nation would do—to practice a type of government and to utter thoughts of freedom that would be an inspiration to the people of the world.

I thank all of you for coming here, to hear Dr. Hutchins and Dr. Niebuhr. I must confess that Dr. Niebuhr disturbed me once or twice. [Laughter.] He mentioned a name that I have somehow become familiar with the last few years. I don't know exactly how to pronounce it, but it is something like Gunnar Myrdal, I believe he said. [Laughter.]

Again he disturbed me a little because he said—didn't disturb me, he gave me hope, he said that the foundation (the Fund for the Republic) had decided that the thing to do was to get people together with different ideas and let them fight it out among themselves. That disturbed me a little because I belong to two or three organizations where numbers of the people have different ideas and I do not want them to be inspired into fighting it out any more than they do. [Laughter. Applause.] But it is a grand fight I can assure you. [Laughter and applause.]

And I want to correct one idea that seems to have spread abroad. I had a letter a few days ago from a fan, not on my side [laughter] but this fan suggested, in a way, that these ideas might be beyond my comprehension—as a matter of fact it was suggested that they probably were—but that if I would be kind enough, if it was possible for me to do so, to pass them on to my brethren on the Court they would appreciate it [laughter].

I want to assure you it was no difficulty at all to pass them on to my brethren. The Supreme Court does have its differences. I hope it will always have. It does have men who express their differences. I hope it will always have, because I fully subscribe to the belief that there is no progress possible anywhere where the differences of people are stifled, their voices are not able to be heard, and where they all speak as one voice, when all of us know that human beings don't feel that way.

Dr. Hutchins, I appreciate the honor of being with you. I wish I could say just how much I know has been done for the cause of liberty in this country by many people I see before me, far more than I have or can. I have sat at the feet not merely of you tonight but I have sat at the feet of some of these people here. It is grand to be with you. It is grand to be a part of what I have come to believe in 24 years time is the greatest stabilizing force, a great stabilizing force for this Nation. To a large extent the Supreme Court represents the difference between the country that must depend upon the guns flashing to get rid of tyranny, and a country that depends upon its people, their institutions, with open minds and open hearts. I am proud to have served as a part of this Government, the time I have.

This is more than I intended to say, more than I should have said. I have no pessimism for the future, however, I should say. I'm not even afraid for people to think. I'm not even afraid for them to talk. With the stubborn men I have had to come in contact with all my life that I couldn't convert, I'm not afraid of people with silly ideas converting the people of this country to depart from the good solid faith of a great democratic nation. [Applause, the audience rising.]

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1956

BULLETIN • JANUARY 1962

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

The twelfth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of significant issues involved in the maintenance of a free society; and sometimes to describe the purposes and operations of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

Caught on the Horn of Plenty

W. H. FERRY Vice-President of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.; Staff Director of the Center's Study of the Economic Order

The United States is advancing rapidly into a national economy in which there will not be enough jobs of the conventional kind to go around. The acceleration of technology is responsible. A social and political crisis will be the result. Substitutes for such presently accepted goals as full employment will have to be found. Fresh definitions of the conceptions of work, leisure, abundance, and scarcity are needed. Economic theories adequate to an industrial revolution are not good enough for the conditions of the scientific revolution. ⁂ The complexity and interdependence of the scientific-industrial state calls for national planning. The individualism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is a casualty of technology, as are old theories of private property. Government must intervene more and more in the nation's industrial life. The destiny is the economy under law. A radical change in public attitude toward law and government is necessary if the general welfare is to be achieved. ⁂ Having bargained for the benefits of technology on all fronts, law is our only means of assuring that it serves the common good.

The CRISIS

MARCH, 1962

■ An analysis of the rigid patterns of racial discrimination against Negro workers

Patterns of Employment Discrimination

By Herbert Hill

A REPRINT FROM CRISIS MAGAZINE

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

LABOR AND OUR AUTOMATED SOCIETY

Marpower
Automation

an address to the

TWELFTH ANNUAL ENGINEERING MANAGEMENT

JOINT CONFERENCE

by Ted F. Silvey

AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau

Washington, D. C.

September 17-18, 1964

Cleveland, Ohio

A LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THE GUARANTEED INCOME

University of Chicago
Law School Auditorium
1111 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois

May 21, 1966

File

"Techniques"

Start with what people know — U.C., W.C., Soc Sec.

Recognize Value orientation and Conflicts

Historical interpretation of events — 1930's Econ & Socio-Pol Changes

Changes in family: Elders not only owners of property
Not econ. unit
Children not econ asset

Who is poor — Current needs

Cycle of Poverty

Self-interest — good community — fairness
Community Peace —

What makes for Security (yellow list) — What "buy" collectively

Necessity for
government, Taxes, econ growth

Problems of abundance

Unfairness to Children — problems of Coming Generation

But I also have some hopes regarding members
they can be reached when we try [Wallace notwithstanding]
they will respond to self interest
Knowledge (interpretation) still a useful tool

I said "revolution" — what are some of the background elements:

Old acquaintances: Population growth & shifts,
industrial-urban (but national) economy
The automation revolution
mechanical changes — physical labor
Instrumentation & Automatic Control
replacing "senses": hearing, feeling, sight, smell
Electronic Computer

Agricultural revolution
Human Right Revolution — Civil Rights
Awareness of Poverty
Political Changes —

Compare '30's
"working class" legislative revolution
scarcity idea of economics
* But the Revolution of '30's was an
attack on our ideas of security
initiative & savings did not count
developed social responsibility for econ security
moved from self-reliance to public, institutionalized

THE ECONOMICS OF EQUALITY

Tom Kahn

League for Industrial Democracy

[Excerpted from the monograph, The Economics of Equality by Tom Kahn (New York, 1964) by permission from the League for Industiral Democracy.]

The relative economic position of the Negro is declining. In part this is due to overt racial discrimination, but mainly to his membership in an economic class to which he has been bound by centuries of exploitation. The position of this class is deteriorating because of technological developments which are revolutionizing the structure of the labor force. More precisely, it results from the failure to evolve sweeping national policies to meet the economic and social problems thrown up by the technological revolution. Since the economic future of the Negro is inseparable from that of his economic class, the civil rights movement must mobilize behind radical programs for the abolition of poverty and unemployment, thus infusing "the other America" with the dynamic and spirit of the Negro revolt. Failing this, persistent economic inequalities will undermine the drive toward legal and social equality.

The Treadmill

Running fast to stand still is essentially the position in which the Negro finds himself today. If the segregated lunch-counter is a hollow relic of the ancient régime, one which would inevitably topple at an early stage in the civil rights revolution, the more fundamental, institutional forms of discrimination are more securely rooted in our economic system. And current trends in that system imperil the Negro's economic future.

What emerges from the statistics on jobs and income are the following trends:

1. There is a widening dollar gap between Negroes and whites.

2. The relative income gap between Negroes and whites has remained virtually constant over the past decade.

3. The unemployment gap between Negroes and whites has been widening.

4. The industries and occupations where the Negro made his greatest gains have either declined or shown relatively little growth over the past decade.

5. Negroes constitute a growing percentage of all workers in most of the declining job categories.

Widening Dollar Gap

The median Negro family income is $3,233, or 54% of the white family's $5,835. Approximately two out of every three Negro families subsist on less than $4,000

Poverty —

Area Redevelopment
Poverty Program

Attention to
Unemployment
sub - or Underemployment

Didn't get full, employment program

The pieces —
jobs (will not handle large families, disabled, aged
Training

income maintenance (distribution - Transfer)

Poverty is more than income
education, status, political participation

Social services

Are there 2 classes of citizens: 1) Law abiding
2) non-law abiding

But can they be seperated prior to trial
(e.g. law justify extensive searches & seizures –

Tough penalties vs. rehabilitation

Rep. Bob Casey (Tex D.)
Make Any serious crime committed with a gun a federal offence – Mandatory 25 yr. imprisonment
100,000/yr crimes would become federal
Massive Fed Police — Penal Institutions

F.B.I — 82% of all [murders] are within families or among acquaintances —

generally law abiding before the murder

Gun Control

Pro	Con
Safety on the Street	Already have State laws
Curb un-safe people	Curbs hunters & collectors
Safety in home	Does law stop unsafe people
Especially mail order	Safety in home
Rate of crime is up.	Complete registration
Civil Disorder	Taxation
Constitutional	Hazard to Nat'l Safety
National Safety	Unconstitutional

Prevention or regulation
L of ownership

2nd Amend — Cts — & Militia (NRA usually ignores)
no state laws knocked out

Punish the Criminals —
Carey — Allen Tex proposed harsher penalties, federalizing crimes
would have required massive Fed Police Force
& expansion of penitentiaries

Do penalties deter or detection & conviction
to which does gun regulation relate?

Type of lethal instrument
handiness, "outreach", non-personal
L unequalizes

Criminals steal weapons
subject to much doubt — Mass:
6 of 4500 were stolen (9 yr study)
most purchased out in Mass. but neighboring states

N.J. 80% of Criminals guns confiscated
were purchased outside of state

Katzenbach Testimony re N.Y. Sullivan Law

56% of all murders in U.S. by guns

Dalas — 72.7% - 1963
Phoenix — 65.9.

} almost no regulation

Chicago 46.4
L.A. 43.5
Detroit 40.
NYC. 25.%

5 lowest assault rate
3 " " murder
The lowest robbery

} of major cities — despite repeat offenders & social problems —

No defense, or contingency war plan, includes the citizenry

NRA - 26% support from gun advertising
Gun magazines — heavily dependent on advertising

[NRA inaccuracies: pp 98-100]

Is there a C.P. conspiracy

1) Summary

2) Why Soc. Sec. —
Benefit of Individuals

Economic Benefit

Social Stability

3) Min Wage.

Const'l Issues & Min Wage
Stat with
Economics
Legal Issues
& decision of 1937 before & after

Social Security –

Broad def. – beyond the act

Employment
Training & Education

Disability

Safety – Job Disability

W. C.

History

(1)

Sprang from dissatisfaction with Common Law

The Problem: who bears the economic losses
that Worker & family sustains
Physical costs borne by injured

Become Acute after Industrial Rev.
No great public concern earlier
1837 - England Priestly v. Fowler (3 Meew. 1, 6)
butcher driver sued employer when hurt by
overloading of cart by other employee
Com. Law - would grant to a 3rd party
injured but not to "Fellow Servant" (Rule)

(Murray v. S.C. Ry)
1841 - S.C. - denied recovery to
Locomotive fireman injured through
negligence of engineer he worked with

1842 - Farwell v. Boston & Worcester Ry Co.
Denied Comp. to Engineer lost leg due to
Switchman

This Fixed doctrine in U.S. law until 1920's
Worker had to prove employer negligence

W. C.

Hazlay

(2)

<u>Assumed the risk</u> — even if there was some negligence — if could show worker "knew"

1856 — Ma. } Employers Liability Acts
1962 - Iowa } limited use of Fellow Servant Rule

By 1910 most states had some statute
Gave worker a better <u>chance</u> in Court

<u>Contributory Negligence</u> — Whole or partial defense
Reduce Recovery
Proportional — Comparative
Reduce Recovery by amount of employee negl.

Right of Action for personal injury expired at DEATH

1896 - Col. modified fellow Servant Rule for All industries

Gradually, Also, Common law Change with more humane attitude of judges — possibly watching Legislative progress

W.C. History (3)

U.S. — legislation modifying employer liability

Europe — W.C. — New Concept
paid for injury regardless of fault
Charge it off to consumers (theory)

Germany	1884	Hungary	1891	Finland	1895
Austria	1887	Norway	1894	England	1897

Dept of Labor Published ~~book~~ Repat Compulsory Insurance in Germany (1893) by John Graham Brooks

1st real interest in U.S. on W.C.

1898 — N.Y had bill in Legis. — Similar to England
Never out of Committee

1902 — MARYLAND — Certain industries, insurance fund, Death Benefit, others not specified
Unconst'l. — deprived both Parties of jury trial
Conferred judicial functions on Admin.

1908 — Fed. Govt. — inadequate — T. Roosevelt

W.C. History

(4)

1909 — Montana — Unconst'l.

Un Const'l — Violation of "due Process" Ives v. South Buffalo Ry Co. 201 NY 271 (1911)

1910 — N.Y. Compulsory Law — 8 dangerous indus.

1909 — 1913 — Commission Investigations → Pattern

Totaled 40 in 32 jurisdictions (1903-1919)

Almost all recommended W.C.

And eliminate employers liability at common law

1917 — U.S. Sup Ct 3 Decisions — Const'l.

N.Y. 1913 Compulsory

Iowas Elective

Washington Exclusive State Fund

1909 — AFL reversed opposition — had held that move from employer liability legis.

Am Bar Assn

NAM

U.C

Union Can do

If layoff can be anticipated —
Union can brief on what to expect.
forms —
keeping eligible —

work for coverage
e.g. commercial farms —

work for coop. adminstration (esp. where needed)

W.C

Medical Panel

Report of injuries to union — immediately
Follow ups with employer

Use of Health plans instead of — Who pays —

Nurses —

12

1594 - Millner
4-373 - IWA
1287 AFSCME
329 " "
310 IAO&E
381 UP&R
6666 OCAW
2131 IAM
122 ICWU
378 IBEW
180 ABC
Patternmakers

WHAT'S NEW 5:30
Tony Sopher joins the motor cruiser Dubhe for a cruise from New York to England.

YOUR DOLLAR'S WORTH 6:00
(Repeat from Wednesday at 8:00)

FRENCH CHEF 7:00
Moussaka and Raratouille—Julia Child makes two French eggplant specialties with exotic names.

WEEKEND REPORT 7:30
Campus news, weather and sports; report on outdoor recreation in Wisconsin, plus special consumer features.

PHOTOGRAPHY 8:00
Points of View

FRIDAY 29

SPECTRUM 8:30
Somebody, Hold My Hand—This program deals with the work of the Child Study Center of Philadelphia with preschool problem children, attempting to restore them to mental health.

VARIATIONS IN MUSIC 9:00
Samuel Adler, Composer—Mr. Adler, chairman of the composition department of the Eastman School of Music, explains some of his works to the UW School of Music's Pro Arte Quartet.

SURVEY OF GEOLOGY 10:00

PHOTOGRAPHY 4:00
Points of View (Repeat from Thursdady at 8:00)

DAVEY AND GOLIATH 4:30

MISTEROGERS' NEIGHBORHOOD 4:45

FRIENDLY GIANT 5:15

WHAT'S NEW 5:30
Huck Finn discovers a cure for warts and convinces Tom to join him in a graveyard at midnight to test the magic cure.

PLAYING THE GUITAR 6:00
Sight Reading and Playing

SPECTRUM 6:30
Somebody Hold My Hand (Repeat from Thursday at 8:30)

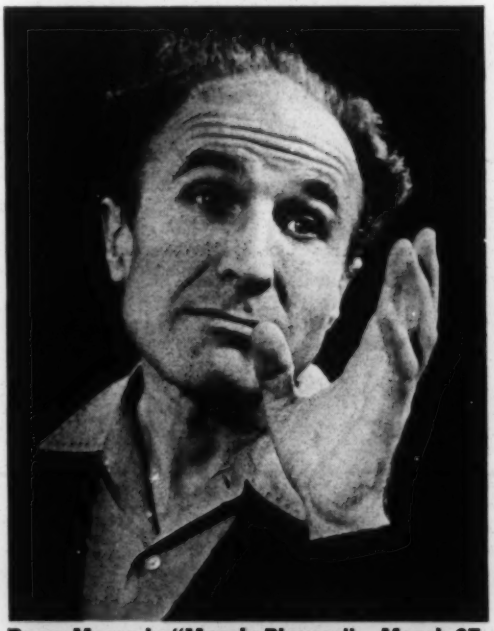
OBSERVING EYE 7:00
The American Lobster—Edward Pearch describes this New England marine delicacy.

INSIGHT 7:30

GREAT DECISIONS 1968 8:00
American Power and Foreign Policy

CHICAGO FESTIVAL 8:30
Illinois Ballet I—This, one of Chicago's outstanding ballet companies, will perform a pair of original compositions—"The Stone Medusa" and "Spanish Suite . . . and Short."

NET PLAYHOUSE 9:00
Olive Latimer's Husband—An Edwardian murder mystery about a beautiful woman who hastens the death of her rich husband so that she will be free to marry again.



Barry Morse in "Merely Players"—March 27

SUNDAY 31

THE TOY THAT GREW UP 4:00
My Boy, starring Jackie Coogan—Next to Shirley Temple, Jackie Coogan was probably the most popular child star Hollywood ever produced. In this film he sets the standards for many child stars to come, playing an orphaned waif who befriends an old sea dog.

ON THE FARM 5:00

R & D REVIEW **5:30**
Combating Earthquakes—Today, science has enabled us to get early reports of earthquakes and bring swift aids to survivors; tomorrow, science intends to predict earthquakes and design buildings which will not collapse even in severe tremors.

SPEAKING FREELY **6:30**
Roger Baldwin—The founder of the American Civil Liberties Union and its Executive Director for 30 years discusses his career with Edwin Newman

SUNDAY NEWS **7:25**

PUBLIC BROADCAST LABORATORY **7:30**
A comprehensive review of national and international affairs, hard-hitting investigative reports, excursions into the arts and literature—including live dramatic performances —education, science and the social sciences, humor and satire. Color.

NET PLAYHOUSE **9:30**
Olive Latimer's Husband (Repeat)

UC, WC, & Rest

Legis —
Lobbying —
Passage
Administration
Fed'ly

How do we get legislation —
Union & Politics

The Bureaucracy
In the Plat
e.g. medical Panel
use of vitamins (Cuts Days)
health
mental hospitals —

Relation to Congress
if Permit or necessary —

Union only in administration —
assisting members
keeping employer "honest"
keeping administration —
fair, understandable —

The push for national standards —

Safety —

~~I BT~~
~~Pay network Jus Pack~~
~~Proceed with Tax~~

Next
Series

* Distinguish "Labor Law"
"Protective Labor Legs"
— Soc. Sec. [Broadly]

Where do you start

- Nature of Man
- Competitive System
- Redistribute Income —

Cf to needs: U.C. W.C.

Element needs of other groups —
disadvantaged — poverty
Are their needs real & pressing —

Tie-in all Social Welfare schemes —

Social Benefits as Rights

* Wage Loss protections — U.C. W.C. Pensions Disability

Need (public assistance)
— Cf to providing public ed. for all — the right is there even if no direct taxation

* Developing ideas –
meshing ~~[illegible]~~ wage loss with supportive system
once considered competing ideas

Still rough spots & "duplication"

Consider W. C.
Rehabilitation

Employment Service –
Vocational counseling
Job placement

Hours of Work

1898 – Holden v. Hardy – Ct. upheld reg. – hazardous

Police Power

1905 – Lochner v. N.Y – Ct. reversed – baking
tbs. judgement vs. Legis.

1908 – Muller v. Oregon – yes, re women

1917 – Bunting v. Oregon – yes, re men in gen'l. mfg.

1933 – NIRA
1935 – Unconst'l – Commerce Power

1938 FLSA

Wages –
1923 – Adkins v. Children's Hospital –

Cf. Union members who don't participate
willing to be punished and — or even
~~not~~ non-member discr. treatment
(& thereby undercut Standards)

to

poor in society
May not undergo "affluence"

But undergoes social conditions.

Use Sylvia's Parties list of
Supporters of T.I
Why such broad support —

Min Wage – State ① (Wis)

1912 – Mass. 1st
1913 – Wis + 7 others
└ 1st introduced 1911

Read Haferbecker p. 98
re employer response

Bill introduced by Rep. Adrian Leader
Supported by:
Wis. Consumers League
Milw Fed. of Churches

Opposed –
Wis. Fed of Labor
Pres. of Merchants & Mfgs. Assn.

Women and minors

1st Wage Order 1919 – [studies in the meantime]
22¢/hr experienced adults –

By 1920 & in request for 1st Wage Order the Wis. Fed of Labor was pushing

Min Wage - State - (2)

After Adkins Commons & Students drafted new legis. (1925)
"Oppressive Wage law" for adult women
Not below reasonable for work or oppressive -

1937 - Reinstated old law
1947 - Reversed -

July 1, 1966 (effective) - Fill memo sheet -

Arguments —
Cost. Regulation

Impact on Regional
Competition

1938 FLSA

Oct, 1938 — 25¢
Oct, 1939 — 30¢
Oct, 1945 — 40¢

1941 — U.S. v. Darby

[Oct. 1940 — 40 hour week]

1949 — Amend — 75¢/hr (for Jan, 1950)

1955 $1.00 (effective March, 1956)

expanded coverage, esp. South

1961 ~~1.25/hr~~ 1.15 → 1963 — 1.25 [Retail Sales 3.6M New Coverage]

1963 — Equal Pay (Sex)

1966 — 1.40 + New Coverage (For Feb, 1967)

Progression

Progression

Wages &
Hours

Minimum Wage

States

Con Arguments

Freedom of Contract

Violation of Due Process

Lessen Employment

Equal protection — men & Women

Raise Labor Costs

Pro Arguments

Protection of Morals (women & children)

Employers still controlled Jobs — could choose & fire when wanted

Unequal bargaining between Workers & employer

[Non-Union Workers w/o protection

Society loses if Worker can't maintain himself

Judicial History

Police vs. Commerce Power — FLSA — Findings & Declaration of Policy p606 Miller

State Legislative power & judicial review

"Wisdom" (Holmes & Hughes in Adkins v. Children's Hosp 1923) vs proper power.

Federal legis. power & J.R.

Procedural vs. Substantive Due Process
"Economic theories"
Legal theories

Court Cases:

1917 – Sup Ct. Split (Brandeis not voting) & "upheld" a State Ct. – Oregon law – women — Stettler v. Ohara

1923 – Adkins v. Childrens Hospital (261 U.S. 525)
Washington, D.C. – Congressional law
└ passed 1918

└ By this time 16 states had laws

$15–$16/wk would have been min. in D.C.

~~the~~ Interference with Contract

2 Dissents: Chief Justice Taft
Justice Holmes
[Brandeis ?]

1936 – Morehead v. New York ex rel Tipaldo
298 U.S. 587
5–4 decision against – Dissent { Stone, Cardozo, Brandeis } Hughes └ Sup. + 3
No min wage Legis for Adults Acceptable
not even if geared to fair wage

1937 – West Coast Hotel v. Parrish
300 U.S. 379
upheld Washington law
Roberts Swing Vote (from 1936)
└ Ct. Packing (?)

Min Wage

	FLSA	Avg Mfg Wage	Min. as % of Mfg Avg.
1939	.25	.627	39.8
1940	.30	.655	45.8
1945	.40	1.016	39.3
1949	.40	1.378	29.0
1950	.75	1.440	52.1
1955	.75	1.860	40.3
1956	1.00	1.950	51.3
1961	1.00	2.32	43.1
1962	1.15	2.39	48.1
1964	1.25	2.54	49.2

Min. Wage

Reached 40¢ in 1944 (instead of 1945) through industry committee

1949 — 75¢ — Strengthened child labor

1955 - 1.00 (effective 1956)

1961 — 1.15 with 1.25 in 1963

└ included retail sales if met dollar volume

3.6 M new coverends for total of 27.5 M

out of 44.2 M possible

Govt. Regulation

Regional Competition

1941 — ~~B~~ - U.S. V. Darby Lumber Co — FLSA upheld by Sup Ct.

Shuttle – unskill gaps
What was orig fair –

Welfare — attitudes, facts & reality

G. I.
└ how it would operate
Savings (?)
Initiative

Supplementary Services
esp. EV tie to his
"I don't care" —
how many children
religion
man, illegitimate

Social Security as a process —

* not fixed — institution

① adaptable to changing conditions — ideas

Problems —

Effect on:

individual initiative

does destitution feed on itself a la poverty cycle —

Tie in pol process & possibly freedom

over bureaucratization & denial of freedom

voluntary Social Security System

savings — insurance, etc.

costs vs. benefits

economy — pro & con.

inflation

guard against depression

annually-and are therefore poor or deprived-as compared with 27.7% of the white families. Only one out of five Negro families earns $6,000 or more, as compared with one out of two white families. In the whole country there are only 6,000 Negro families that can boast of incomes of $25,000 or more.

These figures tell us where the Negro is today, but they become more meaningful when compared to the 1945 figures, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1

Percent Distribution of Income of Families by Color for United States, 1945-1961

Total Money Income Level	1945		1961		Percent Change in Ratio Over 1945	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Under $4,000. . . .	75.5	90.1	27.7	60.2	-63.3	- 33.1
$4,000-$5,999 . . .	16.8	6.1	22.4	19.7	+33.3	+233.0
$6,000 and over . .	7.7	3.8	49.9	20.1	+548.0	+429.0
Total. . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

Source: U.S. Department of Commer, Current Population Reports, Consumers Income, Series P-60, No. 2, March 2, 1948 and No. 38, August 28, 1962.

Notice that between 1945 and 1961, the percentage ratio of whites who escaped from the below $4,000 category (63.3%) is almost double that for Negroes (33.1%), despite the fact that a larger percentage of Negroes were in that category in 1945 (90.1% as against 75.5% of white families). Similarly, whites entered the $6,000-and-over category at a faster rate than Negroes.

On the other hand, the percentage increase of Negro families entering the $4,000-$5,999 category seems very impressive when compared with the figures for whites. But the percentage gain is great only because the starting figure was so low.

Fisk economist Vivian Henderson emphasizes that while

> relative growth in wage and salary income of Negroes since 1940 has been greater than that of whites. . . the absolute, or dollar, difference has widened considerably. . . . People spend and save dollars. It is this dollar difference that counts. Pronouncements regarding economic progress which are confined to acceleration concepts and percentage change obscure the real predicament-Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites. The "dollar gap" at a faster pace than for Negroes. [The Economic Status of Negroes, Southern Regional Council, pp. 12-13.]

One aspect of the earning gap is particularly astonishing. When we compare the lifetime earnings of Negro and white males by education (Table 2) we find that the Negro who finishes four years of college will earn less

PAGE (s) MISSING

than a white with only eight years of elementary school.

TABLE 2

Male Lifetime Earnings by Race and Education
(in thousands)

Highest Grade Completed	White	Negro	Negro As % of White
Elementary school			
Less Than 8 Years.	$157	$ 95	61
8 Years.	191	123	64
High School			
1 to 3 Years	221	132	60
4 Years	253	151	60
College			
1 to 3 Years	301	162	54
4 Years	395	185	47
5 Years or More	466	246	53
Average.	241	122	51

Source: Employment and Earnings, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Feb. 1964.

Relative Income Gap

Not only is the dollar gap widening, but the relative income gap has remained virtually constant for almost a decade. While the figures reported by statisticians vary slightly, they point to the conclusion of Herman P. Miller of the Census Bureau.

In the last decade. . .there has been no change in income differential between [Negroes and whites]. The median pay of the Negro worker has remained stuck at about 55% of the white [N.Y. Times, Aug. 12, 1963].

The Negro's relative income gains were actually registered between 1940 and 1954, when Negro family median income jumped from 37% to 56% of the white figure.

comments

Emy I. Vio

The Triple Revolution

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Reproduction of the type is courtesy of Advertising Age Magazine, which carried the full text of the Committee's statement in its issue of April 6, 1964.

THE AD HOC COMMITTEE
ON THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION

Mailing Address:
P.O. Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

A Letter

The following letter was sent on March 22 by The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution to President Lyndon B. Johnson. The White House reply from Mr. Lee White, Assistant Special Counsel to the President, was received shortly. The letter to the President, together with the Report, was also sent to the Majority and Minority leaders of the Senate and the House of Representatives and to the Secretary of Labor. Texts follow:

March 22, 1964

Dear Mr. President:

We enclose a memorandum, The Triple Revolution, for your consideration. This memorandum was prepared out of a feeling of foreboding about the nation's future. The men and women whose names are signed to it think that neither Americans nor their leaders are aware of the magnitude and acceleration of the changes going on around them. These changes, economic, military, and social, comprise The Triple Revolution. We believe that these changes will compel, in the very near future and whether we like it or not, public measures that move radically beyond any steps now proposed or contemplated.

We commend the spirit prompting the War on Poverty recently announced, and the new commissions on economic dislocation and automation. With deference, this memorandum sets forth the historical and technological reasons why such tactics seem bound to fall short. Radically new circumstances demand radically new strategies.

If policies such as those suggested in The Triple Revolution are not adopted we believe that the nation will be thrown into unprecedented economic and social disorder. Our statement is aimed at showing why drastic changes in our economic organization are occurring, their relation to the growing movement for full rights for Negroes, and the minimal public and private measures that appear to us to be required.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Agger
Dr. Donald B. Armstrong
James Boggs
W. H. Ferry
Todd Gitlin
Roger Hagan
Michael Harrington
Tom Hayden
Ralph L. Helstein
Dr. Frances W. Herring
Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester
Gerald W. Johnson
Irving F. Laucks
Gunnar Myrdal
Gerard Piel
Michael D. Reagan
Ben B. Seligman
Robert Theobald
William Worthy
Alice Mary Hilton
David T. Bazelon
Maxwell Geismar
Philip Green
H. Stuart Hughes
Linus Pauling
John William Ward

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1964

Dear Mr. Ferry:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of March 19, in which you enclose the memorandum, The Triple Revolution, drawn up by your Committee.

In recent months the President has taken a number of steps addressed to the problems discussed in your memorandum — poverty, unemployment, and technological change. He has committed this Administration to an unrelenting war on poverty and, as you are of course aware, has submitted to the Congress major new legislation requesting the necessary weapons for the prosecution of this war. On December 21 he established the Committee on Economic Impact of Defense and Disarmament. The Committee will provide central review and coordination of activities in the Executive branch designed to improve our understanding of the economic impact of changes in defense expenditures. The President has also asked the Congress to establish a Presidential commission to study the impact of technological change on the economy and to recommend measures for assuring the full benefits of technology while minimizing any adverse effects.

Rapid advances in technology and sharp changes in the direction and location of economic activity pose both challenges and problems for the Nation. Your Committee has clearly been willing to take a completely fresh look at these matters. You may be sure that the Committee's analysis and recommendations will be given thoughtful consideration by all of those in the Executive branch who are concerned with these problems.

Sincerely,

s/ Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. W. H. Ferry
The Ad Hoc Committee on the
Triple Revolution

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THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION

This statement is written in the recognition that mankind is at a historic conjuncture which demands a fundamental reexamination of existing values and institutions. At this time three separate and mutually reinforcing revolutions are taking place:

The Cybernation Revolution: A new era of production has begun. Its principles of organization are as different from those of the industrial era as those of the industrial era were different from the agricultural. The cybernation revolution has been brought about by the combination of the computer and the automated self-regulating machine. This results in a system of almost unlimited productive capacity which requires progressively less human labor. Cybernation is already reorganizing the economic and social system to meet its own needs.

The Weaponry Revolution: New forms of weaponry have been developed which cannot win wars but which can obliterate civilization. We are recognizing only now that the great weapons have eliminated war as a method for resolving international conflicts. The ever-present threat of total destruction is tempered by the knowledge of the final futility of war. The need of a "warless world" is generally recognized, though achieving it will be a long and frustrating process.

The Human Rights Revolution: A universal demand for full human rights is now clearly evident. It continues to be demonstrated in the civil rights movement within the United States. But this is only the local manifestation of a worldwide movement toward the establishment of social and political regimes in which every individual will feel valued and none will feel rejected on account of his race.

■ We are particularly concerned in this statement with the first of these revolutionary phenomena. This is not because we underestimate the significance of the other two. On the contrary, we affirm that it is the simultaneous occurrence and interaction of all three developments which make evident the necessity for radical alterations in attitude and policy. The adoption of just policies for coping with cybernation and for extending rights to all Americans is indispensable to the creation of an atmosphere in the U.S. in which the supreme issue, peace, can be reasonably debated and resolved.

The Negro claims, as a matter of simple justice, his full share in America's economic and social life. He sees adequate employment opportunities as a chief means of attaining this goal: The March on Washington demanded freedom *and* jobs. The Negro's claim to a job is not being met. Negroes are the hardest-hit of the many groups being exiled from the economy by cybernation. Negro unemployment rates cannot be expected to drop substantially. Promises of jobs are a cruel and dangerous hoax on hundreds of thousands of Negroes and whites alike who are especially vulnerable to cybernation because of age or inadequate education.

The demand of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of society. The Negro is trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are in the process of vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white worker. Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines.

■ The U.S. operates on the thesis, set out in the Employment Act of 1964, that every person will be able to obtain a job if he wishes to do so and that this job will provide him with resources adequate to live and maintain a family decently. Thus job-
which economic resources are distributed.
holding is the general mechanism through
Those without work have access only to a minimal income, hardly sufficient to provide the necessities of life, and enabling those receiving it to function as only "minimum consumers." As a result, the goods and services which are needed by these crippled consumers, and which they would buy if they could, are not produced.

This in turn deprives other workers of jobs, thus reducing their incomes and consumption.

Present excessive levels of unemployment would be multiplied several times if military and space expenditures did not continue to absorb 10% of the gross national product (i.e., the total goods and services produced). Some 6 to 8 million people are employed as a direct result of purchases for space and military activities. At least an equal number hold their jobs as an indirect result of military or space expenditures. In recent years, the military and space budgets have absorbed a rising proportion of national production and formed a strong support for the economy.

However, these expenditures are coming in for more and more criticism, at least partially in recognition of the fact that nuclear weapons have eliminated war as an acceptable method for resolving international conflicts. Early in 1964 President Johnson ordered a curtailment of certain military expenditures. Defense Secretary McNamara is closing shipyards, airfields, and Army bases, and Congress is pressing the National Space Administration to economize. The future of these strong props to the economy is not as clear today as it was even a year ago.

How the Cybernation Revolution Shapes Up

Cybernation is manifesting the characteristics of a revolution in production. These include the development of radically different techniques and the subsequent appearance of novel principles of the organization of production; a basic reordering of man's relationship to his environment; and a dramatic increase in total available and potential energy.

The major difference between the agricultural, industrial and cybernation revolutions is the speed at which they developed. The agricultural revolution began several thousand years ago in the Middle East. Centuries passed in the shift from a subsistence base of hunting and food-gathering to settled agriculture.

In contrast, it has been less than 200 years since the emergence of the industrial revolution, and direct and accurate knowledge of the new productive techniques has reached most of mankind. This swift dissemination of information is generally held to be the main factor leading to widespread industrialization.

While the major aspects of the cybernation revolution are for the moment restricted to the U.S., its effects are observable almost at once throughout the industrial world and large parts of the non-industrial world. Observation is rapidly followed by analysis and criticism. The problems posed by the cybernation revolution are part of a new era in the history of all mankind but they are first being faced by the people of the U.S. The way Americans cope with cybernation will influence the course of this phenomenon everywhere. This country is the stage on which the machines-and-man drama will first be played for the world to witness.

The fundamental problem posed by the cybernation revolution in the U.S. is that it invalidates the general mechanism so far employed to undergird people's rights as consumers. Up to this time economic resources have been distributed on the basis of contributions to production, with machines and men competing for employment on somewhat equal terms. In the developing cybernated system, potentially unlimited output can be achieved by systems of machines which will require little cooperation from human beings. As machines take over production from men, they absorb an increasing proportion of resources while the men who are displaced become dependent on minimal and unrelated government measures—unemployment insurance, social security, welfare payments.

These measures are less and less able to disguise a historic paradox: That a substantial proportion of the population is subsisting on minimal incomes, often below the poverty line, at a time when sufficient productive potential is available to supply the needs of everyone in the U.S.

Industrial System Fails to Provide for Abolition of Poverty

The existence of this paradox is denied or ignored by conventional economic analysis. The general economic approach argues that potential demand, which if filled would raise the number of jobs and

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provide incomes to those holding them, is underestimated. Most contemporary economic analysis states that all of the available labor force and industrial capacity is required to meet the needs of consumers and industry and to provide adequate public services: Schools, parks, roads, homes, decent cities, and clean water and air. It is further argued that demand could be increased, by a variety of standard techniques, to any desired extent by providing money and machines to improve the conditions of the billions of impoverished people elsewhere in the world, who need food and shelter, clothes and machinery and everything else the industrial nations take for granted.

There is no question that cybernation does increase the potential for the provision of funds to neglected public sectors. Nor is there any question that cybernation would make possible the abolition of poverty at home and abroad. But the industrial system does not possess any adequate mechanisms to permit these potentials to become realities. The industrial system was designed to produce an ever-increasing quantity of goods as efficiently as possible, and it was assumed that the distribution of the power to purchase these goods would occur almost automatically. The continuance of the income-through-jobs link as the only major mechanism for distributing effective demand—for granting the right to consume—now acts as the main brake on the almost unlimited capacity of a cybernated productive system.

▪ Recent administrations have proposed measures aimed at achieving a better distribution of resources, and at reducing unemployment and underemployment. A few of these proposals have been enacted. More often they have failed to secure congressional support. In every case, many members of Congress have criticized the proposed measures as departing from traditional principles for the allocation of resources and the encouragement of production. Abetted by budget-balancing economists and interest groups they have argued for the maintenance of an economic machine based on ideas of scarcity to deal with the facts of abundance produced by cybernation. This time-consuming criticism has slowed the workings of Congress and has thrown out of focus for that body the inter-related effects of the triple revolution.

An adequate distribution of the potential abundance of goods and services will be achieved only when it is understood that the major economic problem is not how to increase production but how to distribute the abundance that is the great potential of cybernation. There is an urgent need for a fundamental change in the mechanisms employed to insure consumer rights.

Facts and Figures of the Cybernation Revolution

No responsible observer would attempt to describe the exact pace or the full sweep of a phenomenon that is developing with the speed of cybernation. Some aspects of this revolution, however, are already clear:

- The rate of productivity increase has risen with the onset of cybernation.
- An industrial economic system postulated on scarcity has been unable to distribute the abundant goods and services produced by a cybernated system or potential in it.
- Surplus capacity and unemployment have thus co-existed at excessive levels over the last six years.
- The underlying cause of excessive unemployment is the fact that the capability of machines is rising more rapidly than the capacity of many human beings to keep pace.
- A permanent impoverished and jobless class is established in the midst of potential abundance.

▪ Evidence for these statements follows:

1. The increased efficiency of machine systems is shown in the more rapid increase in productivity per man-hour since 1960, a year that marks the first visible upsurge of the cybernation revolution. In 1961, 1962 and 1963, productivity per man-hour rose at an average pace above 3.5%—a rate well above both the historical average and the postwar rate.

Companies are finding cybernation more and more attractive. Even at the present early stage of cybernation, costs

have already been lowered to a point where the price of a durable machine may be as little as one-third of the current annual wage-cost of the worker it replaces. A more rapid rise in the rate of productivity increase per man-hour can be expected from now on.

2. In recent years it has proved to increase demand fast enough to bring about the full use of either men or plant capacities. The task of developing sufficient additional demand promises to become more difficult each year. A $30 billion annual increase in gross national product is now required to prevent unemployment rates from rising. An additional $40 to $60 billion increase would be required to bring unemployment rates down to an acceptable level.

3. The official rate of unemployment has remained at or above 5.5% during the Sixties. The unemployment rate for teen agers has been rising steadily and now stands around 15%. The unemployment rate for Negro teen agers stands about 30%. The unemployment rate for teen agers in minority ghettoes sometimes exceeds 50%. Unemployment rates for Negroes are regularly more than twice those for whites, whatever their occupation, educational level, age or sex. The unemployment position for other racial minorities is similarly unfavorable. Unemployment rates in depressed areas often exceed 50%.

Unemployment Is Far Worse Than Figures Indicate

These official figures seriously underestimate the true extent of unemployment. The statistics take no notice of underemployment or featherbedding. Besides the 5.5% of the labor force who are officially designated as unemployed, nearly 4% of the labor force sought full-time work in 1962 but could find only parttime jobs. In addition, methods of calculating unemployment rates—a person is counted as unemployed only if he has actively sought a job recently—ignore the fact that many men and women who would like to find jobs have not looked for them because they know there are no employment opportunities.

Underestimates for this reason are pervasive among groups whose unemployment rates are high—the young, the old, and racial minorities. Many people in the depressed agricultural, mining and industrial areas, who by official definition hold jobs but who are actually grossly underemployed, would move if there were prospects of finding work elsewhere. It is reasonable to estimate that over 8,000,000 people are not working who would like to have jobs today as compared with the 4,000,000 shown in official statistics.

Even more serious is the fact that the number of people who have voluntarily removed themselves from the labor force is not constant but increases continuously. These people have decided to stop looking for employment and seem to have accepted the fact that they will never hold jobs again. This decision is largely irreversible, in economic and also in social and psychological terms. The older worker calls himself "retired"; he cannot accept work without affecting his social security status. The worker in his prime years is forced onto relief: In most states the requirements for becoming a relief recipient bring about such fundamental alterations in an individual's situation that a reversal of the process is always difficult and often totally infeasible. Teen agers, especially "drop-outs" and Negroes, are coming to realize that there is no place for them in the labor force but at the same time they are given no realistic alternative. These people and their dependents make up a large part of the "poverty" sector of the American population.

Statistical evidence of these trends appears in the decline in the proportion of people claiming to be in the labor force—the so-called labor force participation rate. The recent apparent stabilization of the unemployment rate around 5.5% is therefore misleading: It is a reflection of the discouragement and defeat of people who cannot find employment and have withdrawn from the market rather than a measure of the economy's success in creating jobs for those who want to work.

4. An efficiently functioning industrial system is assumed to provide the great majority of new jobs through the expansion of the private enterprise sector. But

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well over half of the new jobs created during 1957-1962 were in the public sector —predominantly in teaching. Job creation in the private sector has now almost entirely ceased except in services; of the 4,-300,000 jobs created in this period, only about 200,000 were provided by private industry through its own efforts. Many authorities anticipate that the application of cybernation to certain service industries, which is only just beginning, will be particularly effective. If this is the case, no significant job creation will take place in the private sector in coming years.

5. Cybernation raises the level of the skills of the machine. Secretary of Labor Wirtz has recently stated that the machines being produced today have, on the average, skills equivalent to a high school diploma. If a human being is to compete with such machines, therefore, he must at least possess a high school diploma. The Department of Labor estimates, however, that on the basis of present trends, as many as 30% of all students will be high school drop-outs in this decade.

6. A permanently depressed class is developing in the U.S. Some 38,000,000 Americans, almost one-fifth of the nation, still live in poverty. The percentage of total income received by the poorest 20% of the population was 4.9% in 1944 and 4.7% in 1963.

■ Secretary Wirtz recently summarized these trends. "The confluence of surging population and driving technology is splitting the American labor force into tens of millions of 'have's' and millions of 'have-nots.' In our economy of 69,000,000 jobs, those with wanted skills enjoy opportunity and earning power. But the others face a new and stark problem—exclusion on a permanent basis, both as producers and consumers, from economic life. This division of people threatens to create a human slag heap. We cannot tolerate the development of a separate nation of the poor, the unskilled, the jobless, living within another nation of the well-off, the trained and the employed."

New Consensus Needed

The stubbornness and novelty of the situation that is conveyed by these statistics is now generally accepted. Ironically, it continues to be assumed that it is possible to devise measures which will reduce unemployment to a minimum and thus preserve the over-all viability of the present productive system. Some authorities have gone so far as to suggest that the pace of technological change should be slowed down "so as to allow the industrial productive system time to adapt."

We believe, on the contrary, that the industrial productive system is no longer viable. We assert that the only way to turn technological change to the benefit of the individual and the service of the general welfare is to accept the process and to utilize it rationally and humanely. The new science of political economy will be built on the encouragement and planned expansion of cybernation. The issues raised by cybernation are particularly amenable to intelligent policy-making: Cybernation itself provides the resources and tools that are needed to ensure minimum hardship during the transition process.

■ But major changes must be made in our attitudes and institutions in the foreseeable future. Today Americans are being swept along by three simultaneous revolutions while assuming they have them under control. In the absence of real understanding of any of these phenomena, especially of technology, we may be allowing an efficient and dehumanized community to emerge by default. Gaining control of our future requires the conscious formation of the society we wish to have. Cybernation at last forces us to answer the historic questions: What is man's role when he is not dependent upon his own activities for the material basis of his life? What should be the basis for distributing individual access to national resources? Are there other proper claims on goods and services besides a job?

■ Because of cybernation, society no longer needs to impose repetitive and meaningless (because unnecessary) toil upon the individual. Society can now set the citizen free to make his own choice of occupation and vocation from a wide range of activities not now fostered by our value

system" and our accepted modes of "work." But in the absence of such a new consensus about cybernation, the nation cannot begin to take advantage of all that it promises for human betterment.

Proposal for Action

As a first step to a new consensus it is essential to recognize that the traditional link between jobs and incomes is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they engage in what is commonly reckoned as work. Wealth produced by machines rather than by men is still wealth. We urge, therefore, that society, through its appropriate legal and governmental institutions, undertake an unqualified commitment to provide every individual and every family with an adequate income as a matter of right.

▪ This undertaking we consider to be essential to the emerging economic, social and political order in this country. We regard it as the only policy by which the quarter of the nation now dispossessed and soon-to-be dispossessed by lack of employment can be brought within the abundant society. The unqualified right to an income would take the place of the patchwork of welfare measures—from unemployment insurance to relief—designed to ensure that no citizen or resident of the U. S. actually starves.

We do not pretend to visualize all of the consequences of this change in our values. It is clear, however, that the distribution of abundance in a cybernated society must be based on criteria strikingly different from those of an economic system based on scarcity. In retrospect, the establishment of the right to an income will prove to have been only the first step in the reconstruction of the value system of our society brought on by the triple revolution.

▪ The present system encourages activities which can lead to private profit and neglects those activities which can enhance the wealth and the quality of life of our society. Consequently, national policy has hitherto been aimed far more at the welfare of the productive process than at the welfare of people. The era of cybernation can reverse this emphasis. With public policy and research concentrated on people rather than processes we believe that many creative activities and interests commonly thought of as non-economic will absorb the time and the commitment of many of those no longer needed to produce goods and services.

Society as a whole must encourage new modes of constructive, rewarding and ennobling activity. Principal among these are activities such as teaching and learning that relate people to people rather than people to things. Education has never been primarily conducted for profit in our society; it represents the first and most obvious activity inviting the expansion of the public sector to meet the needs of this period of transition.

▪ We are not able to predict the long-run patterns of human activity and commitment in a nation when fewer and fewer people are involved in production of goods and services, nor are we able to forecast the over-all patterns of income distribution that will replace those of the past full employment system. However, these are not speculative and fanciful matters to be contemplated at leisure for a society that may come into existence in three or four generations. The outlines of the future press sharply into the present. The problems of joblessness, inadequate incomes, and frustrated lives confront us now; the American Negro, in his rebellion, asserts the demands—and the rights—of all the disadvantaged. The Negro's is the most insistent voice today, but behind him stand the millions of impoverished who are beginning to understand that cybernation, properly understood and used, is the road out of want and toward a decent life.

*The Transition**

We recognize that the drastic alternations in circumstances and in our way of life ushered in by cybernation and the economy of abundance will not be completed overnight. Left to the ordinary forces of the market such change, however, will involve physical and psychological misery and perhaps political chaos. Such misery is already clearly evident among

the unemployed, among relief clients into the third generation and more and more among the young and the old for whom society appears to hold no promise of dignified or even stable lives. We must develop programs for this transition designed to give hope to the dispossessed and those cast out by the economic system, and to provide a basis for the rallying of people to bring about those changes in political and social institutions which are essential to the age of technology.

The program here suggested is not intended to be inclusive but rather to indicate its necessary scope. We propose:

1. A massive program to build up our educational system, designed especially with the needs of the chronically undereducated in mind. We estimate that tens of thousands of employment opportunities in such areas as teaching and research and development, particularly for younger people, may be thus created. Federal programs looking to the training of an additional 100,000 teachers annually are needed.

2. Massive public works. The need is to develop and put into effect programs of public works to construct dams, reservoirs, ports, water and air pollution facilities, community recreation facilities. We estimate that for each $1 billion per year spent on public works 150,000 to 200,000 jobs would be created. $2 billion or more a year should be spent in this way, preferably as matching funds aimed at the relief of economically distressed or dislocated areas.

3. A massive program of low-cost housing, to be built both publicly and privately, and aimed at a rate of 700,000-1,000,000 units a year.

4. Development and financing of rapid transit systems, urban and interurban; and other programs to cope with the spreading problems of the great metropolitan centers.

5. A public power system built on the abundance of coal in distressed areas, designed for low-cost power to heavy industrial and residential sections.

6. Rehabilitation of obsolete military bases for community or educational use.

7. A major revision of our tax structure aimed at redistributing income as well as apportioning the costs of the transition period equitably. To this end an expansion of the use of excess profits tax would be important. Subsidies and tax credit plans are required to ease the human suffering involved in the transition of many industries from man power to machine power.

8. The trade unions can play an important and significant role in this period in a number of ways:

a. Use of collective bargaining to negotiate not only for people at work but also for those thrown out of work by technological change.

b. Bargaining for perquisites such as housing, recreational facilities, and similar programs as they have negotiated health and welfare programs.

c. Obtaining a voice in the investment of the unions' huge pension and welfare funds, and insisting on investment policies which have as their major criteria the social use and function of the enterprise in which the investment is made.

d. Organization of the unemployed so that these voiceless people may once more be given a voice in their own economic destinies, and strengthening of the campaigns to organize white-collar and professional workers.

9. The use of the licensing power of government to regulate the speed and direction of cybernation to minimize hardship; and the use of minimum wage power as well as taxing powers to provide the incentives for moving as rapidly as possible toward the goals indicated by this paper.

■ These suggestions are in no way intended to be complete or definitively formulated. They contemplate expenditures of several billions more each year than are now being spent for socially rewarding enter-

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*This view of the transitional period is not shared by all the signers. Robert Theobald and James Boggs hold that the two major principles of the transitional period will be (1) that machines rather than men will take up new conventional work openings and (2) that the activity of men will be directed to new forms of "work" and "leisure." Therefore, in their opinion, the specific proposals outlined in this section are more suitable for meeting the problems of the scarcity-economic system than for advancing through the period of transition into the period of abundance.

prises, and a larger role for the government in the economy than it has now or has been given except in times of crisis. In our opinion, this is a time of crisis, the crisis of a triple revolution. Public philosophy for the transition must rest on the conviction that our economic, social and political institutions exist for the use of man and that man does not exist to maintain a particular economic system. This philosophy centers on an understanding that governments are instituted among men for the purpose of making possible life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and that government should be a creative and positive instrument toward these ends.

Change Must Be Managed

The historic discovery of the post-World War II years is that the economic destiny of the nation can be managed. Since the debate over the Employment Act of 1946 it has been increasingly understood that the federal government bears primary responsibility for the economic and social well-being of the country. The essence of management is planning. The democratic requirement is planning by public bodies for the general welfare. Planning by private bodies such as corporations for their own welfare does not automatically result in additions to the general welfare, as the impact of cybernation on jobs has already made clear.

The hardships imposed by sudden changes in technology have been acknowledged by Congress in proposals for dealing with the long and short-run "dislocations," in legislation for depressed and "impacted" areas, retraining of workers replaced by machines, and the like. The measures so far proposed have not been "transitional" in conception. Perhaps for this reason they have had little effect on the situations they were designed to alleviate. But the primary weakness of this legislation is not ineffectiveness but incoherence. In no way can these disconnected measures be seen as a plan for remedying deep ailments but only, so to speak, as the superficial treatment of surface wounds.

Planning agencies should constitute the network through which pass the stated needs of the people at every level of society, gradually building into a national inventory of human requirements, arrived at by democratic debate of elected representatives.

■ The primary tasks of the appropriate planning institutions should be:

- To collect the data necessary to appaise the effects, social and economic, of cybernation at different rates of innovation.
- To recommend ways, by public and private initiative, of encouraging and sitmulating cybernation.
- To work toward optimal allocations of human and natural resources in meeting the requirements of society.
- To develop ways to smooth the transition from a society in which the norm is full employment within an economic system based on scarcity, to one in which the norm will be either non-employment, in the traditional sense of productive work, or employment on the great variety of socially valuable but "non-productive" tasks made possible by an economy of abundance; to bring about the conditions in which men and women no longer needed to produce goods and services may find their way to a variety of self-fulfilling and socially useful occupations.
- To work out alternatives to defense and related spending that will commend themselves to citizens, entrepreneurs and workers as a more reasonable use of common resources.
- To integrate domestic and international planning. The technological revolution has related virtually every major domestic problem to a world problem. The vast inequities between the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries cannot long be sustained.

■ The aim throughout will be the conscious and rational direction of economic life by planning institutions under democratic control.

In this changed framework the new planning institutions will operate at every level of government—local, regional and federal—and will be organized to elicit democratic participation in all their proceedings. These bodies will be the means for giving direction and content to the

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growing demand for improvement in all departments of public life. The planning institutions will show the way to turn the growing protest against ugly cities, polluted air and water, an inadequate educational system, disappearing recreational and material resources, low levels of medical care, and the haphazard economic development into an integrated effort to raise the level of general welfare.

We are encouraged by the record of the planning institutions both of the Common Market and of several European nations and believe that this country can benefit from studying their weaknesses and strengths.

A principal result of planning will be to step up investment in the public sector. Greater investment in this area is advocated because it is overdue, because the needs in this sector comprise a substantial part of the content of the general welfare, and because they can be readily afforded by an abundant society. Given the knowledge that we are now in a period of transition it would be deceptive, in our opinion, to present such activities as likely to produce full employment. The efficiencies of cybernation should be as much sought in the public as in the private sector, and a chief focus of planning would be one means of bringing this about. A central assumption of planning institutions would be the central assumption of this statement, that the nation is moving into a society in which production of goods and services is not the only or perhaps the chief means of distributing income.

The Democratization of Change

The revolution in weaponry gives some dim promise that mankind may finally eliminate institutionalized force as the method of settling international conflict and find for it political and moral equivalents leading to a better world. The Negro revolution signals the ultimate admission of this group to the American community on equal social, political and economic terms. The cybernation revolution proffers an existence qualitatively richer in democratic as well as material values. A social order in which men make the decisions that shape their lives becomes more possible now than ever before; the unshackling of men from the bonds of unfulfilling labor frees them to become citizens, to make themselves and to make their own history.

But these enhanced promises by no means constitute a guarantee. Illuminating and making more possible the "democratic vistas" is one thing; reaching them is quite another, for a vision of democratic life is made real not by technological change but by men consciously moving toward that ideal and creating institutions that will realize and nourish the vision in living form.

Democracy, as we use the term, means a community of men and women who are able to understand, express and determine their lives as dignified human beings. Democracy can only be rooted in a political and economic order in which wealth is distributed by and for people, and used for the widest social benefit. With the emergence of the era of abundance we have the economic base for a true democracy of participation, in which men no longer need to feel themselves prisoners of social forces and decisions beyond their control or comprehension.

Donald G. Agger Washington, D. C.	Attorney, Partner, de Grazia, Agger and Hydeman.
Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, M.D. Scarborough, N. Y.	
James Boggs Detroit, Michigan	Mr. Boggs is an auto worker, and the author of *Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook*, 1963.
W. H. Ferry Santa Barbara, Calif.	Vice-President, Fund for the Republic, Inc., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Todd Gitlin Ann Arbor, Michigan	President, Students for a Democratic Society.
Roger Hagan Cambridge, Mass.	Editor, *The Correspondent*, Council for Correspondence.
Michael Harrington New York City	Author, *The Other America.*
Tom Hayden Ann Arbor, Michigan	Students for a Democratic Society.
Ralph L. Helstein Chicago, Illinois	President, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers.
Dr. Frances W. Herring Berkeley, Calif.	Institute for Governmental Studies, University of California.
Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester (Retired) St. Petersburg, Fla.	Director of Procurement of Supplies for Gen. MacArthur's forces in the SW Pacific, 1942-47.
Gerald W. Johnson Baltimore, Maryland	Journalist.
Irving F. Laucks Santa Barbara, Calif.	Former head, Laucks Chemical Company, now Consultant to The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.
Gunner Myrdal Stockholm, Sweden	Economist, Institute for International Economic Studies.

"I am in broad agreement with this Statement, though not entirely so."

Gerard Piel New York City	Publisher, *Scientific American.*
Michael D. Reagan Syracuse, N. Y.	Graduate Program in Public Administration, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Ben B. Seligman Washington, D. C.	Director, Department of Education and Research, Retail Clerks International Association.
Robert Theobald New York City	Consulting economist, and author of many books, the latest being *Free Men and Free Markets.*
William Worthy New York City	Correspondent, Baltimore *Afro-American.*
Alice Mary Hilton New York City	Independent consultant, problems of technology and automation.

XERO COPY

Maxwell Geismar Harrison, N. Y.	Social critic, author of *Henry James and the Jacobites.*
Philip Green Haverford, Pa.	Assistant Professor of Political Science, Haverford College.
H. Stuart Hughes Cambridge, Mass.	Professor of History, Harvard University.
Linus Pauling Pasadena, California	Nobel laureate, Peace; Consultant to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.
John William Ward Princeton, N. J.	Professor of History, Princeton University.
A. J. Muste New York City	Secretary Emeritus, Fellowship of Reconciliation.
Dr. Louis Fein Palo Alto, Calif.	Independent consultant, computer field.
Stewart Meacham Philadelphia, Pa.	Peace Secretary, American Friends Service Committee.
Everett C. Hughes Waltham, Mass.	Professor of Sociology, Brandeis University.
Robert L. Heilbroner New York City	Economist; author, *The Worldly Philosophers, The Great Ascent.*
Irving Howe New York City	Editor, *Dissent* Magazine.
Bayard Rustin New York City	Executive Secretary, War Resisters League; organizer of the March on Washington.
Norman Thomas New York City	Socialist leader
Dwight Macdonald New York City	Writer and critic

I. WHO ARE THE DISADVANTAGED?

The disadvantaged are known by many names for many reasons. They are not only minority citizens but represent all ethnic groups. They are often identified as our jobless, our poor, our under-educated, our young, our old. Basically, an individual is considered to be disadvantaged if he or she is a member of a poor family, unemployed, underemployed or not seeking work but should be. They will also possess one or more of the following characteristics:

a. School dropout

b. Special employment problems including being of a minority

c. Under 22 years of age

d. Over 44 years of age

e. Handicapped

It has been found after reviewing thousands of people who have passed through or who are enrolled in other programs, that many possess one or several of the above characteristics. A profile of the typical hard-core trainee is as follows:

Has been unemployed for eighteen months;

Never received intensive skill training;

Parents were unskilled;

Lives with one and one-half families;

Needs eye glasses, dental work;

Has seen a physician only once in his life;

Is married with three children;

Has no transportation;

Has a sixth-grade education;

Has had some contact with the law, and has spent at least 30 days in jails.

WHAT ARE THEIR NEEDS?

1. **Physical**

It has been found that they need a thorough physical examination. As mentioned above, they have seen a doctor only once in their lives. There is much evidence to indicate that for some, glasses will need to be prescribed and dental treatment required. No doubt for some, the examination will reveal the need for innoculations and corrective surgery before a person could go to work. Remedial medical and dental care may extend into the training period and consequently the employer must be prepared to allow time off for this essential need.

2. **Attitudes and Feelings**

The attitudes and feelings of some of the disadvantaged may pose a problem to an employer at the time of recruitment and the early training. For the most part these are conflicting attitudes or feelings rather than negative or positive ones. They have their origins in the trainees' personal history of failure to find opportunities for job, personal, and social satisfactions. The trainee may be somewhat cautious of taking you at your word, distrustful when you tell him about the opportunities obtainable for him by working for you, and lacking in confidence in his ability to satisfy you as an employer. However, we have found that these characteristics of the trainee change as he is given the kind of training he needs to succeed on the job. Step by step success in learning your job requirements will build the attitudes necessary for the trainee to retain the job.

3. Transportation

Except for those trainees who can conveniently walk to work, travel to the place of employment may present a problem. Until this problem is solved it will be a major (but not the only) cause for tardiness and absences from work. It is not a problem of the trainee alone because it involves his family too. Employers must be prepared, through counseling and other assistance if necessary, to assist the trainee in learning how to solve his personal and family transportation problem so that he can meet his work schedule.

4. Education

Additional or remedial education often must be provided for the unemployed. Almost all programs contain a job-related basic education or communicative skills program component in them, because most hard-core:

a. Have a tested third to sixth grade reading level;

b. Have a tested fourth-grade math level;

c. Because of (a), few can speak or write with clarity, organization, and meaning at more than a primary school level; and

d. Few can fill out employment forms, or follow written job instructions.

5. Job Skills

The work history of the unemployed usually shows temporary work at temporary jobs requiring little if any skill. Such jobs have not helped the person learn either technical skills or steady work habits. A few

possess technical skills learned in military service but these are not always directly applicable to their local community's industrial needs. They all need technical training that is specific to the job for which they are hired. Industry has demonstrated its capacity to teach technical skills to employees, and the unemployed have demonstrated that when modern training technology is used in training programs they can and do learn necessary job skills.

6. Work Habits

Job training for the unemployed requires training in work habits. Employers cannot assume that habits of living as unemployed persons will disappear the moment unemployment ends and employment begins. Habits of punctuality, regular attendance, attention to safety requirements, care of tools and equipment, and other job related behaviors must be taught. Learning such required behaviors takes time, the same as learning technical skills takes time. Recent data from on-the-job training programs indicate that training in both work habits and in job skills is required for the disadvantaged population.

7. Personal Finances

In the absence of steady income at a living wage the personal finances of many unemployed persons are in disarray. A new job immediately presents a problem of money management on which the employee needs practical counseling. Creditors may press for wage garnishment while acute personal and family needs oftentimes will lead to unwise credit buying. It is to the interest of you as employer as well as to your trainee to provide

counseling and other assistance lest these money crises drive the trainee from his job.

II. WORK POTENTIALS OF THE DISADVANTAGED PERSON

Evidence is accumulating rapidly from the private sector that when a real job, at a living wage, with equal opportunity for advancement, plus effective on-the-job training is offered members of this population, they can and do achieve as well as persons from other population groups. Their goals are the same as those of any other group; their potential capabilities for productive work too are the same.

The job expectations of the disadvantaged person, however, may be very limited because of previous failure to find the quality of employment which you will provide. Many have been involved in menial, short-term jobs; some have been involved in other publicity-sponsored programs which failed to equip them for, or to provide them with, a real job. This leaves them with much distrust, uncertainty and unwillingness to experience still another failure in the world of work. These limiting expectations do yield, fortunately, to feelings of confidence and trust when the job situation warrants such positive feelings.

The dress, speech, and personal appearance of the disadvantaged reflects the sub-cultures to which they belong. This is particularly true of those whose identifications are with the Black and the Mexican-American sub-cultures. It is apparent, too, that a very powerful motivation among these ethnic minorities is to find secure and meaningful places in the occupational systems of society. We have found that they will modify any personal behavior, speech, or dress to meet objective job requirements. Subjective requirements which they will interpret as rejection of their cultural values will be resisted. In this regard, too, the disadvantaged member of the ethnic minority is like any of us who take pride in our cultural values.

A major problem in training members of ethnic minorities is to establish mutually understandable person-with-person communications. Words and gestures mean different things in different cultures. It is necessary for everyone who interfaces directly with the trainee to understand his own and the trainee's communication behavior, both in speech and action. His own awareness of his speech and vocabulary limitations will cause him to be uncertain of himself. His cultural limitations, as they relate to this kind of situation, will cause him to be unsure of you. -

These pages offer a discussion guide for the film, The Way Out. You may want to use the questionnaire that is included, or you may find an unstructured discussion following the film preferable.

There is no need to obtain written answers to the questions, but you may want to write them on the blackboard as you develop answers through group discussion.

Paul

What are your

Relax.

— Mockbird

fun if you

not break.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 30, 1966

Mr. Moreland G. Smith, Sr.
3236 Bankhead Ave.
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Smith,

We would like permission to include your name on our list of those interested in serving as consultants at VISTA conferences. Inclusion on the list will not obligate you in any way and if asked to serve at an inconvenient time you would be free to decline.

As you may already know, VISTA is one of the programs sponsored by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity in its war against poverty. Volunteers in Service to America live and work with the poor in a wide variety of situations. (See the enclosed pamphlet.) During their year of service they attend several conferences designed to help them solve the problems encountered in their work with the poor. It is at these conferences that people like yourself are needed to provide the volunteers with expert advice.

The conferences are held on weekends at various places throughout the country and consultants are invited from as close by as possible to minimize the amount of travel required. Travel and all other expenses of the consultant are paid by VISTA. In addition, consultants receive an honorarium.

Would you please indicate on the enclosed form whether or not you would like to have your name placed on our list of available consultants? The form has space for certain other information which will enable VISTA to make the most intelli-

gent use of you as a consultant. However, if you prefer, you may send us a resume instead.

If you have already served on a conference, please name the conference and give the date.

We hope that it will be possible for you to say "yes". Serving as a consultant at a VISTA conference is a way for you to make a solid contribution to our country's attack on the problems of the poor.

Sincerely,

Velma Linford

Velma Linford
Acting Director of Conference
Office of Projects & Field
Support
VISTA

VISTA CONSULTANT INFORMATION

Name:

Address:
Area Code Telephone

1. I (would) (would not) like to have my name on the list of consultants available for VISTA conferences.

2. Fields in which I feel qualified to serve as a consultant (be as specific as possible):

3. Conventions, conferences, institutes, etc., at which I have served as a consultant, read a paper, took part in a panel discussion, etc.

4. My present position:

5. Some relevant organizations of which I am an officer or member:

6. Publications, if any:

7. Names and addresses of others who might like to be listed as consultants if asked:

VISTA

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

file - Vita

VITA VOLUNTEERS for INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, Inc.
USA DIVISION • COLLEGE CAMPUS
SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK 12308 Tel. (518) 372-5696

May 12, 1970

Mr. Emery Via
Director of Resources
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Mr. Holloway has asked me to write this letter for him as he is traveling extensively for VITA. He wishes to thank you for the courtesy you extended him on his recent trip to Atlanta. He appreciated very much the help you kindly gave him.

He looks forward to visiting you again on some future trip to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Scotty Vrooman

Mrs. Scotty Vrooman
Secretary to Leslie Holloway
Chapter Liaison
VITA-USA Division

/sv

File — Vita-USA

BRIEFING PAPER

VITA-USA DIVISION PLAN, 1970

A. Results of First Eleven and One-Half Months' Operation

1. General Conclusion

The program has been sufficiently successful to say that the major hypothesis of the demonstration has been proved:

> "that VITA's volunteer force, which has been utilized effectively in aiding developing countries, can be applied to help solve problems of poverty in the USA."

The VITA-USA program is unique in its ability to mobilize and apply volunteers for use in urban and rural poverty settings and on a national scale. The basic principles that have led to acceptance by community people needing help are:

- being responsive; we assist those who request help and in the way they desire

- performing well; capable staff is essential to handle volunteer selection, logistics of volunteer assignments, follow-up, etc.

Chapter Projects are needed to assist programs in metropolitan areas where manpower resources covering a broad skill spectrum can be mobilized.

The National Consulting Service is needed mostly by small cities and rural areas.

2. Quantity of Effort

During the 11½ months since the VITA-USA program was launched, 505 requests were received by the program. Responding to them, over 500 volunteers contributed 11,500 hours.

The program start-up was smooth, with top-notch staff being recruited within target dates. (Interestingly, six of the staff are ex-Peace Corps volunteers.) Methods and procedures have been developed, and an on-going evaluation permits continual improvement of these procedures.

Voluntary technical assistance is extremely economical since the consulting time is free.

3. Quality of Effort

Evaluation of the Boston Project and the National Consulting Service include the following conclusions on operating procedures:

- The requesters give VITA-USA high marks on volunteer selection and speed of response.

- VITA-USA cases involve mostly "soft technology" and are much more complex than previous international requests. They require

more in-depth, on-site help and follow-up.

- Volunteers want feedback on results of their projects.

- For National Consulting Service: in 25 of 43 cases sampled VITA provided valuable input. VITA was of no help in two cases. The results of other cases are pending or not known.

- People do not clearly understand VITA-USA services from the literature. Communication about VITA's services must be improved.

Unique Characteristics

Evaluation interviews with requesters and volunteers point out some very special qualities of volunteer consulting:

a. Flexibility and Concern. Frequent personal involvement is possible. Other sources of help cannot do this easily because of "red tape".

b. Bridge to other private or governmental resources.

c. Availability. For the first time in many communities VITA represents a source of free technical assistance. Too often in the past community projects needing such assistance have gone without and failed.

d. Objectivity. Volunteers serve as objective outsiders; advice can be used publicly or privately to help the requester achieve his goals.

Examples illustrating these points:

- An objective study by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Swanson, Omaha volunteers, is being used by the Urban League there to secure a $160,000 housing grant. Swanson is a senior process engineer with the Allied Chemical Co., and Mrs. Swanson is a lawyer.

- A California Community Action Agency director reports valuable assistance in changing organization structure and personnel methods as a result of management analysis by VITA Volunteer, Dr. Carl Berger, who owns Electrolyte Technologies, Inc., Santa Ana, California. This case is still active after five visits and as many reports by the volunteer.

- Reflecting on VITA's assistance, a CAA director in West Virginia commented:

  "I had contacted OEO in Washington and was told that the chances of getting a consulting firm were very dim. I contacted VITA but did not expect any results....VITA provided the assistance asked for and more....provided a stimulus to the project when many were discouraged and about to give up hope. Dr. Starkweather has shown the way. We have hired a health specialist and are preparing the proposal for funding." (VITA Volunteer David Starkweather is a professor of Hospital Administration at U. of California at Berkeley.)

- "We didn't realize volunteers could do such a tremendous job", was the comment made by the Black Economic Union of Cleveland. VITA, through a volunteer in California, made contact with the Association of Systems Management in Cleveland and secured a local volunteer to assist B.E.U. in instituting a records and reporting system for its contracted consulting service to CAAs in Region IV.

Areas of Greatest Contribution

VITA has identified five areas of special expertise where volunteer consultation has been particularly effective in stimulating successful projects. They are, with examples:

a. Management Methods and Systems

VITA Volunteer Dave Briscoe (Lear Siegler, Oklahoma City) applied his experience in management systems to the problem of designing a manpower management plan for a voluntary services program of Dallas' CAA. The assistance included advice on recruiting, assigning, motivating, training, and administering volunteer workers. Mrs. L. Griffin, the CAA's volunteer director, instituted the system and now has eight volunteer coordinators utilizing hundreds of volunteers.

The development of a community services referral center for a Minnesota Model Cities Program is being aided by volunteer James Vint (J. C. Penney, Milwaukee), who has been asked to establish a comprehensive records and recording system for the project.

b. How to Obtain Financial Support

YOU, an amalgamation of over 200 youth gangs, needed assistance in costing projects and writing proposals for business ventures and community projects. VITA Volunteer Don Roha, an employee of VITRO, advised YOU on negotiating and handling subcontracts and on structuring a management development and training program for YOU staff. He developed business forms, prepared a manual for writing proposals, and conducted staff seminars. VITA's impact on YOU is demonstrated by the fact that after coaching by Mr. Roha and others the group successfully negotiated three contracts, with a fourth expected to be approved soon.

VITA-Boston is running a series of workshops to assist community groups in securing funds through private and public sources and to give expertise in this area to additional VITA volunteers so that they can be prepared to assist requesters, not only in Boston, but also in other locations through the National Consulting Service. To date, five community projects have received 13 grants totaling $263,500, partly as a result of VITA's help.

c. Education of the Economically Disadvantaged

Leila Robbins, a Commonwealth Service Corps volunteer who works at the CAA neighborhood center in Dorchester, Mass., asked for help in setting up a summer tutorial program for children. The VITA-Boston staff member selected to coordinate this request was particularly qualified to help, having once been a director of a tutorial program. The Storefront Learning Center (SLC) in the local area, itself a former requester, was asked to assist, and Mrs. Robbins was able to attend the SLC training program. Four VITA volunteers then conducted a workshop for Mrs. Robbins' staff and recruited teaching candidates for the program.

Help in developing a community day care center in southern Vermont was provided by VITA Volunteer, Mrs. Mary Gray. Thanks to Mrs. Gray's extensive experience in the area and her detailed recommendation, community support and facilities for the center are now being developed. The requester labeled her service "fantastic" and stated it was hard to believe

that anyone could have found a person with so much expertise.

d. Recreation and Playgrounds

Boston VITA volunteers, working in the Chapter's Design and Development group, were asked to develop a playground for the Highland Park Free School. Participating in the design effort were members of the Institute of Art and the requesting parents. The one day "build-in" by VITA volunteers, parents, and children resulted in construction of a variety of structures that are very popular with the children and that would have cost about $5500 if they had been built commercially. The prototypes developed are being used by VITA to learn lessons for future playground projects. Already the Boston group has used its experience to assist playground design requesters in Cambridge, Mass. and Washington, D.C.

e. Business Development, Particularly in Rural and Small Town Areas

"Jack of All Trades Service Corporation", a maintenance business formed by the Bennington-Rutland Opportunity Council, Inc., received twelve visits from volunteer Richard Bowen (Stanley Home Products, Schenectady, N. Y.) on systems of floor maintenance, equipment procurement, job bidding. "Mr. Bowen brought over a floor machine and worked day and night to train the men. He visited our customers and set up a program of cleaning for each. He also helped with calls on new customers, increasing business." Sales of $10,000 in six months have been realized; much of this flowed to those previously out of work.

A Kentucky requester, working with a crafts project, stated, "VITA provided the assistance needed to this small agency which had neither funds nor confidence to seek elsewhere. In areas where volunteers were not available, excellent referrals were made, quite unlike others I have dealt with." Special praise was given to two volunteers, Malcolm Benjamin, an expert in product design for the United Nations, and Jean Godsman, public relations assistant with Hugh Stubbins and Associates (architects) in Boston. As a result of VITA's help in costing and market sources, a grant providing initial capital has been obtained and a market established in Washington, DC. Sixty people are involved.

4. VITA-USA has developed a model for establishing a nationwide network of effective urban chapter programs. Whereas one chapter program was the goal for the first year, two staffed projects have been started. The Boston Project is already up to over 500 volunteer man hours per month being devoted to projects with high success potential. The District of Columbia Project, though only four months old, has reached 250 volunteer hours, matching so far the growth experience in Boston.

B. Program Objectives for 1970

1. Scale up the demonstration program.

Targets: 32,000 volunteer man hours
Volunteers involved: 2500
Requesters directly affected: 25,000+

2. Increase impact of volunteer effort through specialization and in-depth involvement in high priority cases. At least ten priority centers of expertise will be developed by the end of 1970.

3. Focus on problems of larger urban areas through VITA chapter programs.

Targets:

a. Select and initiate staffed projects in five new locations. Selection of sites will be based on need, competing resources, availability of leadership and volunteers, opportunity to get information on new variables, such as the ethnic groups served, size of metropolitan area, representation of several parts of country.

b. Expand Boston Project to a steady state operation, handling at least 650 volunteer man hours/month. At least 40 cases will have 4 or more consultants (a rough index of significance of VITA's involvement). Workshops will be held and packets of useful materials developed for at least 2 specialty areas.

c. Expand DC-Are Project to at least 500 volunteer hour/month level. Uncover at least 5 major program opportunities for national program as a result of DC location.

d. Begin the move to privately finance chapter programs; chapter income target: $30,000.

4. Focus on problems of small cities and rural areas through the National Consulting Service. Experiment with a Rural Field Specialist to provide the kind of on-the-spot assistance in problem definition, volunteer support, and recruitment that has made chapter programs so successful.

5. Communicate more effectively to: recruit volunteers in needed specialties, tell potential requesters what VITA can do, foster interchange of information on problems and their solution.

6. Mount continuing research and evaluation efforts to learn about the technical assistance and voluntary action processes. Data from these studies will make it possible to determine best areas for future VITA emphasis and will be a major input to VITA's continuing long range planning activity.

7. Establish contact with key personnel in at least 25 major corporations to enlarge VITA's capability for getting volunteers on leave with pay for short term assignments.

VITA-USA

technical and professional volunteers available to those attacking the problems of poverty in the u.s.a.

A Division of: **VOLUNTEERS for INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, Inc.**

February 20, 1969

file

Mr. W. M. Hicks
State Supervisor, Trade and Industrial Education
Georgia State Department of Education
Division of Vocational Education
254 State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am working on a special project for Mr. Emory F. Via, of the Southern Regional Council. We are trying to collect information related to vocational training in the Atlanta area. We would be interested in descriptive bulletins and other materials pertaining to training programs, the number students enrolled, andocounseling and job placement services. This information will be used for offiee reference. We will be grateful for help.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Stanley Alexander

SA/km

February 20, 1969

Mr. Don Hall
Atlanta Area Technical School
1560 Stewart Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Sir:

I am working on a special project for Mr. Emory F. Via, of the Southern Regional Council. We are trying to collect information related to vocational training in the Atlanta area. We would be interested in descriptive bulletins and other materials pertaining to training programs, the number of students enrolled, and counseling and job placement services. This information will be used for office reference. We will be grateful for help.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Stanley Alexander

SA/km

March 4, 1969

Mr. G. C. Rodgers, Director
EOA Manpower Programs
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Rodgers:

I enjoyed talking with you last week. I have been thinking about our discussion. I was indeed surprised at your insight and concern for the poor. I am not trying to flatter you, by no means, but facts are facts, Black or White. There are few white skinned persons who impress me. I do not make it a habit to support their ideas and concepts. I am learning that racism is a two-way street. It prevents us from relating as men. It is a shame that adjectives like Black and White mean so much, divide so much and destroy so many. To be Black in my opinion is simply to be man. Let me put it this way:

To be white is to be guilty
To be Black is to be defensive
But to be man is a burden
It is much heavier than I
It simply requires a self
A man.

To be poor is explosive. It is a shame that poverty in this country is based on what you do not have rather than who you are. Poverty is the lack of growth. You and I, could never be free until we free ourselves from our inner

poverty. EOA could not do it, separatism will not do it. It will take men with guts to free this ding-ling nightmare. In other words, I have to be Black in order to be Man.

Thank you very much and I hope our relationship will not stop here.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 4, 1969

Mr. Henry Reed, Executive Director
National Alliance of Businessmen
Candler Building
127 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Reed:

I enjoyed meeting you and discussing your program. I hope that our relationship will continue to grow. I was very impressed with your program and what it is doing to help the poor. I wish you all the success in the world.

If I can be of any service to you please feel free to call.

Thanking you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 4, 1969

Mr. Dun Garner
National Alliance of Businessmen
Candler Building
127 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Garner:

I enjoyed meeting you and discussing your program. I hope that our relationship will continue to grow. I was very impressed with your program and what it is doing to help the poor. I wish you all the success in the world.

If I can be of any service to you please feel free to call.

Thanking you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 4, 1969

Mr. Ruben Geeslin, Director
Defense Manpower Force Program
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Geeslin:

I enjoyed meeting you and discussing your program. I hope that our relationship will continue to grow. I was very impressed with your program and what it is doing to help the poor. I wish you all the success in the world.

If I can be of any service to you please feel free to call me.

Thanking you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 4, 1968

Mr. Lloyd Smith, Director
Labor Education Advancement Program
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 400
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Smith:

I enjoyed meeting you and discussing your program. I hope that our relationship will continue to grow. I was very impressed with your program and what it is doing to help the poor. I wish you all the success in the world.

If I cam be of any service to you please feel free to call me.

Thanking you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 5, 1969

Mrs. Doris Bradley
Community Council of the Atlanta
Area, Inc.
120 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Bradley:

I enjoyed meeting you and discussing your program. I hope that our relationship will continue to grow. I was very impressed with your program and what it is. doing to help the poor. I wish you all the success in the world.

If I can be of any service to you please feel free to call me.

Thanking you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 5, 1969

Mr. Hubert L. Murray
Job Corps (Boys)
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Murray:

I enjoyed meeting you and discussing your program. I hope that our relationship will continue to grow. I was very impressed with your program and what it is doing to help the poor. I wish you all the success in the world.

If I can be of any service to you please feel free to call me.

Thanking you for your time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

John Stanley Alexander

JSA/km

March 28, 1969

Mr. Dan Sweat
Office of Mayor
209 City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I enjoyed talking to you on the phone. Enclosed is my biographical data. I hope that I can be of service to you.

Yours truly,

John S. Alexander

JSA/km

Enclosure

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 25, 1969

Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Gentlemen:

Please send us one copy of Christians in Racial Crisis, by Thomas F. Pettigrew and Ernest Q. Campbell.

Our check for $3.50 is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Stanley Alexander

Stanley Alexander

We Regret to Report
This book is out of print
Public Affairs Press

SA:mm
Enc.

Stan Alexander

COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA, INC.

1000 Glenn Building
120 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 577-2250

WHAT IS IT?

An organization of volunteers and agency employees working to lessen the social problems of the Atlanta area

WHAT DOES IT DO?

Coordinates

Works with public and private groups in the fields of health, education and welfare to:

- Eliminate overlapping and duplicating services
- Create new services to provide for unmet needs
- Improve existing services

Plans

Evaluates needs and implements services to meet them

Does Research

Conducts studies of social problems and searches for resources to correct them

WHOM DOES IT SERVE?

People in the five-county metropolitan area

WHO FINANCES IT?

The United Appeal, local foundations and governmental units

THE PERMANENT CONFERENCE

The Permanent Conference is composed of the professional director and chief officer of the governing board of the participating agencies. There are about 400 members. An 18-man Executive Committee, chaired by Eugene Branch meets every other month to hear reports from staff and committees studying various social problems and the Executive Committee then makes decisions on what action should be taken.

The Permanent Conference has a small, but competent staff who have a broad knowledge of social welfare problems and about services which deal with these problems.

Some examples of the activities of the staff and committee are:

. A Treatment Plan for the Chronic Alcoholic Court Offender has been developed which is being used as a guide to institute services for the chronic alcoholic. The Metropolitan Crime Commission and the Community Council have formed a committee to implement this plan.

. Background for Decision Making - This document defines the problems of people and describes services which are available in the Atlanta Metropolitan Area to combat these problems. (See the attached flyer for full description.)

. Aging - Two proposals have been submitted to Washington for grants under the Older Americans Act. They are:

. A proposal to demonstrate the use of older people to supplement regular staff in a Children's Day Care Center, serving low income areas.

. A proposal to operate a day center giving personal care to old people.

. Volunteer Task Force - During the past year 250 volunteers were trained under a demonstration grant from OEO. Each volunteer received 30 hours of instructions including 15 hours of on-the-job supervision. They are presently working in agencies serving poverty areas.

. Information and Referral Service - This service is operated under the Permanent Conference. It maintains up-to-date information on services offered by agencies. It handles inquiries from persons needing help and makes referrals to the agency best fitted to serve them. (See brochure enclosed.)

. A Directory of Community Services has been published by the Permanent Conference. (See order blank enclosed.)

. Fund Appeals Review Board - On agreement with this Board, the Permanent Conference conducts studies of any new agency applying to the FARB for permission to conduct a campaign. During the past year the Permanent Conference studied the Planned Parenthood Federation, the Stacy Smith Home for Birth Defect Children and United Cerebral Palsy of Greater Atlanta, Inc.

. Day Care - A Committee has been active in recent months and will continue to work in planning with churches, Dept. of Family and Children Services, Chest agencies, and other groups to expand day care services for children.

. Family and Children's Seminars - A series of meetings has been held with agencies serving families and children. Discussion has centered around the role of the voluntary agency in the light of developments in the public field.

. Model Neighborhood Project - It is expected that the Permanent Conference will be involved in the social welfare component of this project (on contract with the City). Two social welfare planners will be employed.

. Consultation and Technical Assistance - During the past year the Permanent Conference staff has given consultation service to over 30 different agencies in program planning, and to funding bodies such as United Appeal, local foundations and others.

THE RESEARCH CENTER
of the
COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA, INC.

The Research Center is organized and staffed to conduct studies of community problems and evaluations of agencies and services. On the basis of such studies in various fields, the Research Center develops long-range and comprehensive plans for improving services.

In order to be continually aware of emerging problems and changes in the welfare of Atlanta's citizens, extensive statistical and field work files are maintained. These files provide up-to-date information on the City of Atlanta and the surrounding counties as well as on the many neighborhoods in Atlanta. Through the field work efforts of our neighborhood analyst, we try to maintain contact with neighborhood civic organizations and other citizen groups. In this way, statistical data is balanced with qualitative information.

Research information from studies and our files are available to and widely used by local governments, social agencies, the Community Chest, foundations, citizen groups, churches, and other interested individuals.

The planning efforts of the Research Center are usually done with those agencies, funding bodies, and clients that will be affected by the plans. In this way, we are able to ensure much greater implementation of plans than would otherwise be possible.

Recent work by the Research Center has included studies of Atlanta's slums, comprehensive inventories and analyses of health, welfare, manpower, recreation, school services, and a metropolitan-wide study of recreation programs. Many other special studies and analyses were conducted on the request of specific agencies. In the area of planning, we completed, early last summer, the social plan related to urban renewal for Atlanta's Community Improvement Program. We are currently working on a detailed plan for the development of Atlanta's parks and recreation.

~~The summary chapters of two recent studies are included to illustrate further the kinds of work done by the Research Center.~~

HOSPITAL AND HEALTH PLANNING DEPARTMENT

I. Functions

A. To assist hospitals and health service organizations in the five counties with identification of health problems.

B. To assist in determining community health needs.

C. To cooperate with hospitals and health service organizations in developing plans to solve community problems.

D. To stimulate action in solving these health problems.

E. To review and evaluate programs and projects, and make recommendations to appropriate authorities.

II. Activities Completed or Presently in Progress

A. Future Hospital Plans: A Preliminary Report, was published in March 1966 which contained the long-range plans prepared by twenty-two hospitals in the Atlanta area.

B. A Patient Origin Study which included twenty-seven hospitals in the Atlanta area was published in March 1966.

C. In March 1967, a survey of 44 nursing homes in the Atlanta area was published which showed the conditions, services, plans and type of care offered by these homes.

D. A Private Duty Nursing Registry Committee was established in September 1966 for the purpose of endeavoring to improve the utilization of the private duty nurses in Atlanta.

E. Representatives of the Hospital and Health Planning Department appeared before the Commissioners of Fulton County to point out the need for a new general hospital in the Northside area of Fulton County. A Resolution establishing the Hospital Authority of Fulton County was approved by the County Commissioners on May 4, 1966.

F. In March 1967, the Hospital and Health Planning Department took an active part in helping the Fulton County Medical Society prepare a draft for a proposed comprehensive community health service in a selected poverty area of Atlanta.

G. A long-term hospital and health plan was prepared for the DeKalb County area. This was a total health program for DeKalb County which was developed by the Hospital and Health Planning Department in conjunction with the Hospital Authority of DeKalb County.

H. A long-term hospital and health plan for the five-county metropolitan area has been prepared.

I. A recruitment program for hospital and health personnel is in the process of development.

J. Coordinating meetings are held regularly with various organizations such as:

1. Joint Council on Paramedical Education in Georgia
2. Hospital Administrators Council of Atlanta Area
3. Hill-Burton Office of State Health Department
4. Executive Director, Georgia Hospital Association

K. Related activities of staff:

1. Responsible for metropolitan area Heart, Cancer, Stroke Program
2. Development of a Home Health Care Program
3. Developing a Nursing Home Care Improvement Project

Stan Alexander

IS JOB CORPS FOR YOU ?

WHAT IS JOB CORPS?

Job Corps is a program for young men and women who want a good job but do not have the training or education to get it. In the Job Corps you can learn to speak, read and write better. You will develop the skills and work habits you need to get and keep a job with good pay.

WHO CAN JOIN?

To join you must be at least 16 but not yet 22 years old. Job Corps is for you if you have dropped out of school and cannot find a good job. You may be eligible even if you are a high school graduate. Maybe you dropped out of school to help support your family or for some other reason. If your family does not have enough money to help train you for a job, Job Corps can help. Other young people who wanted to get ahead have found that Job Corps has helped them.

WHERE WILL I GO?

If you join Job Corps, you will move to a Job Corps Center away from home. It may be in a national park or forest, or it may be in or near a city. The Job Corps will pay for your transportation to the Center.

WHAT WILL I GET AT THE CENTER?

At the Job Corps Center you will get food, medical and dental care, some new clothes and spending money. If you have a wife or child to support, the Job Corps will help you send money home. There will be free time for fun with new friends, for sports, for TV and movies.

WHAT WILL I LEARN?

You will learn a skill and train for a job. You will have a chance to find out what is expected of you on the job and which job you do best. Clerical work, food service, hospital work, forestry work, auto mechanics are among the many skills taught at the Centers. The Centers will provide the books and materials you need.

WHAT DO I HAVE TO DO?

The Job Corps will expect you to give the program a fair chance and stay until you finish your training. Normally it takes at least six months to learn a skill. (However, you can stay as long as two years.) You will have to work hard at your training, attend classes, and follow Job Corps rules.

HOW DO I JOIN?

Call or visit your nearest State Employment Service, Women in Community Service, or Community Action Agency.

Or write: Job Corps
Washington, D. C. 20506

IS THERE A JOB IN MY FUTURE?

Job Corps will help you find a job after you finish your training. By then you will be prepared to earn a decent living. You will look forward to a brighter future.

JCRS-3

GPO : 1968 O - 321-346

QUESTIONS PARENTS ASK ABOUT THE JOB CORPS

WHAT IS JOB CORPS?

Job Corps is for young people who have not finished high school and cannot find good jobs. They come from all over the United States. They are of all races and religions. They are between 16 and 22 years old. They are all from low-income families.

Your son may spend as long as two years in Job Corps but can complete his training in less than one year. He will receive specialized training in such fields as automotive mechanics, salesmanship, and computer operations. Capable teachers will prepare him to find and hold a good job. Job Corps trains its graduates to be citizens of whom the country is proud and husbands and fathers whose wives and children will love and respect them.

WILL MY SON BE TAKEN CARE OF?

Job Corps will take excellent care of your son. Doctors and dentists will look after him. He will be supervised by a trained staff. His living-quarters will be comfortable. He will have his own bed and locker in a dormitory shared with other young men. He can eat as much as he wants. He will receive every-day clothing upon arrival at the Center. If your son shows he is serious about completing the program, he will receive money to buy dress clothing. He will be free to play sports, watch TV, go to the movies, and dances. He may attend the religious services of his choice.

WHAT WILL MY SON HAVE TO DO?

Your son will have to obey the rules and regulations. He will have classes every day. He will have to go to bed and get up at a regular time. He will have to make his bed and help keep his living-quarters clean. He will have to ask permission to leave the Center. If your son wants this opportunity, he will obey the rules. If he does not, Job Corps may have to send him home.

HOW MUCH WILL MY SON EARN?

Your son will receive a living allowance of $30 a month, and may earn raises up to $20 a month more. When he leaves, he may also receive money for each month he was in Job Corps if he completes his training or stays long enough to qualify. Social Security and Federal Income tax will be deducted from his pay and allowances. You should ask the screener whether your son is eligible to send an allotment home.

HOW OFTEN CAN I SEE MY SON?

You can visit your son any time. He will be sent to a Center as close to home as possible. The screener will tell you all about the Center chosen for him. After six months of satisfactory performance, he will be eligible for a visit home at the Government's expenses. In case of an emergency, arrangements can be made for a special visit.

WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?

You can help your son by telling him how proud you are that he is in Job Corps. He needs your encouragement. He may be homesick. This is normal. Once your son has made new friends, he will find it easier. Write to him often. If you can, telephone him occasionally.

Your son can join Job Corps only with your consent. You should be happy to back him up all the way. Your signature on the parental consent form means that you want your son to enter Job Corps, that you know of nothing that would make him ineligible for Job Corps, that you agree to Job Corps providing him with routine medical and dental care and that you mean to give him all the help you can so that he will complete the program.

JCRS-1D

GPO 868-308

SUBJECT: CONTACTS FOR INFORMATION AND JOBS FOR THE APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM - COMPANY AND AGENCY

ATLANTA AREA TECHNICAL SCHOOL
1560 Steward Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Strovier, Admission
758-9451

Comments: They have no direct relations with the Apprenticeship Program but they do give mechnical and theoretical backgrounds in trades related to apprenticeship training.

ATLANTA JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE
881 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Baker
873-1805

Comments: This organization has basic information related to apprenticeship programs. They have contacts with unions and other related apprentice program.

LITHOGRAPHY AND PHOTO GRAVES
881 Preachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Evers, Secretary
892-9996

Comments: Information related to lithography and photo graving trade in this company. Possible job openings. Training is held within the plant and conducted by company staff. One can join the union in the company.

REGIONAL OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
526-5405

Comments: General information about apprenticeship program.

ATLANTA TYPOGRAPHY COMPANY LOCAL 48
250 10 the Street , N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Fred Holbrook
873-2732

Comments: This company will train a person in newspaper printing. Training is on the job and it varies from program to program. They will help a person with a union program or a regular job program.

MINIMUM MENTAL AND PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS FOR

PLATE BOYS AND APPRENTICE PRESSMEN APPLICANTS

Mental Requirements:

All applicants must take the Wonderlic Personnel Test and the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension test.

Minimum scores considered:

Bennett Mechanical	17
Wonderlic Personnel	18

Physical Requirements:

Must be in good health.
Must not be less than 5 ft. 6 in. or more than 6 ft. 2 in. in height.
Must not weigh less than 130 lbs. or more than 220 lbs.

Personal Requirements:

Must be a high school graduate or have the equivalent of a high school education.
Must be capable of passing a screening interview by the Joint ~~Scrunning~~ Screening Committee.
Must not have a police record other than minor traffic violations.
Must want to pursue a career as a web pressman.
Must be acceptable to the Pressroom Foreman.

PRESSMEN'S JAC

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE
A. P. P. & A. U. #8
UNION EMPLOYERS SECTION
PRINTING INDUSTRY OF ATLANTA, INC.

Selection of apprentices made under our standards shall be made from qualified applicants on the basis of qualifications alone and without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or sex or occupationally irrelevant physical requirements in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application; and this program shall be operated on a completely non-discriminatory basis.

I. REQUIREMENTS FOR SELECTION OF APPRENTICE ASSISTANTS, APPRENTICE PRESSMEN AND PREPARATORY APPRENTICES

A. Applicants for Apprentice Pressmen, Preparatory Apprentices and Apprentice Assistants shall pass the Printing aptitude test, S-40, administered by the Georgia State Employment Office and shall be a high school graduate or its equivalent. He must be physically capable of performing the work and therefore shall submit to the Committee a doctor's statement of satisfactory physical condition taken ten days prior to the beginning date of his apprenticeship.

B. The applicant must be of good moral character.

C. The applicant must be at least eighteen (18) years of age when beginning his apprenticeship.

D. The applicant to be accepted, must have a definite interest in the craft of printing, as evidenced by an approved aptitude test and approval by the designated screening committee.

E. Since apprentice pressmen will be selected from assistant pressmen who in turn come from apprentice assistants, the employer shall use the same standards in selection and hiring apprentice assistants as will be applied to the selection of apprentice candidates.

II. PROCEDURES

The following selection procedures will be used in hiring of apprentices:

A. Written application for employment form to be completed by applicant with prospective employer.

B. He must satisfactorily complete appropriate aptitude test administered by Georgia State Employment Service. Arrangements for test must be handled as follows:

1. List the openings with the Employment Service.

2. Send new applicants down to take the test. Applicants may also be referred by the Employment Service. In sending a new applicant down, please call in order -

Tom Tyler
Robert Smith
John Mobley

if you run into any problem.

3. To test a present employee who is to be considered call one of the above three people to schedule the test by phone.

C. He must appear before the Screening Committee and be evaluated according to the evaluation sheet which is a part of the Joint Apprenticeship By-Laws. The Screening Committee will consist of a designated representative of the Printing Industry of Atlanta and a designated I. P. P. & A. U. Local #8 Official with the screening interview to be held at the Printing Industry of Atlanta headquarters. However, an employer may establish a screening committee in his respective plant by securing permission from the Joint Apprenticeship Committee and have on record the two Plant Screening Committee members, one of whom shall be from management and one from the I. P. P. & A. U. Local #8.

D. The final interview and selection of applicants by the employer.

E. Apprenticeship indenture contract signed by respective parties and approved by Joint Apprenticeship Committee.

SELECTION PROCEDURE

A.P.P. & A.U. #8 & U.B.S.
JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE

A. Applicants must score 70 points to be accepted, and shall be accepted in order of their score, starting with the highest score. Records covering evaluation of applicants, including rating forms, shall be kept for 2 years to permit review.

B. Applicants must have completed high school. Extra consideration will be given for education beyond the high school level. They must be at least 18 years of age and may be obtained from several sources, such as the Employment Service public schools, trade schools and by direct application and inter-plant referral.

C. The Employment Service and local schools shall be informed when applications for apprenticeship are being accepted, and their cooperation requested in referring suitable applicants to the participating employers.

APPRENTICE APPLICANT EVALUATION

(Passing Score: 70 points)	Maximum Points	Points Earned
1. Education and Training	(15)	
-Required grade level (High School)	10 points	
-Additional education beyond high school	5	
2. Physical Factors	(10)	
-Doctor's Certificate of good health (No basic defects)	5	
-Appropriate physical characteristics for the trade	5	
3. Past Work Experience	(10)	
-Misc. jobs not related to trade	5	
-Misc. jobs related to trade	5	
4. References and Conduct	(10)	
-At least 2 favorable references from non-related persons	5	
-No public record of serious bad conduct	5	
5. Test Score	(20)	
-Applicants meeting established norms of the GATB of the Employment Service	20	
6. Military Service	(10)	(See D)
-Not related to trade	5	
-Related to trade	5	
7. Interview	(25)	

	0 Poor	2 Fair	3 Avg.	4 Good	5 Excellent
A. Sincerity of Interest					
B. Attitude Toward Work					
C. Ability to Work Under Supervision					
D. Understanding of Responsibilities as Apprentice					
E. Ability to Work With Others					
TOTALS	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

INTERVIEWER'S TOTAL
("A" through "E" above)_____(Carry total to line 7 above, "Points Earned".)

_____ Applicant's Score _____
(Name of Applicant) (Total of Lines 1 thru 7)

_____ _____
(Signature of Interviewer and date) (Signature of Interviewer and date)

PERSONAL INTERVIEW

A. In the personal interview the applicant will be rated in five (5) categories. Questions should be directed to the applicant which will enable the interviewer to rate the applicant on sincerity of interest, attitude toward work, attitude toward related training, ability to work under supervision, understanding of responsibilities as Apprentice, ability to work with others and why he wants to become an apprentice in the printing trade, and his attitude toward unions.

B. The applicant should also be rated on his personal references.

C. The applicant should be rated on his physical appearance. (An applicant who does not bother to be neat when appearing before the screening committee usually has little interest in what the screening committee thinks and is not interested enough in the trade to succeed.)

D. In the event the applicant is already employed by the employer and is not permitted to take the aptitude test administered by the Georgia State Employment Service, the applicant will be given five (5) points for each year of employment in the printing industry up to a maximum of four (4) years or twenty (20) points.

File Stan Alexander

Programs under the auspices
of the Economic Opportunity
Atlanta, Inc.

SUBJECT: MANPOWER PROGRAMS

IN

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA (EOA)

PURPOSE: To provide employment and placement for low income individuals within the five target areas of Atlanta and surrounding cities.

SERVICE: A Georgia State Employment Service representative is placed in the EOA Neighborhood Service Centers to counsel and test individuals for employment. There is a manpower director in each service center to help with placement. Recruitment for other agencies is done through the service center such as ACEP, New Careers, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Training programs and others.

Funds: Georgia Department of Labor, United States Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. T. M. (Jim) Parham, Jr., Executive Director
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA (Neighborhood Service Centers)

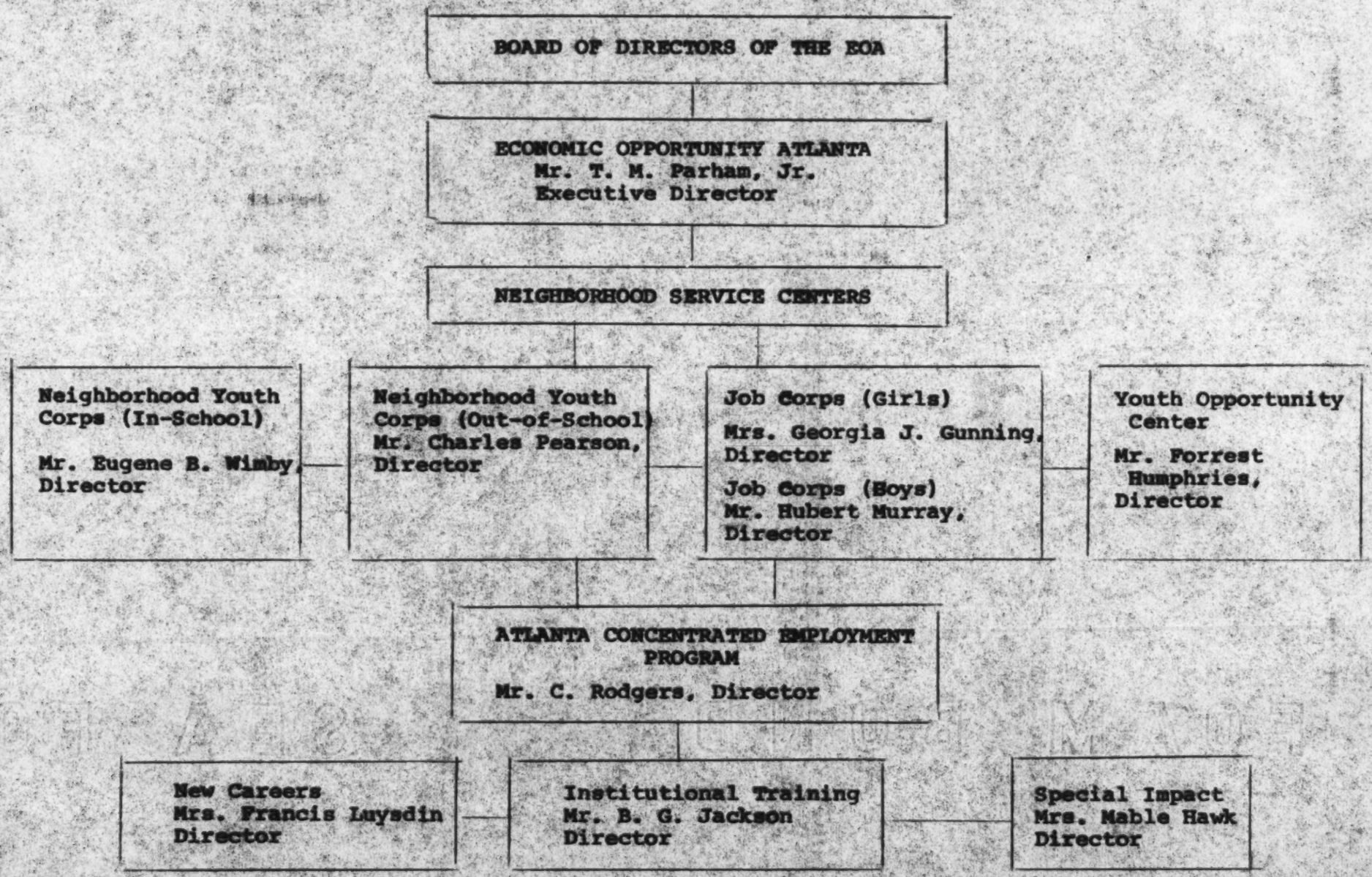
Central City 840 Marietta Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 873-6759	Mrs. Lucy Guthrie, Director Mr. Bill Bidgood, Manpower
East Central 486 Decatur Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia 577-1735	Mr. Allen Williams, Jr., Dir. Mr. Louis Perry, Manpower
Eastside Community Extension Center 547 Hunt Street, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 872-2445	Mr. Allen Williams, Jr., Dir. Mr. Louis Perry, Manpower
Edgewood 1723 Boulevard Drive, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 378-3643	Mr. Joe Wilburn, Director Mrs. Rodgers, Manpower
Gwinnett County 225 Perry Street Lawrenceville, Georgia 963-1808	
Nash-Washington 247 Ashby Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 524-2084	Mr. T. M. Pennington, Director Mr. Freeman, Manpower
Eagan Homes Extension Area Center 97 Chestnut Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 523-3186	Mr. T. M. Pennington, Director Mr. Freeman, Manpower
Vine City Extension Area Center 141 Walnut Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 993-9322	Mr. T. M. Pennington, Director Mr. Freeman, Manpower

(Neighborhood Service Centers cont'd.)

North Fulton 27 Oak Street Roswell, Georgia 883-3795	Mr. Earl Torglin, Director Mrs. Mary Drake, Intake-Counselor
Northwest (Perry Homes) 1927 Hollywood Road, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 799-9322	Mr. George Dodd, Director Mr. William Gython, Manpower
Pittsburgh 993½ McDaniel Street, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 523-1577	Mr. Jack Brice, Director Mr. Sam Devours, Manpower
Price 1127 Capitol Avenue, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 522-5792	Mrs. Pauline Clarke, Director Mr. Richard Miller, Manpower
Rockdale-Conyers 929 Commercial Street Conyers, Georgia 483-9512	Mr. B. Gambell, Director Mr. E. Brockett, Manpower
South Fulton 2735 East Point Street East Point, Georgia 767-7541	Mr. Jim Callan, Director Mr. Perry Hannah, Manpower
West Central 2193 Verbena Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 799-0331	Mr. Robert Wayner, Director Mr. Rodger Reece, Manpower
West End 727 Lawton Street, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia	Mr. Amos C. Parker, Director Mr. Ken Crosby, Manpower

Mr. Earl Torglin, Director
Mrs. Mary Drake, Intake-Counselor

Mr. George Dodd, Director
Mr. William Gython, Manpower


BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE EOA
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA
Mr. T. M. Parham, Jr.
Executive Director
NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTERS
Neighborhood Youth Corps (In-School)
Mr. Eugene B. Wimby, Director
Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out-of-School)
Mr. Charles Pearson, Director
Job Corps (Girls)
Mrs. Georgia J. Gunning, Director
Job Corps (Boys)
Mr. Hubert Murray, Director
Youth Opportunity Center
Mr. Forrest Humphries, Director
ATLANTA CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM
Mr. C. Rodgers, Director
New Careers
Mrs. Francis Luysdin
Director
Institutional Training
Mr. B. G. Jackson
Director
Special Impact
Mrs. Mable Hawk
Director

ATLANTA CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
523-1963
Mr. C. Rodgers, Acting Director

PURPOSE: To help up-grade job opportunities and skill for unemployable persons in the low-income category.

DESCRIPTION: The enrollees are recruited from the neighborhood service centers in the target areas: Pittsburgh, Price, Nash-Washington, Summerhill and West End. They are referred to the Atlanta Employment and Service Centers for intensive psychological, social and physical evaluations, for 2 - 3 weeks. After evaluation the enrollees receive 2 weeks of basic orientation and 6 weeks of pre-vocational training at the ACEP Institute Training Center. The enrollees may be placed in the following ACEP components:

1. Institutional Skills Training
2. New Careers Program
3. Special Impact
4. Neighborhood Youth Corps
5. Direct Job Placements
6. Other non-ACEP Programs

The enrollees also receive stipends for the number of dependents in the family during the training period.

ACTION: The ACEP Program as a quoter of 1,260 from September of 1968 til August of 1969. 60% of the enrollees are women and 40% are men, 70% are young men from 16-21.

FUNDS: United States Department of Labor and Georgia State Department. 3.5 Million dollars program.

NEW CAREERS
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
688-5140
Mrs. Francis Luysdin, Director

PURPOSE: To provide working-training experience for unemployed or low-income adults for entry level positions in non-professional occupational careers with advancement.

DESCRIPTION: New Careers is a component of ACEP and it recruits from the ACEP centers. The major objective of the program is to contribute to and facilitate the process of designing and creating new career jobs in public service. The program opens up career lines by setting up realistic entry level requirements and by making possible structured advancement to better paying and more responsible jobs.

Programs and Skills

1. Educational Program (work-training through an established accredited institution.)

2. Counseling and Guidance (vocational aspect of counseling and guidance.)

3. Nursery's Aid

4. Teacher's Aid

5. Health Education Aid

6. On-The-Job-Training

ACTION: 150 enrollees.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM
MANPOWER TRAINING CENTER
111 Ivey Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. B. G. Jackson, Director
523-6023

PURPOSE: To provide needed training, retraining, and basic educational courses for persons referred for training by the local offices of the Georgia State Employment Office or the ACEP Program or agencies representing the Department of Labor.

DESCRIPTION: The Manpower Development Act is designed to deal with the problems of workers facing job displacement and the special problems of the hard-to-employ. The Act is jointly administered by the Secretary of Labor and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The responsibility of the Secretary of Labor is to identify the need for training, eligibility for the payment, training,benefits and placing on jobs after training. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare provides Training Through State education or through other arrangements for the training of persons referred by the Secretary of Labor.

ACTION: Trainees receive stipends up to $50.00 a week depending upon family income and the number of dependents or heads of household. They receive medical services up to $1.00 per person.

Quota.....600
Students.....180
Drop-outs.....11%
Graduate.....58 (4 weeks of training)
Placement.....38
Faculty members.....33
General Education
Test.....10 (10 passed out of 11)

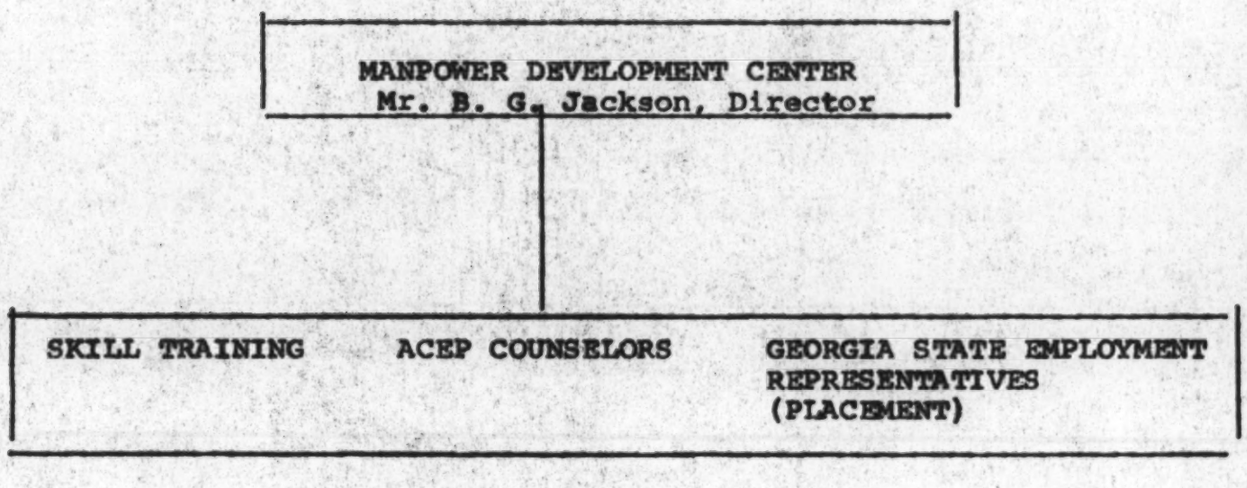
* 15 Students in each class; one white student
** Georgia State Department of Labor
*** Employees of the Atlanta School System (6 whites and 10 Blacks)
**** $6.00 fee is paid by the Department of Labor. (Personnel and counselor. 5 counselors - 2 whites, 3 Blacks.)

Skills

1. Automotive Mechanics - 48 weeks
2. Alteration and Repair
3. Building Maintenance Man - 10 weeks
4. Barbering - 23 weeks
5. Clerk, general office - 21 weeks
6. Cook, Hotel and Resturant - 18 weeks
7. Shipping and receiving Clerk - 18 weeks
8. Welding - 20 weeks

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor
Prime Contractor: EOA, Economic Opportunity Atlanta
Subcontractor: Atlanta Board of Education and
Georgia State Department of Education

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT CENTER



ATLANTA AREA TECHNICAL SCHOOL
1560 Stewart Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310
758-9451
Robert A. Ferguson, Director

PURPOSE: The purpose of the Atlanta Area Technical School is to prepare students for useful and gainful employment in occupations that do not normally require a four-year college degree. These occupational areas include the engineering technician, skilled business, office and health occupations. The total curriculum offered at the school was established on the basis of training needs of business and industry in the metropolitan Atlanta area, plus indicated student interest in the area of instruction.

Objectives:

1. To increase the individuals potential through planned instructional activities by using all the modern techniques of teaching that produce the best motivation for learning.

2. To equip every individual with the productive capacity to attain his economic, social and intellectual goals in our society.

In - Plant Training:

1. Atlanta Area Tech's Department of Industrial and Business Service enhances the pre-employment training of the school by assisting local industry and business with their continual problems of upgrading the skills and knowledge of their personnel.

2. The school Industrial Training Coordinators consult with the company in an effort to help them identify their training needs and develops appropriate courses. The coordinators also secure qualified instructors and administer the class to assure quality results.

3. Any organization private or public that has as many as fifteen employees who need training in a particular area can get assistance from our coordinators.

4. There is no cost to companies for the service of the coordinators or the instructors. A modest registration fee is charged for the student's instructional supplies and incidentals.

Learning, Earning and Educational Program:
(L E E P)

1. This program is designed to provide those students who want to prepare for a job but don't qualify for any of the school's regular programs because:

   a. They do not meet the basic education requirements, for their vocational choice.

   b. They are uncertain as to what vocational endeavor would be best for them.

   c. They cannot or do not want to spend over one quarter in preparing for a job.

FUNDS:

Vocational Division of the State Department of Education.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
URBAN AFFAIRS DIVISION
1412 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Sam M. Booth, Director

PURPOSE: To establish programs to upgrade the hard core unemployed segment in our society in the fields of basic education, employment, housing, transportation and economic development.

SERVICES: Counsel with our membership and other interested persons in community affairs as related to the hard core unemployed; supply these parties with action reports of successful programs in the above fields that have been conducted throughout the United States; assist in finding methods whereby these needs might be met in each community and industry as they see the need existing.

This is normally done by working with corporations and organizations in setting up a program to work with an individual to bring him up to job entry level so that he will become a productive employee, earning a good living for himself, and in most cases removing him from the hard core unemployed relief roles. Through a period of time, this enables him to accept his proper role as a citizen.

AREA SERVED: Souther Division - 12 Southern states

APPLICATION PROCEDURE: Interested corporations, organizations and individuals contact Sam M. Booth, 1421 Peachtree Street, N. E.

RECRUITMENT PROGRAM: Through letter contact with our member companies and through public press releases.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: All programs are financed in their entirety by the individual, industry, company or community implementing the program on a free enterprise basis.

DEFENSE MANPOWER FORCE PROGRAM
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
688-9491
Mr. Rubin G. Geeslin, Director

PURPOSE: To help provide jobs for hard-core persons with companies under government contract.

DESCRIPTION: This program is centered around companies that have government contracts or negotiating for government contracts, agree to hire 50% of their labor force from the hard core area.

ACTION: Only one company is participating in this program.

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER
Georgia Department of Labor Employment Security Agency
522 West Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
875-0971
Mr. Forrest Humphries, Director

PURPOSE: To increase employability of young people, ages 16-21.

DESCRIPTION: Testing, counseling, job referrals, job development, job training in relation to current labor needs. A remedial educational program is designed to help young persons who did not complete high school. The training program lasts from 12 weeks to one year. Recruitment is handled through the neighborhood service centers. Referrals are made to other manpower programs depending on individual interest.

ACTION: The monthly quota is 300.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor.

JOB CORPS FOR MEN
101 Marietta Street
Room 313
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
577-2855
MR. HUBERT MURRAY, DIRECTOR.

PURPOSE: To provide disadvantaged young men with an opportunity to acquire skills and attitudes needed to become useful and productive members of the community.

DESCRIPTION: Job training for out-of-school boys aged 16-21, who come from low-income families whose earnings does not exceed $3,500. Each applicant is screened and tested before leaving for a Job Corps Center. An applicant has to wait for a period of two weeks before leaving for a center. The centers are located throughout the country on government land or on college campuses. The boys receive stipends of $30.00 a month for living allowances and $50.00 a month goes into a savings fund which the boy receives at the end of the training program. Recruitment is handled by neighborhood service centers and field recruiters. The recruiters are given a quota of five boys per week.

ACTION: 2,012 boys have been sent to Job Corps centers in last two years throughout the country. 301 have been processed and waiting for assignment. 297 boys have graduated from different centers.

Skills

Welding
Bricklaying
Retail Sales
Appliance Repair
Landscaping
Electronics
IBM
Data Processing

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

JOB CORPS FOR GIRLS
Women in Community Service (WICS)
41 Exchange Place
Suite 503
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
526-3297
Mrs. George J. Gunning, Director

PURPOSE: To provide eligible young women with the opportunity for training in 18 Job Corps Centers and to learn basic educational and job skills.

DESCRIPTION: This program is for girls age 16-21 who did not complete high school. The girl receives $30.00 a month for living expense and $50.00 a month is placed in a savings fund for each girl and she receives the total amount after completing her training. The Job Corps also offers experience for girls to travel and to change environment.

ACTION: There are 850 girls in Job Corps Centers throughout the States.

<u>Skills</u>

Hairdressing
Clerical
Child Care
Nursery
Receptionist
Bookkeeper
IBM
Key Puncher
Librarian Assistant
Teachers Aid

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

GATE HOUSE
522 West Peachtree
Atlanta, Georgia
876-4331
Mr. Ernest Phibbs, Director

PURPOSE: To help Job Corps returnees with job placement in area they were trained.

DESCRIPTION: Gate House is a program that acts as a go-between for Job Corps returnees and business community. They may refer the individual to different agencies under the direction of EOA or the employment office. This program is related to the YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER.

ACTION: They have placed roughly 200 persons on jobs.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (IN SCHOOL)
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Room 213
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
524-7886
Mr. Eugene B. Wimby, Director

PURPOSE: To provide work experience and to help develop good work habits to enable young person to find suitable jobs after high school graduation.

DESCRIPTION: The youth are screened, interviewed, counseled within the high school by the principal or counselor. During the school year they will earn $1.25 per hour for 10 hours a week, summer $1.40 per hour for 25 hours a week.

ACTION: 665 for the school year 1968-69 and 1,292 for the summer of 1968.

JOBS

Office assistant
Clerical
Typist
Poverty Program Workers
Librarian Assistant
Teachers Aides
Janitorial Work
Job Corps Recruiters
Many others

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (OUT OF SCHOOL)
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
688-6232
Mr. Charles Pearson

PURPOSE: To help out-of-school unemployed youth to develop good work habits, ages 16-21.

DESCRIPTION: This program provides on the job training in non-profit organizations. The training usually lasts for two years. The youth earns $1.40 an hour for 32 hours per week. The neighborhood service center does the counseling and placement. Recruitment is handled through the neighorhood service centers in-take counselors.

ACTION: 440 positions are opened, 4,033 have participated in this program over the last three years.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN
415 Candler Building
125 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mr. Henry Reed, Executive Secretary
Mr. Bradley Currey, Metro Director

PURPOSE: The task of the National Alliance of Businessmen is to encourage private companies to put 100,000 men and women to work by June 1969, and 500,000 by June of 1971. The alliance will also work this summer to provide 200,000 jobs for youth in order to give them some working experience.

DESCRIPTION: NAB is an organization whose purpose is to mediate between the unemployed and industries. The company agrees to hire a certain number of persons from the hard-core area in a given year. Recruitment and placement is done mainly by the ACEP, and other agencies. NAB also has a sensitivity training session for supervisors or personnel manager who may have certain bias attitudes. The training sessions consist of role playing and role taking.

ACTION: 200 companies have 2,753 jobs for the year 1968-69. The total placement has been 4,397 over a year period. 1,637 have terminated and 2,767 are presently on the job.

FUNDS: This is a non-profit organization and work is done on a volunteer basis.

(NAB cont'd.)

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PROGRAM
215 Candler Building
125 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mr. Garner, Director (Georgia State Employment Security)

PURPOSE: To provide training skills for hard-core persons entering into a company.

DESCRIPTION: This program is designed to help companies with training programs for hadd-core persons at the expense of the government. The company is reimbursed for training cost for a certain number of individuals.

ACTION: Presently there are 14 companies participating in this program and 63% of the people on jobs are in training.

Skills

Welding	Machine Fixers
Clerical	Cloth Printers
Machine Operator	Cord Grinders
File Clerk	Weaver and Spinner
Auto Mechanics	Cutting and creasing pressman
Electronics	Industrial Truck Operators
Frame Cutters	Stock Clerks
Truck Drivers	Automotive Repair Work
Loom Fixers	
Furnace Operator	

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor and Georgia State Department of Labor.

GEORGIA STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
EMPLOYMENT SECURITY AGENCY
GEORGIA DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
254 Washington Street, S. W. State Labor Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Travis Stewart - Georgia State Employment Service
Walter O. Brooks - Employment Security Agency
Sam Caldwell - Commissioner of Labor

Refer to listings below for addresses and phone numbers of specific services.

PURPOSE: To bring together the qualified applicant and the em employer; to administer the Job Insurance function.

SERVICES: Interviewing; aptitude testing; counseling; selection; referral to job training or other agencies; administering the Job Insurance program. A counselor is assigned to each Neighborhood Service Center of Economic Opportunity Atlanta

AREA SERVED: State of Georgia

Located strategically throughout the five county Atlanta Metropolitan Area are five Georgia State Employment Service Offices which serve the Atlanta Area. Although the offices differ little in their basic function, several are unique in the type of applicant served:

PROFESSIONAL-CLERICAL-SALES OFFICE - 161 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303, Phone Number: 688-9050. Specialized in services to employer and workers inthe professional, clerical and sales field.

METROPOLITAN MANPOWER CENTER - 1 Peachtree Street. Specializes in services to employers and unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers in the services and industrial fields. In-depth counseling and special placement assistance is provided to adults who need this type service. The Center also houses the Atlanta Area Staff and the Employer Relations Representative Unit.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE/VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PILOT PROJECT: A joint project housed in the Metropolitan Manpower Center to furnish extensive service to applicants with explicit handicaps.

EAST POINT OFFICE - 1737 West Washington Avenue, East Point, Georgia, 30044, Phone number - 766-1471. A full functioning office serving all applicants in Clayton and Fayette Counties and the southern portion of Fulton County.

MARIETTA OFFICE - 61 Fairground Street, N. E., Marietta, Georgia 30060, Phone number - 482-0492. A full functioning office serving all applicants in its tri-county area: Cobb, Cherokee and Douglas.

BONDING DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM - A Georgia Department of Labor Program to furnish bonding for qualified workers who cannot secure employment in their field of work due to arrest, imprisonment, bad credit, or other records which made them ineligible for commercial bond coverage.

LABOR MOBILITY DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM - A Georgia Department of Labor program to financially assist workers on relocation of other jobs. This includes persons in the following categories: handicapped workers, those involved in mass layoffs, returning servicemen, Job Corps trainees, long-term unemployed, and workers displaced by technological changes in both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, individuals who have completed MDTA training and have been unsuccessful in obtaining employment locally and individuals who have work experience under Title V and for whom there are no local job opportunities.

STATE PRISON RELEASE PROGRAM - This program initiated by the Georgia Department of Labor is a joint endeavor undertaken by the Department of Labor, State Board of Corrections and State Board of Pardon and Parole designed to provide special assistance to releases and parolees in entering or re-entering the labor market. This program is directed toward developing a segment of the State's manpower which has formerly been neglected through counseling, testing and individual interviewing initiated by a task force at the prison release site prior to the inmates release. The prisoner is then, upon release, referred to the Releasee Program Representative in the local office nearest his home residence.

SELECTIVE SERVICE REJECTEE PROGRAM - A service provided by the Georgia State Employment Service at Georgia's only Army Induction Center to aid Selective Service Inductees who have failed to pass the Army Classification Battery or are physically disqualified by explaining the available services of the Employment Service and referring the individuals to the appropriate Employment Service Office.

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT - A program to provide occupational training through the various State Employment agencies for "those unemployed and underemployed persons who cannot reasonably be expected to obtain appropriate full-time employment without training.

Training under this Act is designed to provide workers with new skills where needed, to upgrade their present skills, and to meet the job needs of workers displaced by automation and technological change.

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM - This program is a cooperative program with the joint apprenticeship committees of several skilled trades. The Employment Service provides the screening and general aptitude testing required under an agreement established between the Employment Service and these committees.

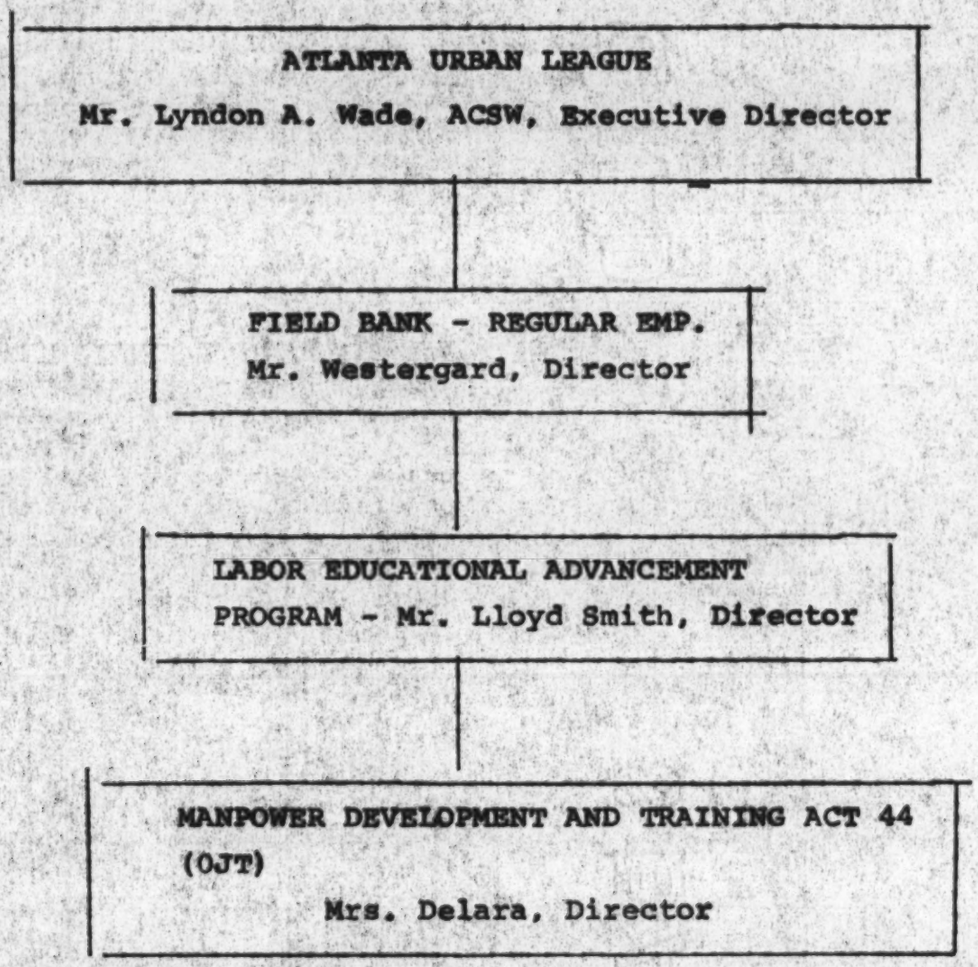
ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM (LEAP)
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 400
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8839
Mr. Lloyd Smith, Director

PURPOSE: LEAP is an apprenticeship program to help young men age 16 and up to learn trades in areas that are not traditionally held by Blacks.

DESCRIPTION: The enrollees in this program are recruited from ACEP, neighborhood service centers, and other agencies. In some cases, it has become necessary for enrollees to be tutored in reading in order to take an examination. The trades range from electronic to printing.

ACTION: 65 boys are in the program. 63 boys are being tutored for training and taking tests. 62 are working and being trained fndthe apprenticeship program.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor


ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
Mr. Lyndon A. Wade, ACSW, Executive Director
FIELD BANK - REGULAR EMP.
Mr. Westergard, Director
LABOR EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM - Mr. Lloyd Smith, Director
MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT 44
(OJT)
Mrs. Delara, Director

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF ATLANTA, INC.
15-17 Courtland Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303 688-1220

Stephen G. Youngblood, Director

PURPOSE: To provide work adjustment, work training and employment for the handicapped; to work with the public schools in helping slow learners; to try new methods of serving the handicapped and those who have poor educational and intellectual development, poor social adjustment(includes juvenile deliquency), inadequate income, and problems in discrimination and problems of community relations.

DESCRIPTION: Work evaluation by standardized tests; psychological testing where needed; job placement; sheltered employment; counseling services, both group and individual, by ministers, psychologists and vocational counselors; follow-up on placement; some recreational activities provided, as well as vocational guidance; recreational activities and chapel optional.

Training of 4 weeks to 6 months depending on individual.

Capacity of about 500 yearly.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE WHILE IN TRAINING: Vocational Rehabilitation pays $100 for full-time trainee and $50 for part-time trainee eligible for VR services. Both receive separate allotment for lunch, transportation. Trainee receives portion of fees, depending on individual productivity. Training and assistance not limited to those ineligible for VR, for whom no fee is charged.

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS: Ages 14 and over. There must be an identifiable handicap---physical, mantal or social; medical or psychological examination may be required. Should meet state Vocational Rehabilitation requirements; 60 days residence is required under normal circumstances, can be waivered.

AREA SERVED: Metropolitan Atlanta area; also individual cases from other parts of the State.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE: Contact Rehabilitation Director or Personnel Director at 15-17 Courtland Street, Monday through Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. or through Department of Labor or any other referring agency.

Referring agencies should send all medical data available.

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF ATLANTA, INC. (Cont'd.)

RECRUITMENT PROGRAM: Referrals from office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Labor or other agency; also walk-in applicants.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: Fees from Vocational Rehabilitation; sale of reprocessed items, United Appeal; Government grants.

AUSPICES: Voluntary

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
URBAN AFFAIRS DIVISION
1412 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309 892-0530

Mr. Sam M. Booth, Director

PURPOSE: To establish programs to upgrade the hard core unemployed segment in our society in the fields of basic education, employment, housing, transportation and economic development.

DESCRIPTION: Counsel with our membership and other interested persons in community affairs as related to the hard core unemployed; supply these parties with action reports of successful programs in the above fields that have been conducted throughout the United States; assist in finding methods whereby these needs might be met in each community and industry as they see the need existing.

This is normally done by working with corporations and organizations in setting up a program for work with an individual to bring him up to job entry level so that he will become a productive employee, earning a good living for himself, and in most cases removing him from the hard core unemployed relief roles. Through a period of time, this enables him to accept his proper role as a citizen.

ACTION: Southern Division - 12 Southern states.

Interested corporations, organizations and individuals contact Sam M. Booth, 1421 Peachtree Street, N. E.

Through letter contact with our member companies and through public press releases.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: All programs are financed in their entirety by the individual, industry, company or community implementing the program on a free enterprise basis.

MEMO: Letters and materials about the Southern Regional Council should be sent to the following persons:

Mr. Ruben Geeslin, Director
Defense Manpower Force Program
101 Mariette Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. G. C. Rodgers, Director
EOA Manpower Programs
101 Mariette Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Separate letter

Mr. Lloyd Smith Director
Labor Education Advancement Program
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 400
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Dun Garner
National Allowance of Businessmen
Candler Building
127 Preachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanata, Georgia 30303

Mr. Henry Reed, Executive Director
National Allowance of Businessmen
Candler Building
127 Preachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

file
stan
alexander

Stan Alexander

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

ATLANTA

The third of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by the
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
and the
Atlanta Council for Cooperative Action

Carl Holman
Research Coordinator

Stan Alexander!

Job Corps

Job Corps / the first 3 years

Is there a Job in your future?

Mrs Daniel
141 Alabama Street

Mr. J.C. ~~Wathers~~ Whatthe
- Atlanta Franchise

112 ways to use the services of MANPOWER® and SALESPOWER®

Stan Alexander

The Story of MANPOWER®

Stan Alexander

B

JOBS

National Alliance of Businessmen

Request For Proposal

MA-4_

REPORT

OF

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

MOTON MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA

July 24-26, 1970

FOREWORD

This Capahosic Retreat, the first for the "New VEP," was held at Holly Knoll amidst the relaxed atmosphere along the York River.

Our Executive Committee, our past and present supporters and friends, and the staff came together to talk about what has been done in the area of voter education and registration in the past, how we can profit from and utilize this experience in the future, the problems we face, and what new heights we may set our sights on within the new structure of VEP.

The following pages reflect the "documented" facts of what happened at our meeting. However, the warmth, support, fellowship, and goodwill generated during those three days could not ever be conveyed properly on paper.

I wish to express our appreciation for the continued demonstrations of belief and faith in what we are doing. This trust and confidence is the origin of VEP, and it will be the strengthening factor of our future.

-- John Lewis
Executive Director
VEP, Inc.

CAPAHOSIC MEETING REPORT

The first retreat for the Executive Committee and staff of the new Voter Education Project, Inc., began Friday evening, July 24, 1970, at Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia. John Lewis, Executive Director of VEP, presided over the opening session beginning with the keynote address by the Honorable Julian Bond, "Where We Are, and Where Do We Go From Here?"

Mr. Bond recalled Dr. Kenneth Clark's statement that elected officials provide black communities, for the first time, with democratically selected leadership. But he added:

> "Over and over again, black elected officials, black political hopefuls, and black political activists discover that the problem is more than getting registered and getting elected; it is having access to the knowledge, expertise, experience, funds, and associations that can make the difference between innocent, well-meaning incompetents in black-face, and viable, forceful, and effective representation for thousands of previously unrepresented people."

There is a need, Mr. Bond said, for regular and scholarly analysis of black voting patterns; how national legislation and metropolitanism would affect black political aspirations; how many new 18-year-old voters will be black; the backgrounds of black delegates and alternates to the 1968 political conventions; and what congressional elections will be influenced by the black vote in 1970 and 1972.

"The services available to black political activists need to be coordinated," Mr. Bond added. "The services available need to be more widely dispersed."

Mr. Bond also called for an independent and non-partisan "mechanism" to report on the successes, failures, problems, and errors of newly elected officials and to "call /them/ to account."

The questions and problems he had raised, Mr. Bond continued, could not be answered by agencies in New York and Washington that are too far removed from the southern struggle. Mr. Bond urged greater and stronger support for "the agencies and people in the South like the Voter Education Project who have demonstrated a continuing interest in the political fortunes of the black South, and who were willing to venture into it when it was more dangerous, physically and politically, than it is today."

David F. Rock, member of the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Holland, Freeman, Levison, and Gibert, then gave "An Analysis of How the Tax Reform Bill Affects VEP." Mr. Rock represented VEP in its successful effort to obtain tax-exempt status under the new law.

Mr. Rock described the Tax Reform Act of 1969 as an "overreaction by Congress to isolated abuses of the tax exemption privileges" and "a vehicle for angry elements in Congress who regarded their interests as somehow jeopardized by voter registration drives." He predicted that the Act might cause some small foundations to go out of business and turn over their funds to large foundations, thus concentrating philantropic wealth in fewer hands.

Mr. Rock described a "private foundation," as defined in the Act, and outlined the restrictions placed upon private foundations. Any propaganda or activity designed to influence legislation is subject to a penalty tax, he said. Non-partisan voter registration is permitted if (a) no more than 25 per cent of the funds comes from

a single tax-exempt organization ; (b) the funds are not earmarked for use in a single state or single election; and (c) registration activities are not confined to a single election period and are carried on in five or more states.

In order to meet the latter requirements, Mr. Rock explained, a ruling has been obtained from the Internal Revenue Service that each group supported by VEP is an agent of VEP. So that organizations giving money to VEP will not be covered indirectly by the same restrictions applying to VEP, money given to VEP is for use within the general framework of VEP's operations and is not earmarked for voter registration.

Restrictions also are placed on grants to individuals, Mr. Rock noted. He interpreted these restrictions as meaning that VEP could not give a grant to an individual except under certain circumstances, so that the individual could undertake research of his own choosing. However, VEP could employ someone to conduct research, making sure that the research would benefit primarily VEP rather than the individual employed.

If VEP gives funds to another private foundation, VEP must accept "expenditure responsibility" and see that the funds are properly spent. Funds spent by private foundations must be for purposes which are religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational.

Mr. Rock then described the Act's restrictions on "self-dealing." Any grants or payments to government officials, except reasonable reimbursements for travel, constitute self-dealing. "Government official" covers a wide range of elected and appointed federal and state officials, including executive and personal assistants and secretaries.

Such find-raising activities as dinners, raffles, and entertainments are permitted, Mr. Rock said, so long as these activities are not undertaken so regularly as to become a business in itself. Such things as magazine selling advertising to the general business community, or a movie house opened for general entertainment would be subject to taxation. Tickets for fund-raisers would be tax deductible to the extent to which the ticket price exceeded the service (e.g., the value of the actual meal at a benefit dinner) rendered.

On Saturday morning, July 25, with the President of the VEP Board, Mr. Donald L. Hollowell, presiding, members of the staff reported, beginning with John Lewis. Mr. Lewis' report focused on the voter registration activities of VEP.

Although there has been a dramatic increase in black registration, one-third of the region's voting-age blacks are not registered, Mr. Lewis pointed out. He said that interest is running high this year because of a number of crucial elections and VEP, Inc., already had some 200 applications for grants on file when it was able to resume its registration activities in June.

Even with the Voting Rights Act, Mr. Lewis noted, there are some areas in the South, particularly rural areas, in which registration barriers remain. He cited the case of Stewart County, Georgia, one of the first projects funded in June by VEP, Inc., and introduced Mrs. Clara Thomas, a registration leader from that county who had graciously consented to attend the meeting. Mr. Lewis added:

> "It has become rather difficult for us to justify the funding of voter registration efforts in large urban centers such as Atlanta, Memphis, and New

> Orleans, where more than 50 per cent of the blacks of voting age are registered, and there are few, if any, major hindrances to registration. We are committing funds for voter registration to those areas of the South where the need is more acute."

Much work remains to be done, Mr. Lewis declared, "in organizing the unorganized, registereing the unregistered, and providing a voice for the voiceless."

During Mr. Lewis' presentation, a new VEP register-to-vote tape was played, and the group voiced its general approval. The tape, made by Zebra Advertising Company in New York, is being sent to black radio stations in the South.

Dr. Charles Rooks, Director of Technical Assistance Programs, presented a paper which he summarized for the meeting, on VEP's service centers for black elected officials. After sketching briefly the positions and locations of some 600 black elected officials in the region, and mentioning the outlook for the election of more such officials in the next few years, Dr. Rooks listed the following ways in which service centers can assist black officials:

1. Orientation to office. This might be accomplished through preparing training manuals, conducting workshops, assigning a consultant or intern to render either short-term or long-term assistance, and arranging trips to consult with experienced officials;
2. Providing information on using an office in a positive manner. This might go beyond the training manual by providing information on government and private grants, assisting in grant applications,

investigating new means of obtaining grants, passing along information about accomplishments of officials elsewhere, providing special consultants, and providing staff aides;

3. Protection against charges of malfeasance. If not otherwise provided, accountants could be furnished to audit books when blacks take office in order to forestall accusations of financial mismanagement;

4. "Crisis" assistance. Black officials should have somewhere to turn when unexpected situations arise, either through chance or through deliberate harassment.

Some of this assistance could be provided by the service centers, Dr. Rooks added, but new means would have to be found to provide other assistance. He listed possible additional resources:

1. A "clearinghouse" of information for black elected officials. This clearinghouse would supply information on government programs, what other officials are doing, new ideas and experiments, and the like. This would be done on both regional and state levels.

2. Training programs for present and potential leaders. This would include training regarding such things as community organization, registration drives, and political campaigns, to be done within the limitations on the use of tax-exempt funds.

3. Research into the experiences of places such as Fayette, Mississippi, Hancock County, Georgia, and Greene County, Alabama, where blacks take political control.

4. Use of graduate students, consultants and researchers to supply a wide range of assistance to school systems, including investigation into the use of Title I funds.

5. Use of graduate students in other fields -- law, political science, economics, business administration, and so on -- under an agreement, where possible, that would grant academic credit for work with a service center or directly with officials. A possible by-product would be a decision on the part of some of these students to do similar work after graduation.

The Director of Research, Marvin Wall, discussed research, publications, and future studies. Mr. Wall pointed out that research activities are necessarily limited by the amount of money available. Research activities, he added, are further limited by day-to-day responsibilities, including the following: Keeping progress reports on projects funded by VEP; answering inquiries from the Justice Department, Congress, the Civil Rights Commission, and others about Voting Rights complaints and in turn referring such complaints to the proper federal, state, and local authorities; answering requests for information from news agencies, USIA, political parties, civil rights organizations, authors, students, teachers, and others; keeping

statistics, information, and publications up-to-date; working with state VEPs, service centers, and other researchers in editing and preparing publications and voter education material; acting as a "broker" in getting various public and private agencies in touch with grassroots leaders and others with key information, and vice versa; and assisting VEP projects in researching state election codes, dealing with local officials, and meeting other problems.

But if money and time permit, Mr. Wall proposed several research undertakings:

1. A study of fraud, gerrymandering, legerdemain, and other election security problems. Results of this research would become the basis of a how-to-prevent-it booklet and, perhaps, an audio-visual presentation such as a film or film-strip. Mr. Wall said this material would be important in helping black voters and candidates protect themselves from election fraud.

2. An intensive survey to determine the accuracy or inaccuracy of VEP's current registration estimates. This would be done by employing teams of students to make county-by-county checks to obtain the best possible official or unofficial figures on registration, by race. Mr. Wall pointed out that the 1970 Census' general population characteristics soon will be available, providing new figures on voting-age population, by county and by race. He also noted that statistics on voting-age population would have to be

revised anyway when the new 18-year-old voting provision becomes effective. If registration figures are not available for every county, Mr. Wall explained, the survey would select enough key counties to provide a reliable statewide estimate.

Significant political breakthroughs can be expected in the future, Mr. Wall concluded. He said the predicted exodus of whites has not taken place in Fayette, Mississippi; Greene County, Alabama; Hancock County, Georgia; and Macon County, Alabama. Recalling Bayard Rustin's prediction made several years ago that Mississippi in 25 years would be among the most progressive states in the Union, Mr. Wall expressed the opinion that this dream is not dead.

Directors of VEP's three service centers -- Sherrill Marcus of Miles College, Thomas E. Smith of Southern University, and Antonio L. Thomas of Clark -- gave brief reports on the work of their centers.

Mr. Marcus said technical assistance currently being provided by his center includes: advice on federal-aid programs, legal advice, voter registration surveys, seminars for elected officials and consultants, community organization and neighborhood development. Mr. Marcus said a hoped-for expanded program would increase the center staff to give elected officials more assistance in community-action programs, to provide some officeholders with full-time interns, to provide more consultants, to print booklets, and to gather more reference material for the center office.

Mr. Smith reported that the Louisiana center is equipped to

render technical assistance in five categories: research, legal, leadership training, consultive, and resource materials. Where a large number of blacks have been elected to parallel office, workshops have been held in which they are made aware of the center's services. Legal problems are common during an officeholder's first term. The University Law School usually is able to handle requests referred by the center. If not, the officeholder is referred to the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, or some similar organization. Other divisions of the University, such as the College of Engineering and the College of Education, usually are willing to make their resources available at the request of the center.

The Louisiana center is organizing a Title I Task Force consisting of the center staff and representatives from the Law School and College of Education. This Task Force will visit localities to aid school board members, PTAs, and other community groups in evaluating existing Title I programs and recommending new ones.

Mr. Thomas reported on the difficulties he had encountered in involving students in the Georgia center's activities. On one occasion, he noted, student volunteers were enlisted to monitor meetings of public bodies, such as the school board and aldermanic board, in Atlanta. However, only a few of the volunteers actually participated.

Mr. Thomas mentioned efforts to communicate complaints from black communities to black officeholders. He added, however, that he was not sure how far VEP wanted him to go in this direction.

On one occasion the Georgia Center arranged for black community leaders to confront a gathering of officeholders, Mr. Thomas recalled, and this brought some criticism from VEP.

A discussion followed on utilizing students and faculty members to assist black officeholders. Board members said VEP must prepare for an increase in the number of black officials and anticipate their needs. There was a suggestion that students enrolled in Black Studies programs be recruited. It was stated that black students from the South would be preferred, but students of any race or region could be used. Students would have to understand their responsibility to the officeholder to whom assigned, and lay aside the desire to "do their own thing." One suggested means of assisting was that of preparing digests of proposed legislation and ordinances.

Enlisting the aid of the academic community was discussed at length. It was stressed that many students must work their way through college and cannot afford to work as unpaid volunteers. Hence either money or college credit must be offered. Ideas for approaching teachers of political science were discussed, and further discussion was reserved for the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

<u>Consensus: VEP must clearly define the services the centers are to provide, and the centers must become as knowledgeable as possible about other resources available to meet the needs of the growing number of black elected officials</u>.

The next discussion centered on whether VEP should limit registration activities to those counties having less than one-half of the blacks registered. While it was felt that efforts should be concentrated on these counties, it was also felt that factors in

areas with registration above 50 per cent should not be disregarded. Among these factors: interest in the community; projections as to the future of the community; number of black people elected and community interest developing therefrom; and presence of working community groups.

Consensus: There should be no hard and fast rule. VEP should provide support in those areas in which there is a good potential for black participation in the political process, always recognizing that exceptions will arise.

Then came a discussion about whether VEP should take part in direct action. It was recalled that VEP had been indirectly involved in direct-action situations, notably in LeFlore County, Mississippi, in the first half of the decade.

Consensus: VEP should not assume the leadership in direct action. However, it is recognized that situations might arise in which VEP involvement would be appropriate. Most of the time VEP should maintain an advisory role. Involvement of a grantee or prospective grantee should not affect funding by VEP.

A panel discussion was held on, "Current Needs in the South -- What's Ahead and VEP's Role." Panel Members were: Donald L. Anderson, Harry Bowie, E. D. Nixon, Leslie Dunbar, Norman Hill, and Julian Bond. Presiding was Frank Smith, Vice President of the Executive Board. Views of the panel members were as follows:

Bowie: Next year will be a major election year in Mississippi. Most blacks previously elected in Mississippi hold relatively minor positions. VEP should pay particular attention to

those areas in which 18-to-21-year-olds can be motivated to register. Moreover, certain counties are being reapportioned and total re-registration is being required in these counties. These counties should get special consideration.

Nixon: In Alabama, VEP should be identified with groups throughout the state. VEP needs to be sure all funds will be spent where they can be utilized. VEP needs to fund additional programs for maximum results.

Dunbar: VEP has got to have a sense of strategy as to what makes a difference in people's lives. There are a number of things needing to be done and there are a lot of expectations on any scale, but of all the necessary things for the South is to increase political participation by minority people. That is number one.

Hill: The A. Philip Randolph Institute has encouraged voter registration work by black trade unionists in major cities across the country. VEP should know which cities are included and make efforts to work with these black trade unionists.

Bond: More technical assistance should be available to black activists. Service centers should be an avenue of help for existing groups. Growth trends in business, industry, government, etc., should be examined to spot future employment opportunities, e.g., growth of hospitals means more jobs for nurses and hospital service employees.

Officeholders should not be allowed to serve without challenge. Their actions should be scrutinized and they should be held accountable to their constituents. There is a need to find out why some people who should run for office do not.

Anderson: Poor blacks in Southside Virginia are striving to solve their problems through Assemblies -- a sort of community organization succeeding where so many OEO Community Action Programs are failing. Each Assembly is a 50-member committee. In turn, there are higher committees consisting of representatives from the lower committees. Structure is along lines of British Parliament. Problems not solved at the Assembly level moves up to the higher committee level. The hope is to eventually move past multi-county level to statewide level. Assemblies are working on such basic needs as food and clothing, medical and recreational facilities, farm and consumer cooperatives, legal aid, family planning, education, employment, minority business enterprise, etc. Assemblies could spearhead registration drives.

Board member Henry Marsh said that VEP seems to be concentrating on Deep South states. He urged more emphasis on border states. Different strategies, he noted, may be necessary in rural and urban areas.

Mr. Bowie proposed a study of population migration in order to project, say 10 years ahead, where the black registration potential will be dropping. He suggested that groups already aided by VEP assist in locating groups to work in areas where no aid has been given. There are some areas, he added, which have not been assisted. It is especially important, he continued, that VEP give aid in those counties where re-registration is required.

The main problem in Alabama, said Mr. Nixon, is getting people to use the ballot. People have to be taught the power of the ballot, he added. Some blacks have fears about how they will be treated at the polls.

Chairman Hollowell asked if anyone could relate instances of devious actions to thwart black political participation. Mrs. Thomas cited the difficulties encountered in Stewart County, Georgia, the main one being arbitrary closings of the registration office when blacks were seeking to register. Mr. Nixon observed that the registration system works against the working man -- that is, the registration office opens after the working man goes to work and closes before he gets off.

Mr. Hollowell asked whether VEP could pay attorney's fees in legal actions arising out of registration projects. Mr. Rock felt that this probably could be done, so long as the legal action came about as part of the registration process. Moreover, Mr. Rock added, VEP is an educational organization. Enlightenment of the public about registration difficulties dramatized through legal action hence would be within VEP's tax-exempt status.

Consensus: Where projects encounter registration difficulties, each instance should be carefully and thoroughly documented. It is important to see that each violation is properly and officially reported to the appropriate local, state, or federal authority, whether or not that authority could be expected to take action. In this way, redress could be sought at the proper level, with the complaint and action documented.

Sunday morning, July 26, Chairman Hollowell gave a recapitulation of the three-day gathering, emphasizing the points of unamimity of the group.

It was generally agreed that although it is apparent that

voter registration needs the continued support of VEP and its friends, concentrated activity in the area of voter education seems especially urgent. Many suggestions for research and technical assistance projects were directed to the hundreds of newly elected black officials.

Through the interest and support of many old friends, VEP has been able to make a substantial contribution toward the enfranchisement of southern blacks. But this is only a first step toward full political participation. It now falls to VEP and its friends -- both old and new -- to ensure that the vote becomes an effective instrument to improve community life.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:30 a. m.

LIST OF CAPAHOSIC CONFEREES

Anderson, Donald
Anthony, Paul
Bond, Julian
Bowie, Harry
Branton, Wiley A.
Cashin, Joan*
Cleveland, C. Bron
Coleman, Elijah
Donaldson, Ivanhoe
Dunbar, Leslie
Edwards, John
George, Bryant
Gilmore, Thomas
Haas , Joseph*
Hill, Norman
Hollowell, Donald L.*
Marcus, Sherrill
Marsh, Henry*
Moss, Thomas
Nixon, E. D.
Patton, W. C.
Rock, David
Smith, Frank E.*
Smith, Thomas E.
Thomas, Antonio
Thomas, Clara
Watkins, Lucy
Wheeler, John*
Wheeler, Raymond*
Whiting, Raymond
Whiting, Basil
Harris, John R.

*Officers and Board Members, VEP, Inc.

VEP Staff

John Lewis
Executive Director

Thaddeus Olive, Jr.
Administrative Assistant

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

Charles Rooks
Director of Technical
Assistance Programs

Marilyn Adamson
Bookkeeper

Patricia Madsen
Research Assistant

Janet Shortt
Administrative Secretary

Daveta DeLaughter ("Lucky")
Summer Intern

Executive Committee Meeting
Moton Memorial Foundation
Capahosic Virginia
July 24-26, 1970

...ers in California

Are Selective Affairs

VEP * * *

Both Parties Seek to Sign Up Supporters, Bypass Foes; 'Cherrypicking' at Churches

#2 9/18/70

By P. F. KLUGE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES — Everybody's in favor of voter registration. It's "like apple pie and motherhood," says a California Republican politician.

"But," he quickly adds, "you've got to be selective. You've got to make sure you register the right mothers."

As practiced in California, voter registration is a discriminating but imperfect art, with each party seeking to sign as many of its followers as possible while enrolling as few of the opposition faithful as it can.

Political organizations everywhere try to use voter registration to further their own causes, of course. But such efforts take on special significance in states like California that purge nonvoters from electoral lists after every general election. In California, whose population is nearly 20 million, parties must struggle just to maintain past numerical strengths. For the Democrats, that task hasn't been easy. Since Ronald Reagan won a landslide victory over Gov. Edmund G. Brown four years ago, Democratic registration has slipped to 4.4 million from 4.5 million. In the same period Republican registration has risen to 3.3 million from 3.1 million.

Those figures might still appear to give the Democrats a comfortable edge. "But the GOP has greater party loyalty," says Elizabeth Gatov of the Democratic State Central Committee. "About 25% of the Democrats vote Republican, and we're lucky to pick up 11% of the Republican vote. This year we think the difference between our statewide candidates' winning and losing rests with voter registration."

A Crucial Test for Unruh

For Jesse M. Unruh, the Democratic state chieftain, registration is crucial. Mr. Unruh, who faces the tough job of trying to take the governorship from Mr. Reagan in November, has said: "There's no doubt that if all of California's unregistered voters would register and vote, I would win."

That's why Mr. Unruh's workers undertook this summer one of the most ambitious registration campaigns in the state's history. Four million voters were unregistered, and Mr. Unruh declared that "three of the four million would be mine" if they could be signed up. He set his goal at one million registrants—a figure he has said "would produce a damned near automatic victory." The Republicans set a relatively modest goal of 187,000.

The two parties will have to wait a while to determine the results of the drives. Although the registration deadline passed last week, the totals won't be in for some time.

Both parties acknowledge that the first law of voter registration is "dealing to strength"—hitting hard at those areas that traditionally contain many members of your party and few of the opposition. "We figure birds of a feather flock together," says Vincent J. Barabba, chairman of Decision Making Information, an affiliate of the GOP-oriented Spencer Roberts campaign management firm.

Registration Can Be Simple

Thus, registration is a relatively simple matter in Democratic bastions like east and south-central Los Angeles or GOP-dominated areas like Newport Beach. Both parties can "shotgun," or "cherrypick"—that is, send out deputy registrars to enroll new voters without fear of picking up an inordinately high number of the opposition.

"The Democrats could set up a card table on a street corner in Los Angeles, and three out of five new voters would go their way," says George Kelly, director of precinct operations for the California Republican Party. "They could set up a table outside an unemployment office and they'd get eight out of 10."

That's what the Democrats did—and more. In predominantly Negro south-central Los Angeles, Democrats stood outside banks on Fridays, which are paydays, and outside churches on Sundays. They haunted car washes. "They're good places because people are just standing around waiting for the job to get done," a Democratic official says.

But registration becomes a far more sophisticated task in the marginal districts—uncertain areas where neighborhoods have changed or party loyalties are fickle and precinct organizations are weak. It's here that California law helps the parties register the right people by permitting them to send out so-called bird dogs with their deputy registrars.

The deputies solicit new registrations and fill out necessary affidavits but are obliged to accommodate any new voter, regardless of party preference. So, to prevent registration of a large number of opposition voters, distinctly partisan bird dogs accompany the supposedly neutral deputies. The advance men—called walkers, Indians or beaters as well as bird dogs—must have what one Democrat calls "the ability to pleasantly probe." They ferret out unregistered supporters of the parties and

Please Turn to Page 28, Column 4

Campaigns to Register Voters in California Are Selective Affairs

Continued From First Page

steer their deputies to them—and away from the opposition.

Veteran registration teams learn their territories. While Democrats feel free to shotgun at auto plants, for example, they consider it mandatory to send bird dogs to aerospace facilities, where workers are less certain to be loyal Democrats. "You can't get into trouble as long as you use a bird dog," observes one Democratic worker.

But some deputy registrars of both parties claim they can spot a "friendly" from 50 yards. "You can walk through a Democratic neighborhood and tell which is a Republican home," asserts Mrs. Shirley Fraser, a GOP deputy in suburban Ventura County. "It's the one that isn't beat up—the one where the screen door isn't torn, where the lawn is mowed."

Mrs. Arlene Quilici, another GOP deputy in Ventura County, looks for the eagles. "There was this place with a little eagle knocker on the door and another eagle over the nameplate," she recalls. "I knew it was a Republican house even before I knocked on the door. Democrats don't put eagles out."

Other deputies develop techniques that would dazzle an encyclopedia salesman. Says one Democratic deputy: "Sometimes when they don't feel like registering, I ask them whether they don't believe it's their duty as a citizen to voice their opinion. If that doesn't work, I ask them—and this is illegal—if they really want Reagan to stay in another four years. And sometimes I mention I get 25 cents for every new registration. I ask them to register as a favor to me."

Deputies generally get such nominal payments from the county—a quarter, for example, for each new registration in Los Angeles County. But that's only a fraction of the price of party voter registration efforts, whose soaring costs worry politicians in both camps.

The average cost now is $1 a head for registration "and it's up to $2 in some contested areas," says Marvin Brody, an official of the United Auto Workers union here. Many political observers say even that figure is low. They note that extensive and competitive registration campaigns prompt additional—and illegal—payments to registrars by their parties and wages of up to $2.50 an hour for bird dogs. "We understand some of the parties have been paying extra, and we've told them not to do it," Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder Ray Lee says wearily.

It's unlikely, however, that the scent of money is what makes most bird dogs and deputy registrars run. Voter registration is mind-numbing, exhausting work conducted in the heat of the summer, well before interest in campaigns has crested and too soon to win credit for eventual victory or blame for defeat.

One Democratic aide calls registration "the blocking and tackling of politics." Whipping up enthusiasm for a registration effort is almost impossible, says a ranking GOP strategist in California. "It's like saying, 'Let's shovel manure. It's fun and it will clean out the barn.' It's one of the most uninteresting and unromantic jobs that a volunteer is likely to do," he observes.

for VEP

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC.

1970

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Personal Note From the Executive Director

I have had the opportunity since March to serve the Voter Education Project as Executive Director, succeeding Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., who assumed the post of Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund.

Vernon had been the Director since 1965. His work in the South laid a firm base for VEP and has assisted immeasurably in the smooth transition of this office.

I want to thank the Executive Director, Paul Anthony, the Executive Committee, and Staff of the Southern Regional Council, and our own VEP Board and Staff for the assistance they have rendered to me.

Nineteen-seventy marks the beginning of a new decade, a decade in which the Voter Education Project clearly has a significant role to play. We must continue to support the maximum participation of minority people in the political process. We must reach out and assist in the vital areas of voter education and citizenship education.

Our work is cut out for us. Because of the problems or reorganization, we only had about six months in 1970 to really do our job. In 1971, we must double our efforts to stimulate and educate and at the same time eradicate the remaining vestiges of discrimination which have so harmfully divided this society in the past.

It is my sincere belief that we can make the South the model for the nation -- black and white, rich and poor -- and that the day will come in the continued struggle when we will have overcome.

John Lewis

-- John Lewis

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC.

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John Lewis

Director of Technical Assistance
Charles S. Rooks

Director of Research
Marvin Wall

Administrative Assistant
Thaddeus Olive, Jr.

Coordinator of Special Projects
Thomas Houck

Administrative Secretary
Janet C. Shortt

Research Associate
Shirley W. Cooks

Research Associate
Patricia Madsen

Secretary
Gloria Gaines

Research Assistant
Claude Clopton, III

Administrative Aides
Elzadie Bradley - Marilyn Adamson

INTRODUCTION

The twelve months covered by this report were perhaps the most crucial in the history of VEP. The year began with the very existence of VEP in serious question. For several months after it appeared that VEP might survive, there was still uncertainty over whether sufficient funds would be available for an effective program. But as the year drew to a close, VEP had overcome all these obstacles and was moving into a larger scope of operations than ever before.

In December, 1969, Congress passed a new tax reform law, much of which was concerned with regulating the use of tax-exempt foundation funds. Several new restrictions on the use of such funds for voter registration activities were written into the law. Since one of VEP's primary purposes is to support voter registration activities and almost all of its funds come from foundations, this new law directly affected the existence of VEP. Eventually, as the law was interpreted, it became clear that VEP would have little difficulty in complying with most of these provisions, but one new requirement appeared to raise a very serious problem. Under the new law, an organization engaged in voter registration activities cannot receive more than twenty-five per cent of its funds from one source. The Southern Regional Council, Inc., of which the Voter Education Project was a part, received considerably more than one-fourth of its support from one foundation. After considering various alternatives, it was decided that the best

solution to this dilemma was to separate VEP from SRC. This meant that only VEP would be subjected to the 25 per cent clause of the new law.

It took until June 1 to complete the process of legally separating the two organizations and gaining a tax-exemption for the newly incorporated VEP. During this period, many of VEP's activities were curtailed, or fully suspended in the case of voter registration.

Although it required several weeks after incorporation to remove all the difficulties involved in receiving funds from foundations, VEP was deeply gratified by the response of its friends in the foundation world. Not only did those foundations which were supporting VEP when the new was enacted continue to contribute, but some of the foundations which had supported VEP in its earlier days also came back to assist VEP as it faced the new conditions imposed by the law.

This does not mean that VEP faces no financial problems in the future. Because there cannot be a dependence on any one or two large foundations to provide the bulk of its funds, VEP must broaden its base of support. During the last few months of 1970, efforts were begun not only to seek new foundation contributors, but also to develop a program which would raise money from other groups and individuals.

In addition to organizational changes, there were also important personnel changes at VEP during 1970. Mr. Vernon Jordan, who had directed VEP since December, 1965, resigned in

February to become Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund. His secretary, Mrs. Nobbie Morgan, moved to the Southern Regional Council to become Administrative Assistant. The Rev. John Morris, who had served as Special Assistant to Mr. Jordan, resigned in February also. And Mrs. Jerusha Brothers, formerly secretary for the VEP Research Department, became the secretary for the Executive Director of SRC. Miss Emma Jane Neelley, Research Assistant, resigned in July to take a teaching position.

Mr. John Lewis was named the new Director of VEP and assumed that position the first of March. Mr. Lewis came to VEP from the position of Director of the Community Organization Project of SRC. Before that, he had worked for the Field Foundation, and prior to that had been chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and a leader in the civil rights movement. Mrs. Janet Shortt, who had formerly worked for SRC, became Mr. Lewis' secretary. In August, Miss Elzadie Bradley was employed as Administrative Aide while Mrs. Marilyn Adamson took maternity leave. In September, Miss Gloria Gaines joined VEP as secretary, and on October 1, Mrs. Shirley Cooks joined the staff as Research Associate. Marvin Wall continued as Research Director; Thaddeus Olive, Jr., as Administrative Assistant; and Charles Rooks, who had been Research Associate, became Director of Technical Assistance Programs. Miss Patricia Madsen, Research Assistant, moved to the Technical Assistance Department.

During the summer, three Urban Corps Interns worked in

the VEP office. Miss Daveta DeLaughter, a senior at Morris Brown College, worked as secretary. Miss Jerrie Norris, a senior at Smith College, and William Millkey, a junior at Washington and Lee College, worked on a joint research project.

The staffs of the statewide VEP offices in North and South Carolina remained the same. In North Carolina, John Edwards continued as Director; William Towe as Research Director, and Miss Juanita Jackson as secretary. In South Carolina, Thomas Moss continued as Director, and Miss Carol Jacobs as secretary. The Louisiana VEP was closed in June, and the Director, William Samuels, entered law school at Southern University. In Arkansas, Elijah Coleman remained as Director, but Mrs. Joanna Edwards, who served as Research Director for several years, resigned because of illness. Mrs. Lorraine Walker now serves as secretary, and Mrs. Barbara Graves as part-time bookkeeper.

The staffs at the college-affiliated service centers for elected officials underwent some changes. Mrs. Taunya Banks resigned as Director of the Mississippi Center in June and her secretary, Mrs. Lillie Bell, resigned later in the fall. The Center at Talladega College in Alabama was terminated in May, and Professor Harold Franklin returned to full-time teaching at the college. At the Louisiana Center, Dr. Thomas Smith, who had been serving as part-time Director, assumed the position full-time in June. His secretary is Miss Yvette Marchelle. Mr. Sherrill Marcus, Director, and Mrs. Eva Carter, secretary, continued to operate the Miles College Center in Alabama. And the

staff of the Georgia Center at Clark College, Antonio Thomas, Director, and Miss Julia Blalock, secretary, remained the same in 1970.

When VEP became a separate corporation, a new Board of Directors was named and other Board members were added later in the year. A list of the Board members can be found at the beginning of this report.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE-SERVICE CENTERS
SPECIAL PROJECTS

As the number of black elected officials in the South increases yearly, the Voter Education Project continues to try to maintain and develop programs which will meet some of the needs they have in performing their official duties. Most of these assistance programs are carried out by four service centers which are located at predominantly black colleges, but the state VEP offices also render some assistance to officials, and the Atlanta VEP office directly sponsors a number of assistance programs.

The report which follows is not intended to be an exhaustive accounting of every activity engaged in by one of the offices involved in this program. Instead, it mentions most of the major programs and enough of the other functions to indicate the general types of activities which are conducted. For example, numerous inquiries are received on a great variety of matters related to public officials, and these inquiries result in research reports, referrals, or development of plans for new programs, but only a few of these are mentioned in this report. Likewise, numerous materials are distributed by these offices, but most of these will not be listed specifically.

Atlanta VEP Office.--The Voter Education Project sponsored several conferences and workshops during 1970. During the spring, two meetings were held to inform black school board members throughout the South about Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and to discuss with them ways in which they could try to

improve this program in their communities. The first meeting was held in Little Rock, Arkansas, and was attended by school board members from Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas. School board members from Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia attended the second conference in Durham, North Carolina. Outstanding experts on Title I and other educational matters were used to conduct these meetings.

Following up these meetings, VEP distributed to school board members and numerous community leaders materials on Title I and other educational programs. At the beginning of the summer, a workshop on Title I was held in Atlanta for several community workers who would be working on Title I problems during the summer and for the service center directors and some of their interns. In addition, VEP employed a representative who spent the summer informing community groups in Arkansas about Title I and how they could get involved in their school's program. Also, VEP sponsored during the summer an intern attached to the American Friends Service Committee who worked with community groups on educational problems.

In conjunction with the Georgia Center for Elected Officials, VEP employed two students during the summer to make a study of the Title I program in Atlanta. This study developed in response to the interest of one of the members of the Board of Education. The report which grew out of this investigation will be made available to interested persons, as well as the school board and other appropriate officials.

In response to an increasing number of requests for assistance in seeking federal government programs, VEP sponsored in August a workshop for service center directors, state VEP directors, several elected officials, and a few community leaders. This three-day workshop, conducted by a professional consulting firm, instructed the participants about the nature and procedures of federal programs in several fields, including housing, economic development, neighborhood facilities, water and sewer facilities, and others.

VEP sponsored a Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Fellow who worked in Greene County, Alabama, during most of 1970. Small fellowships were granted to two of the newly-elected black sheriffs in Alabama to enable them to attend a nine-day training conference before they assumed office.

During the latter part of the year, much attention was given to organizing an internship program which would provide assistance to most of the black legislators in the South during the upcoming legislative sessions. During this period, efforts were also made to develop plans and seek support for additional programs to assist elected officials, particularly in the field of technical assistance in applying for federal programs, which VEP views as one of the most needed areas of assistance.

Talladega College.--The Talladega Service Center, which initially was given responsibility to work throughout Alabama, except for Jefferson County, was closed at the end of May, and

all activities in Alabama were thereafter concentrated in the Center at Miles College. During the first months of 1970, the Talladega Center, under the part-time directorship of Professor Harold Franklin, was particularly active in working with the newly-incorporated town of Ridgeville. The Center assisted Ridgeville in securing an attorney, preparing an application for a water project grant, instructing the officials about various aspects of city government, and in starting a local newspaper. In addition to the work there, the Center gathered and distributed information and materials to a number of other officials around the state.

Miles College.--For the first half of 1970, the Miles College Center worked only in the Jefferson County (Birmingham) area, but in June the Center, under the direction of Sherrill Marcus, was given responsibility to develop a statewide program. The single most important activity which the Center sponsored during 1970 was a statewide meeting of black elected officials on December 4-6 in Montgomery. This meeting was designed to provide newly-elected officials with an orientation to their offices and incumbent or re-elected officials with additional information and advice on the continuing problems of their offices. Workshops, conducted by experts from government, academic, and private sources, were held for each office, as well as joint workshops on state and federal programs. In addition, public addresses by state, regional, and national leaders were given, and a discussion among Alabama officials laid the groundwork for

creating a statewide association of black public officials. Subsequent to this meeting, the Center director continued to meet with several of the newly-elected officials to arrange further assistance for them as they assume their offices.

Among the various other activities promoted by the Center during the year were the following:

In Fairfield, the director worked with members of the city council in demonstrating the need for water and sewer improvements and investigating the prospects of securing a government grant to meet this need. Also in Fairfield, in conjunction with some of the city officials and community leaders, the Center director helped reactivate an organization concerned with housing needs; the Center then provided information, secured consultants and federal officials for weekly workshops, and helped prepare the documents required for the group to start a housing program.

At the request of a school board member, the Center played an active role in the school desegregation activities in Jefferson County. The Center helped organize a series of meetings which provided the parents with more factual information on what was going on and informed the general public of the views of the black community. Further meetings were held to deal with problems which arose during the desegregation process.

In response to several requests for assistance in economic development, the Center convened a number of meetings which brought together concerned citizens, representatives of existing non-profit corporations, and some officials. The Center then provided

these people with pertinent information about their concerns and is assisting in arranging for the kind of professional consultation which they need.

During the 1969-70 school year, about twenty Miles College students served as interns with the Center. They were assigned to work with black members of the school and aldermanic boards in the several municipalities in Jefferson County. These interns assisted the officials in various ways, including filling requests for information, conducting surveys, and making observations on the content and style of the board meetings.

During the summer, four students were employed as full-time interns, and they worked in Jefferson County and in Anniston. Among the projects they worked on were a study of annexation problems in Jefferson County, preparation of booklets on Alabama government, and studies of the School Lunch and Title I programs. Their report on the Title I and School Lunch programs was given to the Human Relations Council which intends to follow through on some of the abuses which were discovered in these programs.

Southern University.--In June, Dr. Thomas Smith, who had been part-time director of the Public Affairs Service Center while serving as Assistant Professor of Political Science at Southern University, became the Center's full-time Director. This enabled the Center to give more attention to the needs of Louisiana officials and to begin developing new programs to meet these needs. A number of these new programs dealt with education. After the

November elections, the director provided orientation to the newly-elected school board members. Previously the Director had consulted with a number of school board members and community leaders about the Title I program in their schools and discussed ways in which the community could appropriately participate in the planning and evaluation of these programs. The Center organized a Title I task force which is designed to coordinate the resources of the Center, the Law School, and the School of Education and make these resources available to communities which are having problems with their Title I programs. The Director has also referred officials and community leaders concerned with desegregation problems to appropriate legal groups for assistance.

Other types of officials have also requested the assistance of the Center. For example, the Director provided orientation to office for a new constable, gave legal guidance on several problems confronting an alderman, and conferred with several justices of the peace on the operation of their offices.

During the legislative session, the Center provided Representative Ernest N. Morial with two law student interns. The Center has arranged for political science majors at Southern University to serve as interns for other public officials.

The Center Director spoke to several groups on matters of concern to them and has distributed information to officials

and community leaders throughout the state. For example, in addition to the educational problems mentioned above, he gave assistance on problems of reapportionment, on the fifty-three proposed amendments to the Louisiana Constitution, on the census, and on the general history of Louisiana politics and government.

One of the highlights of the year was a seminar on the Black Community and Public Service which was held on the Southern University campus. This two-day meeting involved several public officials, several faculty members, and hundreds of students in addresses and discussion on the role of black public officials and ways in which students and others could contribute to this field. One of the projects which is presently involving students and faculty in public service, the redevelopment project in Grand Coteau, was continued in 1970 with the Center being actively involved in the coordination of this program.

Tougaloo College.--For almost half of 1970, the Mississippi Center for Elected Officials did not have a director. Mrs. Taunya Banks resigned in June, and the new Director, Mr. Larry Rand, was not employed until December. During the first half of 1970, the Center conducted a number of activities, either on a statewide basis, or in response to particular requests from individual officials or communities. The Director investigated the procedures being set up for administering the 1970 Census and found several deficiencies; she then informed black officials, legal and community groups, and federal officials in an effort

to insure a fair and accurate count.

In response to numerous requests for information, the Center prepared and distributed documents on the following matters: County School Board Elections; School Trustee Elections; Congressional Elections; Electoral Offices to be Filled 1970-73; Important Elections, Registration, and Qualifying Dates 1970-1973; An Explanation of the New "Open Primary" Law; Federal Housing Programs; and State Taxation.

The Center assisted Representative Robert Clark during the three-month legislative session. This assistance consisted of bill summation and analysis, as well as research on particular problems.

Among the several assistance activities which were prompted by requests from individual officials were the following:

At the request of the Chancery Clerk of Claiborne County, the Director, along with an expert on educational programs, investigated the Title I program in that county, during which several blatant violations of the program were discovered. As a result of this investigation and the ensuing letters and hearings, a new Title I coordinator was appointed to reform the program. The other incident is typical of some of the activities in which the Center has been engaged in previous years. A candidate for a vacancy on the Jonestown aldermanic board (created by the resignation of an incumbent black alderman) was denied a place on the ballot through an erroneous legal opinion about the candidate's qualification to run. After investigating the situation

and checking the law, the Director involved a local civil rights attorney in the case and subsequently the candidate's name was placed on the ballot.

Clark College.-- In Georgia, unlike the other states where there are service centers, most of the black elected officials come from urban areas, and their background and needs are somewhat different from the officials who reside in small towns and rural areas. Much of the activity of the Georgia Center for Elected Officials has consisted of carrying out research projects for some of these urban officials, and this activity has resulted in unpublished reports for the use of these officials. For example, the Center has researched questions concerning city problems for the Vice-Mayor and some of the aldermen in Atlanta, and the Director has also gathered information and worked with some of the state legislators who reside in Atlanta.

In conjunction with a state legislator and an Atlanta alderman, the Center has been involved in establishing a committee on consumer affairs. This committee will accumulate data on consumer problems and assist both state legislators and city aldermen who want to introduce legislation dealing with these problems. In response to a request from a school board member, the Center in cooperation with the Atlanta VEP office, sponsored a study of the Atlanta Title I program by two student interns during the summer. The Center also is becoming involved in a study of rapid transit proposals as they affect the needs of the inter-city poor.

During the legislative session, a Robert F. Kennedy

Memorial Fellow was assigned to the Center to provide assistance to some of the state legislators. During the summer, a law student intern worked in the Center office doing research for various officials, and during the fall semester, two other interns were used by the Center, one working primarily on problems arising from the Atlanta aldermanic board, and the other working on projects requested by the Vice-Mayor of Atlanta.

All of the Center's activities have not been confined to the Atlanta area, however. For example, another law student intern was assigned during the summer to work on economic development projects with the officials in Hancock County. In response to a request from an official in Hilltonia, the Center arranged for a housing consultant to assist this official in investigating the prospects for a housing program there.

Throughout the year, the Center's Director has conducted a radio program which is designed to bring to the public the views of public officials and others on problems and events of concern to the Atlanta community. The Center has also been developing a seminar which will bring college students and public officials together for an examination of contemporary problems and the ways in which officials and community groups can tackle these problems.

RESEARCH

As part of the process of complying with the new tax law and separating from the Southern Regional Council, the Research Department of VEP worked in close cooperation with SRC, the tax lawyers, and others during the first five months of 1970.

During this time, the Research Department also moved ahead with preparation of texts for Know-Your-Government booklets on Alabama and Mississippi. The Alabama booklet now is in the editing stage, and the Mississippi booklet is in the re-write stage. Know Your Arkansas Government, written in 1969, was published in January, 1970, bringing the number of such booklets published to four. The National Roster of Black Elected Officials was published in February in cooperation with the Washington office of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. VEP supplied the names and addresses of black elected officials in the South, and MARC obtained the lists of officials from other states. A major study, The Atlanta Elections of 1969, was published in June. The VEP Newsletter was discontinued in March with the publication of Volume IV, Numbers 1 and 2.

In February, the Research Director appeared with the Director, Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., and a former Director, Mr. Wiley A. Branton, before the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The Voting Rights Act, which was the subject of their testimony, was extended by Congress in June.

The resumption of voter registration grants led this year to an unusually heavy volume of complaints and difficulties reported

by registration projects. These complaints were referred by the Research Department to the Department of Justice in Washington. For example, over a period of several weeks, the Research Department relayed a series of complaints from Stewart County, Georgia, to the Justice Department, and ultimately the Justice Department sent a representative into the county.

Throughout the summer, the Research Department distributed tapes, produced by VEP urging citizens to register and vote, to more than 70 black-oriented radio stations in the South. The Research Department also produced and distributed a poster, "Hands that pick cotton . . . ," which was specially drawn for VEP. The VEP booklet, How to Conduct a Registration Campaign, went into a third printing of 10,000 copies with revisions and new material.

During the summer and fall, there was a heavy flow of requests for election information from the media, government agencies, civil rights organizations, writers, foreign visitors, and news agencies, political parties, teachers, students, and others. State-by-state voter registration estimates were revised in July and August, and again in December.

VEP was represented by the Research Director before the Fulton County Board of Registration and Elections in an effort to secure more neighborhood sites and deputies for voter registration in Atlanta's low-income areas. This effort, in which VEP was one of many participating organizations, eventually was successful.

In September, the Research Director addressed the Resurgens Club in Atlanta and analyzed the Georgia Democratic run-off election.

In October, a major research undertaking was begun. It is a county-by-county survey to determine levels of black registration in as many counties as possible in those states where official state figures are not kept by race. Tennessee was selected as the first state, and that survey is virtually complete.

In November, the Research Department conducted a survey of black candidates who had run in the general election. A report on those who had won was prepared and distributed.

Two other studies were undertaken in the fall of 1970, but they will not be ready for publication until sometime in 1971. One is a study of the 1970 gubernatorial, congressional, and county elections in the Atlanta area. This study will continue the investigation into Atlanta voting patterns which was begun with the report on the 1969 Atlanta municipal elections. The second study is an investigation of turnout and voting patterns among black voters throughout the South in the 1968 and 1970 elections.

VOTER REGISTRATION - STATEWIDE VEPS

During the first five months of 1970, VEP suspended all voter registration activity, while it was undergoing the reorganization necessary to comply with the new tax law. After June 1, however, when all the legal hurdles were overcome, VEP once again began making grants to local communities in support of registration drives.

It was September before all the problems were ironed out and sufficient funds were received to resume full-scale operations in this important program. Although there was no way to recover the crucial months lost by this delay, VEP tried to make the most of the remaining time before the November elections. A total of one hundred voter registration projects was funded before the year was out.

Major voter registration efforts during 1970 took place in Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Towards the end of 1970, several projects in Mississippi received funding, and in Texas VEP initiated what will hopefully be a continued participation in the Mexican-American community with the issuance of a voter registration grant.

During the past two years, more than 220,000 black people have been registered by local registration programs. Local project directors have been able, in most cases, to receive the cooperation of local registrars in carrying out registration activities. One of the major exceptions was in Stewart County, Georgia.

During 1970, the three state VEP's in North Carolina,

Arkansas, and South Carolina, held statewide meetings where people involved in local projects throughout the state attended. Workshops on voter registration and citizenship education were held. John Lewis, VEP Director, keynoted two of these meetings, stressing the need to develop a "new populism" in the South, wherein poor whites and blacks would reject racism and come together in pursuit of their many common interests through the power of the ballot. The spirit displayed by the participants in these meetings encouraged this hope.

Through its field activities, VEP attempted to assess the leadership and organization of local projects and make judgments on the probability of a successful project in particular communities. The field activities also served as a monitoring system through which VEP could insure that the local projects adhered to the guidelines governing the conduct of voter registration drives.

In this involvement with local community projects, VEP became even more impressed with the urgent need to develop programs of citizenship education which will go beyond the scope of many of the voter registration programs. Many citizens not only need assistance in gaining an entrance into the political process by registering, but they need instruction in the nature of various government programs and processes, so that their political participation can lead to meaningful results for their lives. VEP sees as one of its major tasks in the future the development of materials and programs for this purpose.

This does not mean, however, that the job of registering voters in the South is nearing completion. There remains ahead the task of reaching the almost two million unregistered black people in the South, plus the newly enfranchised eighteen-to-twenty-year-olds. Also, many of those who have registered in recent years are facing the requirement of reregistering as part of the redistricting process in some communities.

South Carolina Voter Education Project.--The South Carolina Voter Education Project was active in many voter registration and education drives in 1970, working with local civic organizations, civil rights organizations, and interested citizens. On February 4, 1970, a joint meeting of the SCVEP and the State Conference of Branches NAACP was held in Columbia to plan a statewide voter registration drive for 1970. Attending the meeting were VEP congressional district and county chairmen, local NAACP chapter representatives, and the executive committees of both organizations. The VEP district and county chairmen held several subsequent meetings to further the registration activities.

Political participation by blacks in South Carolina reached a new high during the year. The number of black registered voters increased to 221,000. A number of black candidates ran for office, and some of them were victorious, including three who won seats in the state legislature. Also several hundred blacks participated in political party precinct organizations and in county and state conventions. More than 300 black delegates attended the state conventions of the political parties in 1970. Many blacks held offices

at various levels of party organization.

Although there were many gains in political participation in 1970, all problems are not yet removed. For example, in some counties registration drives met with opposition from the officials who operate the registration and electoral machinery. In Colleton County, the secretary of the county board of registration refused to register black citizens because they did not have identification numbers. These violations of the state laws were corrected by the South Carolina Voter Education Project office and the State Election Commission office. In Edgefield and Florence Counties, efforts to get blacks appointed as deputy registrars who could conduct registration throughout the county were met with opposition. In Edgefield County, the problem was ironed out by local workers and some state and county officials, but in Florence County, the complaint eventually was forwarded to the United States Department of Justice.

The SCVEP held its Sixth Annual Leadership Conference on September 19, 1970, in Columbia. In attendance were about four hundred VEP task force workers and community leaders. In addition to the keynote speech by Mr. John Lewis, Director of the Voter Education Project, three workshops were held during the conference, one on Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, one on Welfare, and one on Organizing a Community for Voter Registration and Voter Participation. Several private and government agencies cooperated in the sponsorship of these workshops.

North Carolina Voter Education Project.--Although registra-

tion activities on the part of VEP were curtailed until after mid-year, the North Carolina Voter Education Project still managed after this date to give assistance to numerous counties throughout the state in establishing and conducting voter registration drives. In addition to this registration work, the NCVEP concentrated this year on a statewide leadership conference, regional and local workshops, and the development of educational material for indigenous leaders and workers.

The Fourth Annual State Leadership Conference was held in September. Approximately four hundred persons attended the conference. The new voter registration laws were explained and the importance of the November general elections were stressed at the general sessions. Two leaflets, "Some Important Facts About the New Voter Registration Laws," and "Monitoring Public Meetings" were prepared for the conference. They were included in a kit with Know Your Government: The County Commissioners and Know Your North Carolina Government, and other educational material which was distributed at the state meeting.

Workshops were also conducted on the following topics: Voter Registration and Get-Out-The-Vote; Housing, Economic Development, Title I of the ESEA, and Monitoring Public Meetings. Mayors Howard Lee and Richard Hatcher were the speakers at the conference.

Support was given to the NCVEP First and Second Congressional District organizations. Workshops at their regional meetings and at the meetings of numerous local groups were conducted by the Director. In 1970, the focus of most of these workshops was on

how to participate effectively in precinct and other meetings of political parties. The booklet, You Too Can Take Part in Precinct Meetings, and other educational material were distributed at the regional and local workshops.

As a result of this work, there was a significant increase in the number of blacks who were elected as officers, ranging from the precinct committee to the state executive committee. There was a large increase in the number of black delegates to the county, congressional, and state conventions this year.

Contact was maintained with black public officials. Requests by these officials for information and other forms of aid were serviced on an individual basis. To meet the need of black officeholders and community leaders for specialized material about the problems of a particular community, state and local laws were researched and special material prepared on such subjects as: How an Area May be Annexed Into the City Limits; How Are the Members of a School Board in a Particular County Elected; How to Obtain Water and Sewage Services, etc.

In addition to the material mentioned above, the drafts of two booklets have been completed: Know Your Government: The City Council and Where It's At in North Carolina: A Research Guide for Organizers. Comprehensive files of publications and newsclippings about state and local government affairs, federal programs, voter registration, black public officials, and political campaigns and election results were kept during 1970, as in previous years.

Arkansas Voter Education Project.--In 1970, the Arkansas

Voter Education Project placed its major emphasis on citizenship education activities. The year began and ended with special attention being given to efforts to inform communities of the importance of their involvement in the educational system. The powers of local school boards and the procedures for running for school board positions were explained to community groups throughout the state. Approximately sixty black candidates ran for school board positions in 1970, but only about five of them were successful. AVEP prepared an "Analysis of the 1970 School Elections."

Later in the year, AVEP wrote to school boards throughout the state informing them of the law which allowed an increase in school board size from five to eight members. It was suggested that this would enable the boards to appoint minority group representatives in the interim before the next regular elections.

The AVEP Annual Meeting was held in Pine Bluff in October. The morning program included presentations by the candidates (or their representatives) for governor and lieutenant governor; a keynote address by Mr. John Lewis, Executive Director of VEP; reports from across the state; and an address by Mr. Ben Grinage, former Director of AVEP, on the "War's Impact on the Poor." Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, noted civil rights worker from Greenville, Mississippi, spoke at the luncheon meeting. The remainder of the program consisted of workshops on: The Impact of a Unitary School System on the Black Community; The Importance of Political Involvement at the Local Level; Pros and Cons of the Proposed Constitution and Amendment 1; and Employment and Income Mantenance.

Among the other meetings which the Arkansas VEP sponsored or participated in during 1970 were the following:

In February, AVEP, along with SOME (State Organization for Minority Envolvement), conducted a two-day seminar in Hot Springs for community people from eastern and southern Arkansas. This seminar dealt primarily with ways in which communities could more effectively solve their local problems. In July, a citizenship education workshop was held by AVEP in Pine Bluff. A record number of two hundred people from across the state attended the sessions, which were concerned with four main purposes: (1) to discuss the new proposed Constitution; (2) to give a simplified explanation of the new election code; (3) to explain what the National Welfare Rights Organization is; and (4) to discuss the Title I (of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) projects for 1970.

As usual, the Arkansas Voter Education Project worked with communities throughout the state on a number of other problems, and the Project continued to acquire and distribute resource materials which would be helpful to these communities.

PROJECTION - 1971

With 1971 already one month old at the time of this report, we can now anticipate with enthusiasm the kinds of programming VEP will be involved in during the coming year.

Voter registration and citizenship education should take on new dimensions in the coming months, with expanded concerns in the Mexican-American, low-income white, and Spanish-speaking migrant communities. The recent Supreme Court decision allowing participation in federal elections of youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one certainly should be met with strong responsive action which will include assistance to registration activities among this age group.

With the election of one hundred ten black officials in the 1970 elections, we can see the results of our ongoing funding of local level registration campaigns. In 1971, VEP will continue to respond to the necessary task of reaching as many of the unregistered black voters as possible throughout the South, with special emphasis placed on areas where we have the greatest number of black people yet unregistered.

We must continue to develop the kinds of workshops and materials that can stimulate participation in the electoral process. To this end it is our hope that all aspects of VEP -- the statewide programs, the service centers, and the Atlanta office -- can explore in 1971 ways in which citizens can be assisted beyond the act of simple registration. We must give greater service to our elected officials so that they might produce greater benefits for their com-

munities. We must better inform registered voters of how various government offices and programs affect their lives and how they can make an input into the operation of these programs. We must arm black voters with the necessary information and training to prevent electoral fraud and other maneuvers which seek to destroy the effectiveness of their recently gained franchise.

We plan to do the necessary research and prepare the appropriate materials -- both audio-visual and written -- to facilitate greater and more effective participation in their communities. And in the area of technical assistance to elected officials, we hope to expand this vitally important activity by making available to these officials specialists whose expertise can assist communities in their efforts to obtain government programs.

VEP in 1971 will thus forge ahead in its mission to remove the stumbling blocks that continue to plague minority group participation in the political process. In doing this, we will need to expand our staff and budget, develop new sources of funding, and continue to update our methods and materials so that we can be assured of the best possible results.

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APPENDICES

Grant Summary for Year Ending December 31, 1970

Voter Registration in the South: Autumn, 1970

Black Elected Officials in the Southern States, November, 1970

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC.

GRANT SUMMARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1970

ALABAMA	$ 31,835.00
ARKANSAS	13,971.07
FLORIDA	3,700.00
GEORGIA	33,380.68
LOUISIANA	23,810.00
MISSISSIPPI	35,515.00
NORTH CAROLINA	26,713.46
SOUTH CAROLINA	22,780.86
TENNESSEE	6,015.00
TEXAS	6,500.00
VIRGINIA	6,292.00
TOTAL	$210,513.07

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC.

GRANT SUMMARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1970

ALABAMA

70-2	Alabama Center for Elected Officials Birmingham, Alabama	$24,200.00	Leadership Training Program Development
70-35	Bessemer Voter's League Bessemer, Alabama	650.00	Voter Registration
70-49	Greene County Voter Registration Committee - Eutaw, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-50	Barbour County Registration Committee Eufaula, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-51	Marengo County Voter Registration Committee - Demopolish, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-52	Lowndes County Voter Registration Committee - Hayneville, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-53	Dallas County Voter Registration Committee - Selma, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-54	Perry County Voter Registration Committee - Marion, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-55	Sumter County SCLC Livingston, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-56	Wilcox County SCLC Camden, Alabama	585.00	Voter Registration
70-57	Hale County Progressive Association Greensboro, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-77	Morgan County Organization for Voter Education - Decatur, Alabama	150.00	Voter Registration
70-78	All-Macon County Voter Registration Committee - Tuskegee, Alabama	150.00	Voter Registration
70-79	Concerned Citizens for Voter Education - Greensboro, Alabama	500.00	Voter Registration
70-80	Bullock County Improvement Organization Union Springs, Alabama	250.00	Voter Registration
70-81	Marengo County Coordination Association Callion, Alabama	100.00	Voter Registration

70-82	Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights - Birmingham, Alabama	250.00	Voter Registration
70-83	Alabama State Coordination Association for Registration and Voting Montgomery, Alabama	150.00	Voter Registration
70-84	Clarks County Civic Association Coffeeville, Alabama	100.00	Voter Registration
70-85	Neighborhood Organized Workers Mobile, Alabama	250.00	Voter Registration
70-86	Pickens County Branch, NAACP Aliceville, Alabama	100.00	Voter Registration
70-94	Alabama Training Program - Sheriffs Hayneville, Alabama	400.00	Leadership Training Program Development
	TOTAL	$31,835.00	

ARKANSAS

69-6	Arkansas Council on Human Relations Voter Education Project Little Rock, Arkansas	$13,971.07	Program Development
	TOTAL	$13,971.07	

FLORIDA

70-17	Citizens Coordinating Committee of Daytona Beach, Inc. Daytona Beach, Florida	1,200.00	Voter Registration
70-18	Seminole Voter Education Project Sanford, Florida	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-19	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education Inter-civic Council of SCLC Tallahassee, Florida	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-20	Clearwater Branch, NAACP Clearwater, Florida	500.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$ 3,700.00	

GEORGIA

70-1	Georgia Center for Elected Officials Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy Atlanta, Georgia	$19,300.00	Leadership Training Program Development
70-5	Title I Conference Atlanta, Georgia	328.68	Development Program
70-6	The Black Citizens Organization of Crawford County Musella, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-7	Houston County Voters Committee Warner Robins, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-8	Stewart County Voter Registration Workers - Lumpkin, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-9	Citizenship Education Commission Fort Valley, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-12	Coweta County Voter Education Project Newnan, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-13	Rising Star Voter's League Indian Springs, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-14	Citizens Participation Council for Action - Athens, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-15	United Association for Progress Milledgeville, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-21	John Hope University Homes Registration Committee - Atlanta, Georgia	432.00	Voter Registration
70-22	Heeman E. Perry Homes Registration Committee Atlanta, Georgia	400.00	Voter Registration
70-24	Webster County Voter Education Project Richland, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-25	Black United Group of Griffin Griffin, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-26	Burke County Voter Education Project Waynesboro, Georgia	600.00	Voter Registration
70-27	Miss Eleanor Crittenden Morgan, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-28	Meriweather County Voter Education Project Greenville, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration

70-29	Pike County Voter Education Project Zebulon, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-30	Crisp County Voter Education Project Cordele, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-31	Warren County Voter Education Project - Warrenton, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-32	Taliaferro County Voter Education Project Union Point, Georgia	200.00	Voter Registration
70-33	Washington County Voter Education Project Sandersville, Georgia	1,320.00	Voter Registration
70-34	Jefferson County Voter Registration Project Louisville, Georgia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-45	Southwest Georgia Voter Education Project - Albany, Georgia	1,800.00	Voter Registration
70-90	YWCA's Youth Voter Education Action Project - Atlanta, Georgia	1,000.00	Development Program
	TOTAL	$33,380.68	

LOUISIANA

70-3	Public Affairs Service Center Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana	$23,810.00	Leadership Training Program Development
	TOTAL	$23,810.00	

MISSISSIPPI

70-4	Mississippi Center for Elected Officials Jackson, Mississippi	$19,750.00	Leadership Training Program Development
70-36	Coahoma County Youth Council of the NAACP Clarksdale, Mississippi	1,250.00	Voter Registration
70-42	Washington County Improvement Association Greenville, Mississippi	1,285.00	Voter Registration
70-87	Humphreys County Union for Progress Belzoni, Mississippi	1,700.00	Voter Registration
70-88	Sharkey County Voter Education Project Rolling Fork, Mississippi	1,640.00	Voter Registration
70-89	Sunflower County Voter's League Citizenship Education Project Ruleville, Mississippi	2,500.00	Voter Registration
70-91	The Greater Jackson Area Committee Greenville, Mississippi	1,950.00	Program Development
70-95	Yazoo County Voter League Benton, Mississippi	1,500.00	Voter Registration
70-96	Tunica County Union for Progress Tunica, Mississippi	1,440.00	Voter Registration
70-97	Holmes Countians United for Progress Durant, Mississippi	1,500.00	Voter Registration
70-98	Madison County Union for Progress Canton, Mississippi	1,000.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$35,515.00	

NORTH CAROLINA

69-19	North Carolina Voter Education Durham, North Carolina	$23,213.46	Leadership Training Program Development
70-59	Wilson Community Improvement Association Wilson, North Carolina	700.00	Voter Registration
70-60	Wayne County Voter Education Project Goldsboro, North Carolina	800.00	Voter Registration
70-61	Citizens Committee for Increased Voter Registration and Participation Charlotte, North Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-76	Greensboro Branch, NAACP Greensboro, North Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$26,713.46	

SOUTH CAROLINA

69-20	South Carolina Voter Education Project Columbia, South Carolina	$13,780.86	Leadership Training Program Development
70-10	Florence County Voter Registration Florence, South Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-38	Charleston County Voter Education Project Charleston, South Carolina	1,200.00	Voter Registration
70-39	Laurens County Voter Education Project Committee Clinton, South Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-40	Edgefield County Voter Education Project - Edgefield, South Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-41	South Carolina VEP Columbia, South Carolina	1,800.00	Voter Registration
70-46	Greenville Voter Education Project Greenville, South Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-47	Sumter County Voter Registration Committee - Sumter, South Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-48	Richland County Voter Registration Council - Columbia, South Carolina	1,000.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$22,780.86	

TENNESSEE

70-11	Maury County Voter Education Project Columbia, Tennessee	$ 1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-16	West Tennessee Self-Help Development Corporation Ripley, Tennessee	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-43	Knoxville Branch, NAACP Knoxville, Tennessee	2,000.00	Voter Registration
70-44	Nashville Frontlash Nashville, Tennessee	1,515.00	Voter Registration
70-74	Wilson County Council on Human Relations Hermitage, Tennessee	500.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$ 6,015.00	

TEXAS

70-92	Young Minds in Action San Antonio, Texas	$ 2,000.00	Voter Registration
70-93	Houston West End Development Cooperation Voter Registration Fund Houston, Texas	2,000.00	Voter Registration
70-99	Project Voter Education & Registration Houston, Texas	1,000.00	Voter Registration
70-100	The San Patricio and Bee County Voter Registration Council Beeville, Texas	1,500.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$ 6,500.00	

VIRGINIA

70-62	Isle of Wight Committee Smithfield, Virginia	$ 582.00	Voter Registration
70-63	South Hampton Committee Drewryville, Virginia	582.00	Voter Registration
70-64	Southside Portsmouth Committee Portsmouth, Virginia	582.00	Voter Registration
70-65	Amelia Committee Amelia, Virginia	582.00	Voter Registration
70-66	Prince Edward Committee Farmville, Virginia	582.00	Voter Registration
70-67	Charles City Committee Charles City, Virginia	582.00	Voter Registration
70-68	Lunenburg Branch, NAACP Kenbirdge, Virginia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-69	Cumberland County Voter Registration Committee Cumberland, Virginia	300.00	Voter Registration
70-70	Hopewell Improvement Association Affiliate of SCLC - Voter Registration Drive Hopewell, Virginia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-71	Dinwiddie County Civic League Carson, Virginia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-72	Greenville County Citizens Group Emporia, Virginia	500.00	Voter Registration
70-73	Sussex Improvement Association Waverly, Virginia	500.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$ 6,292.00	

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

Autumn, 1970

STATE	WHITE VEP*	BLACK VEP*	WHITES REGISTERED	BLACKS REGISTERED	PERCENT WHITE VAP REGISTERED	PERCENT BLACK VAP REGISTERED
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,311,000	315,000	96.9	65.4
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	728,000	153,000	85.6	79.4
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,495,000	302,000	95.3	64.2
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,615,000	395,000	89.9	64.4
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,143,000	319,000	88.7	62.0
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	690,000	286,000	92.2	67.7
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,640,000	305,000	81.8	55.4
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,104	668,000	221,000	74.6	59.6
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,600,000	242,000	89.9	77.1
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,599,000	550,000	73.7	84.7
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,496,000	269,000	79.7	61.6
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	16,985,000	3,357,000	84.5	66.9

*VAP = Voting Age Population, 1960 Census.

December, 1970

Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
4th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

November, 1970

	Alabama	Arkansas	Florida	Georgia	Louisiana	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Total	
Legislators													
State Senate				2					2	1	1	6	39
State House	2		2	13		1	2	3	6	2	2	33	
City Officials													
Mayor	4	5	1		3	3	3	2		1		22	
Vice Mayor			3	1	2	1	1		1	1	2	12	302
City Council	38	12	24	19	22	29	47	27	10	9	30	267	
Civil Service Bd.			1									1	
County Officials													
County Governing Bd.	7		1	6	10	4	3	8	2		2	43	
County Administration	1										1	2	60
Election Commission						15						15	
Law Enforcement Officials													
Judge, District Court							1		1			2	
Sheriff	4											4	
Coroner	5					2						7	
Town Marshall			1		4	1						6	
Probate Judge, Ordinary	1			1					5			7	127
Magistrate								9				9	
Court Clerk	3			1		1						5	
Constable	7		1		9	7			3			27	
Justice of the Peace	21	3			10	11			6		9	60	
School Board Officials													
School Board Members	11	34	2	10	13	14	12	6	4	10		116	116
TOTALS	104	54	36	53	73	89	69	55	40	24	47	644	

Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., 4th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

VEP

1971 Annual Report
Voter Education Project, Inc.

1971 Annual Report
Voter Education Project, Inc.

52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 522-7495

Introduction

Toward The Beloved Community...

By promoting minority group political participation in the South, the Voter Education Project, Inc. is ultimately working toward a goal which I like to describe as the Beloved Community—an all-encompassing, all-inclusive community of justice at peace with itself.

Gaining access to power through political involvement has been one of the single most important achievements of black Americans in recent years. We have seen the emergence of a revolutionary social and political movement—basically black and basically southern—which has the potential ultimately to make profound changes in the nature of national and international politics.

In the South, where more than half of the nation's blacks still live, the statistics of progress are impressive. Only five years ago, there were fewer than 100 black elected officials in the 11 southern states. At the end of 1971, because of increased black participation in the political process, there are 833 black officeholders in the South and literally dozens of black candidates have cleared the hurdles of two primaries in the State of Louisiana.

A significant increase in black voter registration has helped to free many black people whose lives were controlled by "white-only" politics from the local office of the justice of the peace to the halls of Congress.

While these developments are indicative of the fact that many of the most blatent barriers to black political participation have been overcome, the goal of a truly representative system of government in the South remains distant.

With over 2 million unregistered blacks over the age of 21 and the majority of 700,000 black 18-20 year-olds unregistered in the South at the beginning of 1972, it is obvious that there are still many bariers to black political participation and that much additional work is needed. Although black representation in public office continues to increase, we must face the reality that blacks are still seriously under-represented in the Southern political arena.

At the end of 1971, blacks in the South are on the verge of wielding substantial political power and making significant breakthroughs, but the promise of continued progress depends on continued and increased support for voter education and registration programs.

Political power alone cannot free people who have been enslaved for hundreds of years, but a new form of politics, the politics of hope, can be one means of building a truly democratic South. We sincerely believe that who governs does make a difference and that, through politics, we can once again place the problems of the poor and the problems of minority groups back on the American agenda.

This report contains a summary of the Voter Education Project program in 1971—a program designed to transform our rhetoric into reality. In 1971, with expanded programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and assistance to black elected officials, the VEP increased its role and its effectiveness in the South. With such innovations as the VEP voting rights tours, we have been able to communicate directly with the masses on an unprecedented scale.

At the end of this calendar year, we have little time for looking back. In many ways, we have viewed 1971 as a "dress rehearsal" for meeting the increasing needs and demands of the political year of 1972. Although the challenges and opportunities of 1972 will be far greater than any yet faced by the Voter Education Project, we are filled with a sense of hope that, with continued support and resources, we will be able to move one step closer to that Beloved Community which we seek.

John Lewis

John Lewis
Executive Director
Voter Education
Project, Inc.

December 31, 1971

The Voter Education Project, Inc.

The Voter Education Project, Inc. (VEP) is a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan tax-exempt, corporation which assists minority political participation in the 11 southern states of the Old Confederacy—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

History of VEP

The Voter Education Project was created in 1962 as part of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a bi-racial organization devoted to equal opportunities for all peoples of the South.

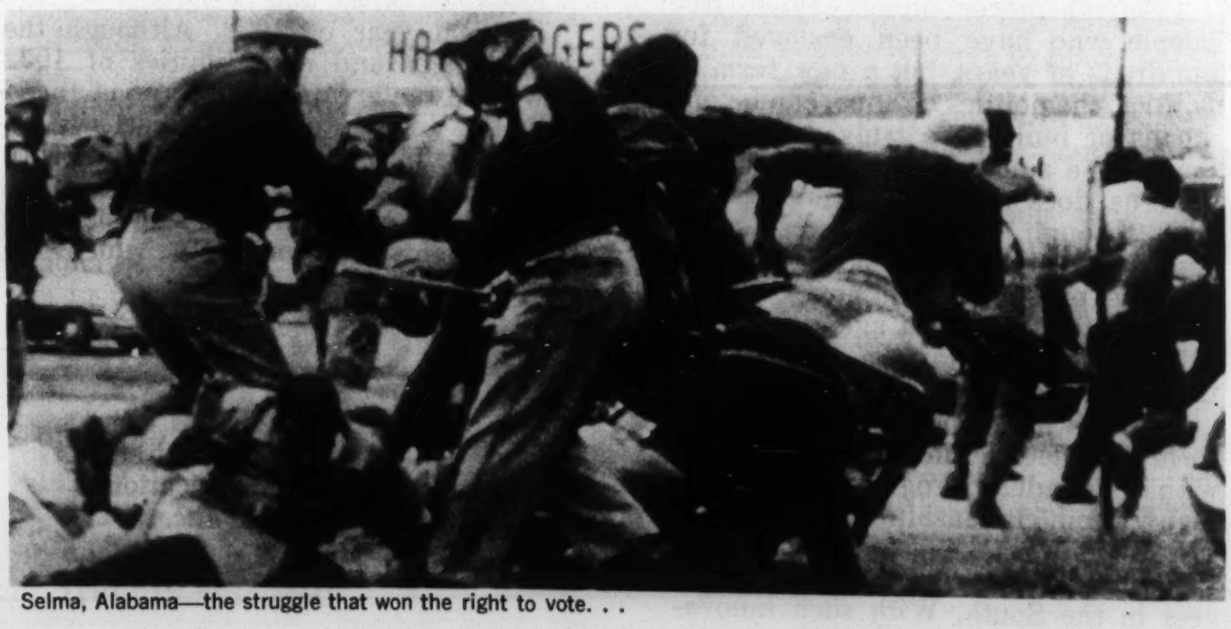
PHASE I: 1962-1964

In 1962, legal, political, economic, and social forces conspired, often through violent means, to intimidate minority political participation in the South. As a result, fewer than 30 per cent of the South's five million voting age blacks were registered to vote. At the same time, there were no black elected officials in five of the 11 southern states and only 50 holding public office in the entire South.

The VEP was established to investigate the causes of low political participation by blacks and to involve more minority group members in the political arena. In the first phase of operations, from 1962 through 1964, the VEP funded local voter registration drives, largely through major civil rights organizations. As a result of these early efforts, back voter registration in the South increased by 700,000 in the period from 1962 through 1964. At the end of 1964, there were still fewer than 100 black elected officials in the South.

PHASE II: 1966-1969

Years of anguish and struggle for the right to vote came to a head in 1965 when a small but courageous band of demonstrators attempted to march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to dramatize the denial of voting rights. The nonviolent marchers were set upon by policemen and brutally beaten—a bloody event which, as a result of public outrage, created a climate of support for the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.



Selma, Alabama—the struggle that won the right to vote. . .

Greater black political advances were possible after the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act struck down literacy tests and other discriminatory devices which had been used to keep blacks from the ballot.

In 1966, the Voter Education Project re-organized a program of voter education and registration to take advantage of improved conditions under the new law. Unlike the first phase of VEP operations, allocations for voter registration were made directly to purely local community organizations which had been formed or were then emerging throughout the region.

In the period from early 1966 through 1969, the Voter Education Project, in a massive effort to increase the number of black voters, funded more than 600 local projects in the 11 southern states. In the first year after the Voting Rights Act, black voter registration in some states rose 50 to 60 per cent. Overall in the South, more than a million black citizens became registered to vote between 1965 and 1969.

As black voter registration activity increased sharply in this period, there was a corresponding increase in the number of blacks who were being elected to public office. For the most part, these officials did not have the benefit of previous experience in government, so the VEP began to develop programs to assist them in the performance of their duties.

The VEP expanded its scope of operations by creating the service centers for elected officials on black college campuses in four states and, in addition, began to administer its program through the four statewide field offices.

PHASE III: 1970-1971

In 1970, VEP separated from the Southern Regional Council and became an independent corporation, largely as a result of the 1969 Tax Reform Law. One of the most serious problems arising from the new law was that no more than 25 per cent of VEP's funds could come from a single source—a sharp blow to an organization dependent on a few foundations for funding.

For a time, the very existence of the VEP was in serious question. The process of legally separating the two organizations and gaining a tax-exempt status for the newly incorporated VEP continued through May of 1970. During this period, many of VEP's activities were curtailed and its voter registration program was completely suspended. However, by the end of 1970, the Voter Education Project had regained momentum and again resumed the operation of a comprehensive program.

Board Members. When the VEP became a separate corporation in 1970, a new Board of Directors was named and, later in the year, more members were added. In 1971, the Board was again expanded to provide greater representation throughout the region.

Program. Program areas for the VEP were classified into four major categories—voter registration, citizenship education, assistance to black elected officials, and research.

Administration. The 1971 VEP program was administered by the staff of the regional office headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, the statewide VEP field offices in Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and the service centers for elected officials in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. All VEP offices were involved to varying degrees in the administration of the four program areas. In brief, the organizational structure is:

Atlanta Regional Office. Under the supervision of the executive and deputy directors, who oversee the entire VEP operation, the staff of the regional office in 1971 included the following components: field, research, special projects, communications, financial, printing, and secretarial.

Statewide Field Offices. Each field office was staffed by a state director and a secretary. In addition, the North Carolina VEP had a research associate.

Service Centers for Elected Officials. Each service center was staffed by a director and a secretary.

Funding. Historically, the VEP had been funded by foundations. In 1971, support was received from the Carnegie Corporation, The Field Foundation, The Ford Foundation, The New World Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York Foundation, Irwin-Sweeney-Miller Foundation, Cummins Engine Foundation, Youth Action Fund, and the Youth Citizenship Fund.

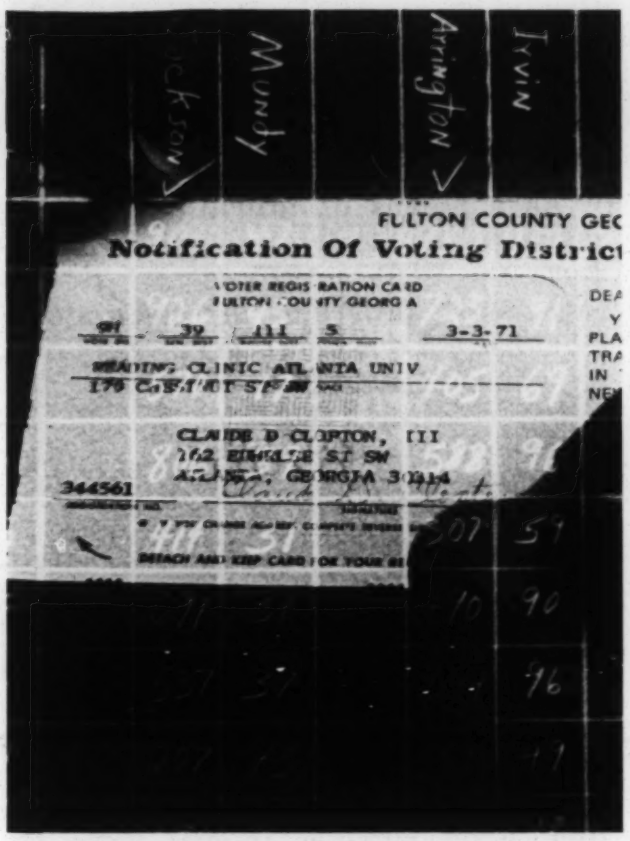
As a result of the conditions placed on the organization by the 1969 Tax Reform Law, in 1971 it became necessary for the VEP to seek to broaden its base of support by appealing directly to private citizens throughout the country. The gratifying response was an indication that many progressive individuals throughout the nation support the VEP efforts to achieve real democracy in the South.

Voter Registration

Voter registration has proven to be the key to black advances in the political arena. It has been responsible for an increase in the number of black elected officials and has increased the sensitivity of white politicians to their black constituents.

In 1971, there were still approximately two and one-half million unregistered voting age blacks, including 18-to-20 year olds. Thus a major emphasis of the VEP in 1971 was the continuation of voter registration programs which had proven to be effective and the implementation of new programs to reach unregistered minority group members.

Voter registration efforts by the VEP in 1971 included a system of allocating funds to local organizing efforts, assistance by staff members of the VEP regional and field offices, and a program of intern participation in four states.



GRANTS TO LOCAL GROUPS

In 1971, the Voter Education Project made grants to local voter registration groups in all eleven southern states. Under the VEP grant program, local community organizations must demonstrate the need for registration in their area and indicate in a written proposal the methods which will be used in organizing. The typical grant in 1971, ranging from $500 to $2,000, helped to defray unavoidable costs of local training workshops, publicity, canvassing, and transportation offices. For a state-by-state breakdown of voter registration and citizenship education grants and activities, see pages 22-23.

STAFF ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL EFFORTS

The staff members of the Atlanta regional office and the statewide field offices of the VEP played a continuing role of providing assistance to local voter registration groups in 1971.

Primary responsibility for the allocation of grants to local voter registration projects was centered in the Atlanta regional office. There the staff, primarily the field department, reviewed all program proposals and carried out the project selection process.

Under VEP guidelines, each local group which received VEP support was required to file a weekly progress report with the regional office. In addition, regional office staff maintained communication with local projects by telephone and by occasional field trips to the local registration projects in states with no VEP field office. By these means, the VEP was able to provide technical assistance to the local groups as the need arose.

In Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina, the statewide VEP staffs also reviewed local voter registration proposals, provided registration materials, and visited local project areas to set up workshops and assist in organizing and conducting registration programs. To a lesser degree, the four VEP service centers monitored registra-

tion projects within their geographic areas of responsibility.

VOTER REGISTRATION INTERN PROGRAM

As a means of providing full-time assistance to local voter registration efforts, the VEP in 1971 sponsored summer intern programs in four states—Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

In Arkansas, the four interns involved in the ten-week 1971 summer program assisted in adding hundreds of new voters to the rolls in a three-county area. The program was coordinated by the Arkansas Voter Education Project.

In Louisiana, five summer interns worked in an eight parish (county) area, concentrating their efforts in areas with heavy black populations.

In North Carolina and South Carolina, eight summer interns were assigned to communities which had received VEP grants. Under the direction of the North Carolina Voter Education Project, the interns assisted community people in voter registration drives and citizenship education programs.

VOTING RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

Enforcement of the provisions of the Voting Rights Act was a concern of the Voter Education Project in 1971. Throughout the year, the VEP served as a liasion between local registration groups and the U. S. Department of Justice in reporting allegations of voting rights violations.

A process of reregistration in Mississippi, approved belatedly by the Department of Justice, was sharply criticized by the VEP as an attempt to roll back black voting rights progress of recent years. In June, the VEP executive director testified on the matter before a House Judiciary Subcommittee in Washington. The subcommittee, after the hearings and investigations, concurred that the Department of Justice should have objected to the Mississippi reregistration.

Because of the reregistration process, the VEP asked that the Mississippi voter registration deadline be extended and that federal examiners be sent into the state to continue registration. Examiners were sent into three Mississippi counties, resulting in the registration of 1,311 persons.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 102 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

JACK TARVER, President — REG MURPHY, Editor

PAGE 4-A, MONDAY, June 14, 1971

Weapon of Change

John Lewis, director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project, was in Washington this Week, offering in testimony before a congressional subcommittee somewhat melancholy comment on the successes and failures of the effort to make black Americans part of the political processes in the South.

Lewis heads a non-partisan organization which helps direct and encourage black voter registration efforts in 11 Southern states.

Commenting on the effects of the federal Voting Rights Act, Lewis noted that until its passage in 1965 there were fewer than 100 black elected officials at any level in the South. Today, six years later, there are almost 700 black elected officials.

The number of black registered voters has increased dramatically across the South. In Mississippi for example, the total figure has moved from 28,000 to roughly 280,000.

There have been enormous strides made in seeing to it that black Americans be accorded the full rights of citizenship, Lewis indicated, but there also continue to be unhappy pockets of resistence to change, where black citizens are still discouraged from registering to vote, even if by methods far more subtle than a decade or so ago.

There is still violence in the South, aimed at black people. Lewis noted that such violence is far less than a few years ago but it is with us yet, as witness the apparently senseless slaying only days ago of a black high school girl in Drew, Mississippi. As Lewis commented, in a poignant aside: "Too many of us have attended too many funerals in the South."

Lewis' statement to the congressional subcommittee is a balanced one, taking into account both progress and continued difficulties in the battle for racial justice. We especially agree with one of his concluding comments, that the "power of the ballot can be a mighty weapon of change."

Citizenship Education

In 1971, the VEP utilized a variety of educational vehicles to promote citizenship education. Since citizenship education is often an integral part of the process of voter registration efforts, it is difficult to define this program area in isolation. For instance, citizens who have never registered to vote must first become acquainted with the importance of participation in decision-making and understand the nature of government positions and programs. In another example, the VEP voting rights tours described in this section were citizenship education efforts directed toward the end of voter registration.

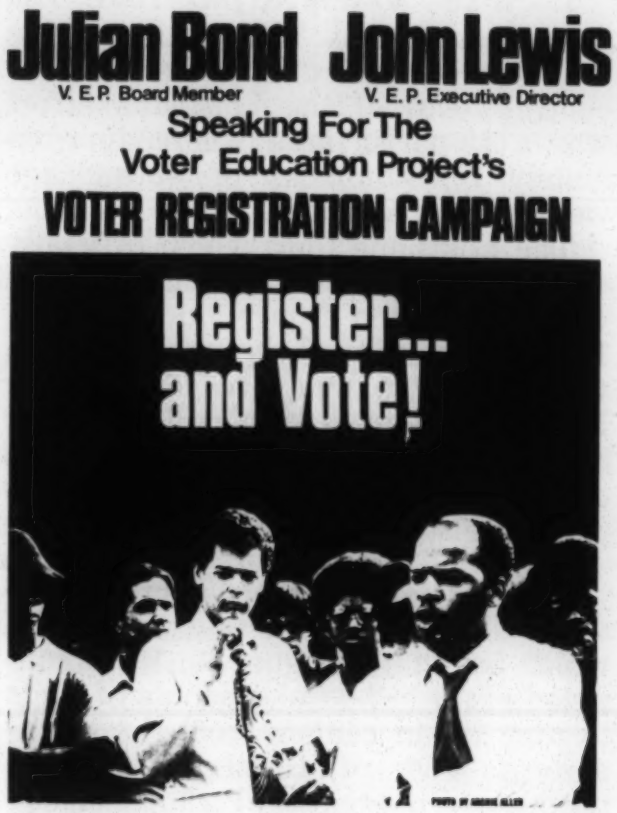
VOTING RIGHTS TOURS

For the first time in the history of the Voter Education Project, highly visible and well-publicized non-partisan voting tours were conducted in three southern states in 1971. The tours, which featured VEP executive director John Lewis and Julian Bond, a VEP board member, provided a vehicle for reaching large numbers of unregistered minority voters in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida.

The voting rights tours dramatized the potential of the black vote and encouraged the registration of minority group members in both rural and urban areas of the South. Prospective voters were reached through a series of public speaking appearances, rallies, and canvassing efforts in each state.

The tours also contributed toward keeping alive the spirit of hope and movement which has characterized many areas of the South since the dramatic days of the civil rights movement in the 1960's.

Mississippi Voting Rights Tour. In Mississippi, Lewis and Bond made more than 39 stops in 25 counties from June 22 through June 30, 1971. Their agenda included speeches in churches, schools, clubs, and public buildings throughout the state. During the days, they met and talked with potential



black voters wherever they could be found — in their homes, on the street, in the cotton fields, and in pool halls.

Since both Lewis and Bond had been active participants of the civil rights movement in the South in the 1960's, they were no strangers to the black masses of Mississippi. The warm response reflected the continuation of the vitality and commitment which has characterized the Mississippi civil rights movement for many years. Local voter registration workers reported that the tour was quite effective in boosting their efforts and had the effect of mobilizing large numbers of unregistered voters.

As stated by John Lewis, "Our trip was an attempt to conquer the fear that black citizens have. We had to demonstrate to the people of Mississippi that they were not alone in their struggle. We did not tell them who to vote for or what political party to join, but simply that they could begin to control their own destiny by registering to vote."

Louisiana Voting Rights Tour. The second successful VEP voting rights tour was conducted in Louisiana. The central focus of the Louisiana effort was a 15-parish area where approximately 70,000 blacks of voting age were yet unregistered.

The Louisiana tour, which officially opened with addresses at Southern University in Baton Rouge on August 2, 1971, and continued through August 5, was similar in many respects to the Mississippi tour. Lewis and Bond, in 33 public appearances, pointed out that over 200,000 blacks in Louisiana were yet unregistered.

Florida Voting Rights Tour. A two-day VEP voting rights tour of Florida, which began on August 29, 1971, consisted of a whirl-wind schedule of visits to nine urban centers from the southeastern town of Homestead to the northwestern area of Tallahassee.

The Florida tour was an attempt to mobilize minority voters who reside primarily in major metropolitan centers including Miami, Tampa, Orlando, and Jacksonville.

"Florida, unlike Mississippi and Louisiana, does not have a state-wide civil rights movement," commented Julian Bond. "It was our hope that the VEP drive could, through statewide voter registration efforts, tie together minority communities which have been separated in spirit and organization as well as by georgraphy."

RADIO TAPES

In 1970, the VEP had distributed tape recordings encouraging voter registration to black-oriented radio stations throughout the South. Due to a continuing demand for these one-minute spot announcements, additional tapes were made and distributed in 1971.

In conjunction with the voting rights tours, John Lewis and Julian Bond also made a series of promotional tapes to be used by radio stations in areas where voter registration and educational efforts were concentrated.

WRITTEN MATERIALS

The VEP continued the distribution of basic citizenship education handbooks in 1971 and issued several new publications.

A basic series of "Know Your Government" handbooks distributed in 1971 examined in detail various governmental positions and agencies and their duties and responsibilities. Other materials detailed the process of organizing registration campaigns, registering to vote, participating in precinct meetings, understanding the responsibilities of election officials, and acting as poll-watchers. For a complete listing of VEP publications, see page 24.

AUDIO-VISUAL PROGRAM

A series of slides and tape presentations were developed for use in a six-county area of Mississippi in the fall of 1971. The presentations described the form and contents of the paper, computer, and voting machine ballots in an effort to prepare black citizens to cast an effective ballot in the statewide general elections.

The audio-visual presentations were developed by the VEP staff and subsequently distributed throughout the six-county area by volunteer workers. The program was a six-week effort and was utilized in more than ninety communities.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CLASSES

In addition to the citizenship education components of most local voter registration programs, the VEP sponsored citizenship education classes which were conducted by the Tombigbee Council on Human Relations. These classes, attended by over 800 black citizens, were held in a five-county area of Mississippi in October, 1971.

The class format included short lectures by trained instructors, the dis-

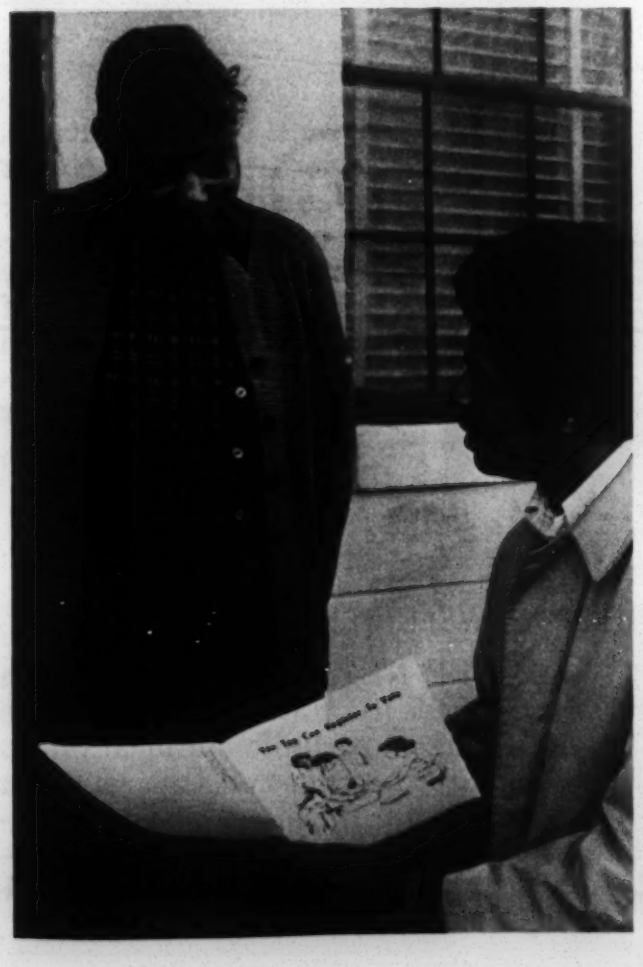
tribution of political handbooks describing the government structures and election procedures in each county, group discussions, and practice voting.

ARKANSAS CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CONFERENCE

In February, the Arkansas Voter Education Project held a political seminar in Little Rock which attracted 150 participants. Topics discussed included methods of participating in the political process, community organizing, local election laws, and the Arkansas Election Code.

NORTH CAROLINA CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT MEETINGS

Citizenship education workshops and meetings were held in four congressional districts in North Carolina. In February, a joint meeting of the First and Second Districts discussed the involvement of black parents in the public schools. The first meeting of the Third and Seventh Districts was organized in March and, after that session, separate district meetings continued. Topics discussed in the district meetings included registration drives, duties of elected officials, changes in election laws and regulations, and future political events in the state.



YOUTH PROGRAMS

In June, 1971, the scope of political activities was broadened as the last necessary state ratified the 26th amendment to the United States Constitution and 18-to-20 year olds were given the right to the ballot in federal, state, and local elections.

The VEP projectd that, by 1972, there would be 1,250,000 blacks between the ages of 18 and 23 in the South. Responding to the challenge of registering these new young voters, the VEP placed an emphasis on youth mobilization programs in conjunction with local voter registration efforts. The VEP encouraged the use of citizenship education materials which would attract and involve this important political populace in electoral activity.

At Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a voter education drive was conducted by the VEP service center to involve the newly enfranchised 18-to-20 year old student population. The drive included the distribution of educational materials, canvassing to reach unregistered students, and ultimately the actual registration of students at a temporary registrar's office which had been set up on the campus.

In December, 1971, a Youth Leadership Training Conference was held at North Carolina Central University. Over 300 young participants attended the workshop sessions, sponsored by the North Carolina Voter Education Project, to discuss youth registration, citizenship education, and electoral politics.

In Alabama, two youth meetings were convened by the Alabama Center for the purpose of coordinating youth voter registration campaigns. Both meetings were held in Montgomery and were attended by students from high schools, colleges, and communities from across the state. Several communities and institutions represented at the meetings followed up by conducting voter registration campaigns and formalizing organizational structures to continue their efforts.

The Arkansas VEP worked to help organize youth groups in Little Rock, Dermott, Parksdale, Wilmot, and Pine Bluff. In Little Rock, work was coordinated with the Mayor's Youth Conference.

A VEP registration campaign, organized in Madison County, Mississippi by the Mississippi Service Center, sought to register Tougaloo College students. The voter drive was initially interrupted by local officials, but later resumed after a Justice Department ruling that students should be allowed to register if they had not done so in their home towns. When the situation was again reversed by the Mississippi Attorney General, a suit was filed and a restraining order allowed continued registration of students until a hearing could be arranged.

LOCAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECTS

As previously stated, many local voter registration projects also incorporated citizenship education components in their programs. A complete listing of local voter registration/citizenship education projects which received VEP support in 1971 is found on pages 22-23.

"CHICAGO" CONCERT REGISTRATION TOUR

The big-band rock group, Chicago, conducted a southern tour on October 19-31, 1971, and combined their musical program with a voter education effort. In coordination with the VEP, the tour agenda included distribution of citizenship education materials and, in some instances, involved actual registration of young voters. The tour visited 12 cities in Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

VEP NEWSLETTER

The VEP NEWS, which had been discontinued in March of 1970, was resumed as a periodic publication to disseminate information to southern minority group members and the general public. Resumption of the publication began with the April-June, 1971 issue, Volume 5, Number 1.

Technical Assistance to Black Officials

As the number of black elected officials continues to increase in the southern states, there is a corresponding need for expanded programs of technical assistance. It is critical that black officials, long denied the opportunity to hold elected offices, be given every opportunity to demonstrate that they can, through their public positions, bring significant benefits to their constituents.

The VEP, through its regional office, the statewide VEP offices, and the field service centers, administered specialized programs, sponsored workshops, supplied legal and professional consultation, and provided interns for black elected officials in 1971. Highlights of these activities follow.

VEP SERVICE CENTERS

Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials. The staff of the Georgia Service Center, located at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, responded to numerous requests for technical assistance, research data and materials, and information from black elected officials. As a means of establishing a communications link between black elected officials and various black community organizations and individuals, the Center published and distributed a newsletter.

At the request of one staff official, the Center conducted a consumer affairs project. In addition to participating in the legislative intern program in Georgia, (described elsewhere in this section), the Center also sponsored interns who worked with two black elected officials in the city of Atlanta.

In Augusta, the Center was active in assisting black members of the city council in the implementation of recommendations contained in the National Urban Audit.

Alabama Center for Elected Officials. The Alabama Center at Miles College in Birmingham convened a number of special meetings for black elected officials. A meeting of circuit clerks was held in Montgomery to discuss the duties, responsibilities, and experiences of that office. Other special meetings included sheriffs who met at Tuskegee and Montgomery, coroners who met in Montgomery, school board members who met in Montgomery, and municipal officials who met in Birmingham.

A meeting of black elected officials in Alabama was held on July 31 in Birmingham, where black legislators gave a review of the 1971 legislative sessions. After the review, the officials held a business session which led to the establishment of a new organization—the Black Elected Officials of Alabama.

Through the Alabama Center, the VEP provided the following assistance to black elected officials in Greene County: legal consultation, assistance in housing and law enforcement, as-

sistance in setting up a teacher training/black skills program, bookkeeping, and other forms of assistance to the circuit clerk.

The Center initiated a series of conferences which resulted in the formation of the Housing Resource Service of Alabama, Inc., a non-profit agency set up to aid minority and low income persons in securing decent housing.

More than 3,000 volumes of books, were donated to the Center. At the request of the mayors, these books were distributed to the Hobson City Library and to Roosevelt City for use in tutorial and other reading projects.

In addition to these programs, the Center staff responded to numerous specific requests for assistance from local black officials throughout the state, maintained a research library, and distributed educational materials to black officials and citizens.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA—Representative Thomas Reed (standing), a member of the House Legislative Education Committee, addresses meeting convened by the Alabama Center for Elected Officials.

Louisiana Public Affairs Service Center. One of the most significant contributions of the Center's staff at Southern University in Baton Rouge was its research and work in the area of legislative redistricting and reapportionment. At the request of black officials, the Center Staff was active in providing research for the development of a reapportionment plan which would provide an equitable increase in minority group representation in the Louisiana legislature.

The Center also provided effective assistance to local black officials in developing reapportionment plans for police juries and school boards.

Continuing in its role as a resource agency for black elected officials in Louisiana, the Center provided office orientation or a number of black elected officials. The Center responded to requests for clarification of election laws and regulations, general information, and requests for more detailed assistance.

Mississippi Center for Elected Officials. Beginning with a statewide conference of black elected officials in January, 1971, the Center, located at Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, attempted to learn of the needs of black officeholders and to acquaint them with the potential of the Center's resources. As a follow-up, several political education workshops were set up to examine registration, redistricting, candidacies, and poll-watching.

Since 1971 was an important election year in Mississippi, the Center staff was called upon to produce many research publications. These publications included an election manual, state government manual, black voter statistics, explanation of the re-registration process in Mississippi, detailed descriptions of various local, county, and state offices, explanation of candidate's qualifying procedures, and clarification of the overturn of the Open Primary Law.

In July, the Center conducted an election law workshop for black elected officials and candidates in Madison County in which changes in Mississippi laws were noted and the regulations were clarified.

Throughout the summer and fall, the center served an important function by receiving, investigating, and attempting to conciliate complaints which frequently arose as black candidates entered the political arena. Such situations included the importation of white election managers from other areas into predominantly black districts and the disqualification of black candidates because of extremely minor errors on qualifying forms. During the election period, the Center assisted in efforts to establish the most extensive network of black pollwatchers in Mississippi electoral history.

After the elections, the Center began an analysis of black participation in the election and immediately arranged a workshop session for newly-elected black county officeholders to prepare them to meet the challenge of their offices.

LEGISLATIVE INTERN PROGRAM

Each of the service centers of the VEP participated in the supervision of legislative interns. The interns worked with black legislators in every southern state except Arkansas, which has not yet elected any blacks to its state house. Most of the 27 interns in the ten-state area assisted the legislators on a full-time basis for the duration of the legislative sessions.

The interns were involved in research on problems of concern for the legislators, analyzed pending bills, attended committee meetings and public hearings on behalf of the legislators, acted as liaison agents with government agencies, prepared news releases, answered mail, and responded to requests from constituents.

Black voters in Canton, Mississippi, November 2, 1971.

In addition to the legislative interns, the VEP also provided interns to several black municipal officials, including the mayor of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, the vice-mayors of Richmond, Virginia and Atlanta, Georgia, and a black alderman in Atlanta.

SOUTHWIDE LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT CONFERENCE

At the request of several black state legislators, the VEP staff in Atlanta convened a conference to discuss congressional and state reapportionment and redistricting. Over half the black legislators in the South attended the meeting in Atlanta on June 11 and 12, 1971.

The conference was coincidentally held shortly after two court decisions relating to the question of reapportionment were announced. The meeting, which included addresses by several experts on reapportionment and redistricting, was considered quite beneficial in that most state legislatures in the South had to deal with this crucial issue in 1971.

HOUSING CONFERENCE FOR NORTH CAROLINA OFFICIALS

The North Carolina Voter Education Project (NCVEP) sponsored a conference in Raleigh on July 16 and 17 to familiarize the state's black elected officials with funding programs and opportunities available throughout the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The Conference included a series of concurrent workshops on such topics as water and sewer grants, public housing, neighborhood facilities, and rent supplement programs.

VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE FOR ELECTED OFFICIALS

A working session for the benefit of black elected officials in Virginia was held in Richmond in December. The purpose of the conference was to help prepare the officials, especially those newly-elected, to meet the challenges of their positions.

Research

Basic to the implementation of workable programs in voter registration, citizenship education, and assistance to officials is a strong foundation of research. The following activities illustrate the inter-relatedness of research with other VEP program areas:

VOTER REGISTRATION

A major and continuing research effort performed by the VEP is the collection of statistics on current voting age population and voter registration by race in the 11 southern states. With the publication of the 1970 population statistics by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, the VEP in 1971 began to compile a new county-by-county breakdown of voter registration in the South.

Also in the area of voter registration, the VEP staff compiled, digested, recorded, and filed incoming research reports from local groups engaged in voter registration efforts.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

One of the most important research functions is the collection of information for the publication of citizenship education materials. Included in 1971 VEP activities were research efforts in the preparation of booklets, leaflets, newsletters, and reports. A list of VEP publications is included in this report on page 24.

ASSISTANCE TO OFFICIALS

A continuing research project for the VEP is the maintenance of a current roster of black elected officials in the South. This data is constantly updated and revised because elections are held throughout each calendar year in several southern states. The VEP published data on black elected officials twice in 1971—first in August, when there were 735 black elected officials, and again at the end of December, when the number had increased to 833.

As indicated in the previous program area, many of the requests received by the VEP from black elected officials involved a substantial degree of research. Although many of the requests received in 1971 were highly specialized and were crucial only in limited geographic areas, there were exceptions to this generalization. One example is the VEP research requested by black Georgia legislators—data which helped provide the basis for a successful challenge of the state's racially discriminatory reapportionment plan.

ELECTIONS CALENDAR

In 1971, the research staff initiated the collection of data which will ultimately be published in the form of an elections calendar. The calendar will include qualifying deadlines, election dates, and terms of office for many municipal elected positions and all county and state positions in the 11 southern states.

YOUTH POLITICS

Research on minority youth potential in the southern political system was a priority item in the latter part of the year. The VEP was concerned with identifying the locations and numbers of black and Mexican-American youth throughout the South.

1968 ELECTION ANALYSIS

A research effort begun in 1971 and scheduled for publication in early 1972 was a study of black participation in the 1968 presidential election and black representation at the national conventions. This research effort will provide black citizens and the major political parties a yardstick by which to measure "adequate and fair representation" at national conventions in the decade of the 1970's.

SCHOOL BOARD SURVEY

The North Carolina VEP distributed a questionnaire to the approximately 140 school boards in the state. The data obtained will assist the NCVEP in preparing for more intensive work with the more than 60 black school board members in that state.

DELEGATE SELECTION RESEARCH

In October of 1971, the VEP initiated an intensive non-partisan research study of state statutes and major political party regulations relating to the process of delegate selection to the 1972 presidential conventions. This comprehensive research, concluded in December, will be the basis for a series of handbooks, one for each southern state, to be published in 1972 to encourage grassroots participation in the delegate selection process.

RESEARCH INTERNS

The VEP research effort was assisted by summer interns secured through the Atlanta Urban Corps. The interns, whose period of service ranged from one to three months, assisted in the development of citizenship education materials on state and local government, the analysis of grant records of past VEP-supported local projects, and the statistical investigation of minority group youth in the South. Several interns remained with the VEP program into the fall of 1971.

1971 ELECTION SURVEY

In November and December, 1971, the VEP conducted a survey of the offices won by blacks throughout the year. This research served as the basis for a published report on black electoral activity in 1971.

NCVEP RESEARCH

The North Carolina VEP completed a variety of research efforts in 1971. These efforts included election law research, a state-wide election calendar, handbooks for voters in several congressional districts, a research guide for organizers, a state-wide black population analysis, a summary of black voter registration statistics for the state, a study of barriers to black political participation, and the completion of drafts of several "Know Your Government" handbooks for other states in the South. (See list of VEP Publications, page 24.)

CHANGING PRECINCT RESEARCH SURVEY

A VEP-supported survey of a selected precinct in Atlanta, Georgia, was begun in October to determine if the voter registration list contained an inaccurately high number of white voters who had moved from that area to the suburbs. The survey was also to measure the extent to which black voters who move from one section of the city to another continue to vote in the precinct of their old address.

SOUTHERN BLACK POLITICAL RESEARCH

The VEP issued a research grant in November to the Institute for Southern Studies to analyze the development of southern black politics in the 1960's, with emphasis on the challenge movements which have taken place in several states.

NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE ELECTION RESEARCH

A survey of black political participation in the 1971 Nashville municipal elections was completed and published in the VEP NEWS, Vol. 5, No. 2.

Projection '72

In 1972, the Voter Education Project will continue its non-partism efforts in the four program areas, but will increase staff involvement in organizing local communities to make greater use of the power of the ballot.

Most of the programs of the VEP in the past have been geared toward the development of political participation in the black community. This primary emphasis will continue, but there is now a need for a broader vision and a more comprehensive program.

In the year ahead, the VEP will begin to organize poor whites and Mexican-Americans—an important step toward developing meaningful alliances and coalitions with other groups whose resources have been exploited by the same social, economic and political structures. Within the new scope of VEP operations, the organizing of 18-to-20 year-olds to participate in the southern political system will receive high priority.

The VEP program projection for 1972 is an ambitious one which will require increased financial support. The need to continue support for the democratic revolution which is sweeping the South today must not be over-shadowed by the illusory glamor of the 1972 presidential campaigns.

The Voter Education Project is committed to continue its work of the past decade to made the dreams and aspirations of minority political participation a reality in the South. The VEP is confident that it will receive the urgently needed support from foundations, groups, and individuals of good will.

In this decade, the nation cannot be allowed to retreat from the needs of the present and the promises of the future.

The Board Members of The Voter Education Project, Inc.

PRESIDENT

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Commission
Atlanta, Georgia

VICE PRESIDENT

Frank Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

SECRETARY

Joan Cashin
Community Leader
Huntsville, Alabama

TREASURER

The Hon. Henry Marsh
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Richmond, Virginia

LEGAL COUNSEL

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Attorney-at-Law
Atlanta, Georgia

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for Mexican American Affairs
San Antonio, Texas

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Georgia House of Representatives
Atlanta, Georgia

Hodding Carter, III
Editor, Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

The Hon. Gwendolyn S. Cherry
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Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Vivian W. Henderson
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Harry Huge
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Washington, D.C.

Robert J. Palmer
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Sumter, South Carolina

John Ruffin, Jr.
Attorney-at-Law
Augusta, Georgia

Linda Shelby
Dillard University Student
New Orleans, Louisiana

Maxine Smith
Executive Secretary
Memphis NAACP
Memphis, Tennessee

E. W. Steptoe
Community Leader
Liberty, Mississippi

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Louisiana House of Representatives
New Orleans, Louisiana

John H. Wheeler
President,
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

James E. Youngdahl
Attorney-at-Law
Little Rock, Arkansas

Raymond M. Wheeler
Physician
Charlotte, N.C.

Voter Education Staff (December 1971)

Atlanta Regional Office

John Lewis
Executive Director

Charles S. Rooks
Deputy Director

Marilyn Adamson
Finance Officer

Archie E. Allen
Communications Director

Claude D. Clopton
Research Associate

Page Crosland
Research Associate

Gloria Gaines
Assistant Field Director

Thomas E. Houck
Special Project Director

Barnetta Jackson
Research Associate

Betty Ann Pender
Receptionist

Janet Shortt
Administrative Assistant

Mozell Varner
Secretary

Ronald B. Wray
Mailing & Printing Supervisor

Statewide VEP Offices

ARKANSAS

Elijah Coleman
Director

Margaret Martin
Secretary

NORTH CAROLINA

John Edwards
Director

William H. Towe
Research Associate

Juanita Jackson
Secretary

SOUTH CAROLINA

Calvin Harris
Director

Carolyn Jacobs
Secretary

Sevice Centers For Elected Officials

ALABAMA

Sherrill Marcus
Director

Mary L. Sanders
Secretary

GEORGIA

Willie Woods
Director

Julia Blalock
Secretary

LOUISIANA

Thomas E. Smith
Director

Yvette Marcelle
Secretary

MISSISSIPPI

Lary Rand
Director

Magnolia Obsborne
Secretary

Staff members employed for only a part of 1971 include: Christine Bailey, Elzadie Bradley, Eva O. Carter, Shirley Cooks, Harold L. Curry, William Ezell, Barbara Graves, Patricia Madsen, Harry Maples, Thaddeus Olive, Emily Paynter, Pamela Pritchard, William H. Samuel, Andrea Smith and Marvin Wall.

Local Voter Registration and Citizenship Education Projects Receiving VEP Support, 1971

Alabama

Anniston-Calhoun County VEP, Anniston.

Alabama Christian Movement, Birmham.

Alabama State Coordination Association, Montgomery.

Autauga County Voters League, Prattville.

Dallas County Progressive Movement for Human Rights, Selma.

Greene County Civic Organization, Eutaw.

Hale County Progressive Association, Greeensboro.

Lee County Voters League, Opelika.

Neighborhood Organized Workers, Mobile.

Pickens County Voters League, Aliceville.

Pike County Voters League, Troy.

Wilcox County Voter Education Project, Lower Peachtree.

Arkansas

Committee for Representative Government, Texarkana.

Concerned Citizens of Jefferson County, Pine Bluff.

Hampton Neighborhood Action Council, Hampton.

Florida

Central Florida Voter's Congress, Orlando.

Committee of Concern for Political Action, St. Petersburg.

Greater Jacksonville Voter Registration Project, Jacksonville.

Hillsborough County Coalition for Voter Education, Tampa.

Georgia

Atlanta-DeKalb Voters Council, Atlanta.

Augusta Caucus, Augusta.

Bibb County Coordinating Committee, Macon.

Black Community Action Group, Valdosta.

Black Concerned Citizens of Warren County, Mitchell.

Concerned Citizens of Bainbridge, Bainbridge.

Crisp County Voters League, Cordele.

Institute of Southern Studies, Atlanta.

Lithonia Civic Club, Lithonia.

Randolph County Voters League, Cuthbert.

SCLC Atlanta Project, Atlanta.

Screven County Registration and Betterment County, Sylvania.

Sumter County Improvement Association, Americus.

Louisiana

Bienville Parish VEP, Ringgold.

Central City Action Council, New Orleans.

Concordia Civic and Industrial Association, Ferriday.

East Carroll Voter Education Project, Lake Providence.

Grambling Progressive Voters League, Grambling.

Iberville Parish VEP, Plaquemine.

Madison Voters League, Inc., Madison.

New Roads Branch NAACP, New Roads.

North Bossier Voter Registration Project, Plain Dealing.

Richland Improvement Association, Rayville.

West Carroll Voters League, Oak Grove.

Mississippi

Amite County VEP, Liberty.

Bolivar County Education Committee, Mount Bayou.

Claiborne County Voter Registration Project, Port Gibson.

Community Improvement Project, Marks.

Copiah County VEP, Hermanville.
Gloster Voter Registration Campaign, Gloster.
Hinds-Madison-Rankin County VEP, Jackson.
Humphreys County Union for Progress, Belzoni.
Jackson County Voters League, Pascagoula.
Leake County VEP, Carthage.
LeFlore County VEP, Itta Bena.
Madison County VEP, Canton.
NAACP Youth Council, Clarksdale.
Noxubee County VEP, Shuqnelak.
Operation Registration, Jackson.
Panola County Voters League, Sardis.
Scott County Improvement Association, Forest.
Tallahatchie County United for Progress, Charleston.
Tombigbee Council on Human Relations.
V.E.R.T.-Co., Charleston.
Vicksburg-Warren County VEP, Vicksburg.
Washington County Improvement Association, Greenville.
Yalobusha Committee for Better Education, Coffeeville, Mississippi.

North Carolina

Citizens Action Committee for Progress, Chapel Hill.
Martin County Voter Education Project, Williamston.
Maxton Community Action Association, Inc., Maxton.
Moore County VEP, Southern Pines.
Nash County VEP, Nashville.
Pitt County Branch NAACP, Greenville.
Richmond County Progressive Association, Ellerbe.
Rocky Mount Black Unity Forum, Rocky Mount.
Southport NAACP Voter Education Project, Southport.
Volunteer Housewives of Kinston & Lenoir Co., Kinston.
Warren County Voters League, Warrenton.
Wilson Community Improvement Project, Southport.

South Carolina

Berkeley County VEP, St. Stephen.
Colleton County VEP, Walterboro.
Committee for the Betterment of Poor People, Hampton.
Dorchester County VEP, Ridgeville.
Georgetown VEP, Georgetown.
Get Out The Vote Committee, Bamberg.
Jasper County VEP, Ridgeland.
Marion and Dillon County Improvement Association, Georgetown.

Tennessee

Committee for the Development of the Black Community, Knoxville.
West Tennessee Self-Help Development Corporation, Ripley.

Texas

Operation Breadbasket, Dallas.
Tri-Community VEP, Crystal City.

Virginia

Concerned Citizens of Prince Edward County, Farmville.
Martinsville Henry Patrick Registration, Martinsville.

Publications Distributed by the Voter Education Project, 1971

ARE YOU TIRED OF BEING A SECOND CLASS CITIZEN (Mississippi Registration Handbook)

BLACK CANDIDATES: SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE by Julian Bond

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS, SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS, December, 1968

HOW TO CONDUCT A REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

KNOW YOUR STATE GOVERNMENT SERIES:

- Alabama
- Arkansas
- Georgia
- North Carolina
- South Carolina

NATIONAL ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

THE ATLANTA ELECTION OF 1969

VEP NEWS:

- Vol. 5, No. 1 - April - June, 1971
- Vol. 5, No. 2 - July - September, 1971

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH — Summer, 1968

North Carolina Publications:

BARRIERS TO BLACK POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1971 ELECTION CALENDAR

POPULATION OF TOWNS AND CITIES, 15% OR MORE BLACK

SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT VOTERS HANDBOOK

SOME IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT CITY ELECTION LAWS

SUMMARY OF BLACK VOTER REGISTRATION STATISTICS — December, 1969

THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT VOTERS HANDBOOK

VOTER REGISTRATION AND ELECTION LAWS

VOTER REGISTRATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

YOU TOO CAN TAKE PART IN PRECINCT MEETINGS

Financial Report

Board of Directors
Voter Education Project, Inc.

We have examined the statement of assets and liabilities resulting from cash transactions of Voter Education Project, Inc. (a non-profit Georgia corporation) as of December 31, 1971 and the related statements of cash revenues and expenditures of the various funds and changes in fund balances for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the assets and liabilities of Voter Education Project, Inc., at December 31, 1971, arising from cash transactions, and the revenues collected and expenditures disbursed by it during the year then ended, on a basis consistent with that of the preceding period.

Atlanta, Georgia
January 26, 1972

Alexander Grant & Company

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
(prepared on a cash basis)
December 31, 1971

	General Fund	Mary Reynolds Babcock Fund	Carnegie Corp. College Service Center For Elected Officials Fund	New York Summer '72 Fund	Cummins Engine Funds	Total
ASSETS						
Cash	$(2,641)	$(1,100)	$43,886	$695	$116	$40,956
Equipment	5,075					5,075
Less accumulated depreciation	(170)					(170)
	$ 2,264	$(1,100)	$43,886	$695	$116	$45,861
LIABILITIES						
Payroll taxes withheld	$ 994	$	$	$	$	$ 994
Account payable — due to Southern Regional Council on fund deficit at time of incorporation	6,214					6,214
Fund balance (deficit)	(4,944)	(1,100)	43,886	695	116	38,653
	$ 2,264	$(1,100)	$43,886	$695	$116	$45,861

NOTE

The Organization leases office space under a lease agreement expiring September 30, 1974, at an annual rental of $10,824.

Voter Education Project, Inc.
STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES—GENERAL FUND
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

Revenue	
Contributions from foundations	$394,500
Contributions from organizations	2,500
Contributions from individuals	21,108
Sales of literature	88
	418,196

Expenditures		
Grants to cooperating agencies	$175,843	
Salaries and payroll taxes	157,790	
Travel	26,081	
Tours	8,056	
Telephone and telegraph	10,829	
Executive committee, annual meeting	5,909	
Local seminars	6,595	
Consultants' fees and travel	5,697	
Books, subscriptions, research materials	638	
Office expenses		
Supplies	3,836	
Equipment	3,020	
Maintenance	791	
Equipment rental	2,028	
Other	15	
Depreciation (straight-line method)	170	
Postage	5,457	
Rent	6,436	
Printing	13,378	
Insurance		
Life, hospital and major medical	4,308	
Travel	405	
Retirement	4,044	
Legal and Professional	3,151	
Moving	1,654	
Other	6,214	
Unclassified	5,529	457,874
EXCESS (DEFICIT) OF REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURES		$(39,678)

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES—
MARY REYNOLDS BABCOCK FUND
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

Revenue	$ —
Expenditures	
Salaries and payroll taxes	1,100
EXCESS (DEFICIT) REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURES	$(1,100)

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES—
CARNEGIE CORP. COLLEGE SERVICE CENTER FOR
ELECTED OFFICIALS FUND
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

Revenue		
Grant		$ 83,000
Expenditures		
Grants to cooperating agencies	$91,177	
Conferences	1,734	
Interns	1,968	94,879
EXCESS (DEFICIT) OF REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURES		$(11,879)

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES —
NEW YORK SUMMER '72 FUND
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

Revenue	
Grant	$1,000
Expenditures	
Travel	305
EXCESS OF REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURES	$ 695

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES —
A. E. NORMAN FOUNDATION MILES COLLEGE SERVICE CENTER FUND
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

Revenue	
Grant	$7,000
Expenditures	
Grants to cooperating agencies	7,000
	$—

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES —
CUMMINS ENGINE FUNDS
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

Revenue	
Grants	$2,150
Expenditures	
Other grants	2,034
EXCESS OF REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURES	$ 116

Voter Education Project, Inc.

STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

	General Fund	Mary Reynolds Babcock Fund	Carnegie Corp. College Service Center For Elected Officials Fund	New York Summer '72 Fund	Cummins Engine Funds	Total
Fund balance at January 1, 1971	$ 90,499	$	$	$	$	$ 90,499
Excess (deficit) of revenue over expenditures for the year	(39,678)	(1,100)	(11,879)	695	116	(51,846)
Transfer of fund balance to Carnegie Corp. College Service Center for Elected Officials Fund	(55,765)		55,765			
Fund balance at December 31, 1971	$ (4,944)	$(1,100)	$ 43,886	$695	$116	$ 38,653

AUDITORS' REPORT ON SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

Voter Education Project, Inc.

The basic financial statements of Voter Education Project, Inc. for the year ended December 31, 1971 and our report thereon, are presented in the preceding section of this report. Our examination was made primarily for the purpose of formulating an overall opinion on those financial statements. The supplemental statement presented hereinafter, although not considered necessary for a fair presentation of financial position and results of operations, is presented as supplementary information and has been subjected to the audit procedures applied in the examination of the basic financial statements. In our opinion, the supplemental statement is fairly stated in all material respects in relation to the basic financial statements taken as a whole.

ALEXANDER GRANT & COMPANY

Atlanta, Georgia
January 26, 1972

REVENUE
(prepared on a cash basis)
Year ended December 31, 1971

	Amount	Per Cent
Contributions from individuals	$ 21,108	4.1852%
Contributions from organizations		
Smith College	1,000	.1983
Amherst College	500	.0991
Hampshire College	500	.0991
Mt. Holyoke College	500	.0991
	2,500	.4956
Sales of literature	88	.0174
Contributions from foundations		
The Ford Foundation	125,000	24.7846
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	50,000	9.9139
Carnegie Corporation Fund	83,000	16.4570
The Field Foundation	125,000	24.7846
Irwin-Sweeney-Miller Foundation	15,000	2.9741
The New World Foundation	40,000	7.9311
New York Foundation	20,000	3.9655
Cummins Engine Foundation	20,150	3.9953
Youth Citizenship Fund	1,500	.2974
Youth Action Fund	1,000	.1983
	480,650	95.3018
	504,346	100.0000%
A. E. Norman Foundation (Note)	7,000	
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$511,346	

NOTE

Since VEP operates on a cash basis, this $7,000 receipt which was received prior to December 31, 1970 but not recorded until January, 1971, appears as a contribution received in the year ended December 31, 1971.

Credits

Cover Art
KOFI BAILEY

Design
RUBY GARRETT

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UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL—4

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH

February 3, 1972

Voter Education Project, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303

INTRODUCTION

Since the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, the increase of one and one-half million black voters in the South has brought about a corresponding increase in the total number of black elected officeholders in the eleven southern states.

Prior to the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the number of southern black elected officials was fewer than 100. By 1966, that number had increased to 159. The number continued to rise with 385 in December, 1968, 644 in November, 1970, 735 in August, 1971, to the present figure of 873 in February, 1972.

While these figures represent the beginnings of substantial changes in the southern political process, one must be aware that the current total of black elected officials represents only a fraction of the total number of elected positions in the South. This means that blacks are still seriously under-represented in the political arena and that conscientious efforts to increase black political participation must continue.

This is the second publication of BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH. The first roster, published in January, 1969, was assembled in preparation for the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials in December of 1968. To the best of our knowledge, this second roster is complete and accurate as of February, 3, 1972. It gives the names, addresses, and titles of black men and women who hold elective office on the local and state level in the South.

There has been a significant decrease in the number of officials in Alabama. This is because there are no longer any justices of peace in that state. Justices of peace courts in Alabama were abolished by referendum on January 18, 1972. Thus, Alabama's roster decreased by 16.

From time to time, this roster will be updated. Therefore, we welcome corrections and additions. We also urge all who see this roster to send newsclips or magazine articles about black candidates and officials, both appointed and elected, to the Research Department, Voter Education Project, Inc., 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Suite 360, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

John Lewis

John Lewis
Executive Director
VEP, Inc.

February 3, 1972

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH

February 3, 1972

STATE	TOTAL	U.S.	STATE		COUNTY			CITY			LAW ENFORCEMENT						SCHOOL BOARD
		Congressmen	Senators	Representatives	Commissioners, Supervisors & Councilmen	Election Commissioners	Others	Mayors	Councilmen, Aldermen & Commissioners	Others	Judges	Magistrates	Constables	Marshals & Sheriffs	Justices of Peace	Others	
ALABAMA	83			2	7		9	4	38		1		7	4			11
ARKANSAS	96							8	27	9					5		48
FLORIDA	51			2	1			4	38	3			1				2
GEORGIA	65		2	13	6		1		31	1	1						10
LOUISIANA	119			8	31			3	24		1		11	4	14		23
MISSISSIPPI	128			1	7	15	5	3	31	6			22	1	18		20
NORTH CAROLINA	103			2	3			4	64		1						29
SOUTH CAROLINA	66			3	7			3	38			9					6
TENNESSEE	47		2	6			4		16	1	2	5			6		6
TEXAS	61		1	2				2	35								21
VIRGINIA	54		1	2	13		2		30	2					4		
TOTAL	873*		6	41	75	15	21	31	372	22	6	14	41	9	47		176

*Three of these 873 officials hold two offices. In Arkansas and Mississippi, a city councilman also serves on the school board. In Tennessee, a state senator is also a city councilman. Thus, these 873 officials hold 876 elective offices in the South.

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

Alabama

Raymond Allen
Coroner (Bullock County)
P. O. Box 226
Union Springs 36089

Lucius Davenport Amerson
Sheriff (Macon County)
109 Elm Street
Tuskegee 36088

Dr. Richard Arrington, Jr.
Councilman
1244 Mims Street, S. W.
Birmingham 35211

C. R. Atkinson
Councilman (Hobson City)
127 Park Avenue
Anniston 36201

David Barnes
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Triana 35758

Daniel L. Beasley
Member, Board of Revenue
P. O. Box 232
Tuskegee 36088

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Box 34
Coatopa 35450

Frank H. Bentley
Councilman
Drawer 1099
Tuskegee Institute 36088

John S. Billingsley
Councilman
301-B Brighton Avenue
Roosevelt City 35020

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board Member
Macon County
Box 245
Tuskegee Institute 36088

William M. Branch
Probate Judge (Greene County)
Route 1, Box 134
Forkland 36740

Albert Bulls, Jr.
Councilman
211 Althea Street
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Frenchie Burton
Commissioner (Greene County)
Route 3, Box 70
Eutaw 35462

Ocie Burton
Coroner (Macon County)
Route 1, Box 100
Tuskegee 35089

Ersie Chambers
School Board Member
Greene County
Route 2
Eutaw 35462

Jerry D. Coleman
Councilman
228 63rd Street
Fairfield 35064

Robert Conley
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Hobson City 36201

Joe L. DuBose
Councilman
517 63rd Street
Fairfield 35064

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Member, Board of Revenue
P. O. Box 58
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Joe L. Fletcher
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Triana 35758

Clyde Foster
Mayor (Triana)
Route 3, Box 128
Madison 35758

Theodore B. Fox
Councilman
157 South Spring Street
Jacksonville 36265

Willie Louis Gibbs
Councilman
Route 1
Ridgeville 35954

Thomas Gilmore
Sheriff (Greene County)
Route 1, Box 261
Forkland 36740

Fred D. Gray
State Representative
District 31
P. O. Box 395
Tuskegee 36083

Dr. Ellis Hall
School Board Member
Macon County
P. O. Box 114
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Mrs. Connie H. Harper
School Board Member
Route 1, Box 197
Shorter 36075

A. M. Hayden
Councilman
P. O. Box 201
Uniontown 36786

John Head
School Board Member
Greene County
Route 1, Box 104
Boligee 35443

James H. M. Henderson
School Board Member
Macon County
P. O. Box 247
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Elias Hendricks
Constable (Jefferson County)
1144 24th Avenue, North
Birmingham 35204

Harry Hill
Councilman (Ridgeville)
Route 1, Box 104
Attalla 35954

Robert Hines
School Board Member
Greene County
Route 1, Box 196
Eutaw 35462

James M. Hopkins, II
Circuit Clerk (Macon County)
P. O. Box 1080
Tuskegee Institute 36088

John Hulett
Sheriff (Lowndes County)
Route 1, Box 125
Hayneville 36040

Walter Jenkins
Councilman
806 Tremont
Brighton 35020

James Johnson
Constable
609 Alder Avenue
Birmingham 35214

Richard Jones
Councilman
Route 1
Ridgeville 35954

Rev. Peter Kirksey
President, School Board
Greene County
Route 1, Box D-19
Boligee 35443

Vassie Knott
Commissioner (Greene County)
Route 1, Box 106-V
Boligee 35443

McKinley Kolb
Councilman
5321 Court "G"
Fairfield 35064

Edgar Lawrence
Mayor
Route 1
Ridgeville 35954

Afton M. Lee, Sr.
Councilman
1718 South 27th Avenue
Homewood 35209

Leonard Lewis
Councilman
828 St. Julian Street
Brighton 35020

Richard L. Lewis
Councilman
4310 McLain Street
Brighton 35020

Samuel Little
School Board Member
Sumter County
Route 1, Box 10
Epes 35460

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector (Macon County)
P. O. Box 1121
Tuskegee Institute 36088

John L. Mason
Councilman
612 Grays Street
Roosevelt City 35020

Willie McGhee
Coroner (Lowndes County)
Route 1, Box 125
Hayneville 36040

Ernest McLin, Sr.
Councilman
121 61st Street
Fairfield 35064

Harry C. Means
Commissioner (Greene County)
Route 1, Box 21-B
Boligee 35443

Alma V. Miller
Circuit Clerk (Lowndes County)
P. O. Box 114
Calhoun 36012

Wilbur Miller
Councilman
628 Country Club Road
Roosevelt City 35020

Abner Milton
Coroner (Greene County)
Route 2, Box 61
Eutaw 35462

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
Councilman (Roosevelt City)
401 Brighton Avenue
Bessemer 35020

Levi Morrow, Sr.
Commissioner (Greene County)
Route 3, Box 117
Eutaw 35462

Virgil Lee Pearson
Councilman
328 57th Street
Fairfield 35064

William T. Peterson
Councilman
P. O. Box 143
Tuskegee Institute 36088

J. A. Posey, Sr.
School Board Member
Greene County
Route 1, Box 196
Eutaw 35462

William R. Ragland
Councilman (Triana)
Route 3, Box 128-G
Madison 35758

Thomas Reed
State Representative
District 31
Drawer EE
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Gordon A. Rodgers
Councilman
1616 Cooper Avenue
Anniston 36201

Alabama

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
317 Woodward Avenue
Roosevelt City 35020

Richard Rowe
Constable
Whitfield 36923

Arthur D. Shores
Councilman
1527 Fifth Avenue, North
Birmingham 35203

Calvin Smith
Councilman
Route 4, Box 521-B
Roosevelt City 35020

Mrs. Willie Maud Snow
Councilwoman (Hobson City)
127 Park Avenue
Anniston 36201

Moses Springer, Jr.
Councilman (Hobson City)
232 Pierce Street
Anniston 36201

J. R. Striplin
Mayor (Hobson City)
127 Park Avenue
Anniston 36201

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Route 7-D, Box 46
Panola 35477

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Constable
Route 1, Box 48
Panola 35477

Clinton Lorenzo Thornton
School Board Member
Bullock County
Route 1, Box 100
Union Springs 36089

Frank J. Tolan
Councilman
Box 873
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Alonzo Toney
Councilman (Triana)
Route 3, Box 149
Madison 35758

James Turner
Councilman (Hobson City)
Draper Street
Anniston 36201

Rev. J. O. Vickers
Councilman
Route 1, Box 413
Ridgeville 35954

Mrs. James R. Weatherly
Coroner (Sumter County)
P. O. Drawer 580
York 36925

Harold Webb
Member, Board of Revenue
102 Chamblis Street
Tuskegee Institute 36088

Rev. Herbert Wheeler
Constable
3633 Laurel Avenue, S. W.
Birmingham 35221

Jessie Whiteside
Councilman
Route 1
Ridgeville 35954

H. O. Williams
Sheriff (Bullock County)
South Prairie Street
Union Springs 36089

Jimmie Lee Williams
Councilman
409 53rd Street
Fairfield 35064

Mrs. Wadine Williams
Circuit Clerk (Greene County)
Route 1, Box 164
Boligee 35443

Arkansas

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board Member
Eudora Special School District
223 Arch Street
Eudora 71640

Junious C. Babbs, Sr.
Alderman
P. O. Box Drawer 10
Cotton Plant 72036

W. M. Banks
District School Board Member
Columbia County
Route 3
Magnolia 71753

Elmer Beard
Councilman
140 Crescent Street
Hot Springs 71901

Mervin Bell
School Board Member
District 16
Sevier County
General Delivery
Lockesburg 71846

James Boone
Treasurer (Mitchellville)
Route 1, Box 18
Dumas 71639

Arthur Bowens
Mayor (Mitchellville)
P. O. Box 101
Dumas 71639

Alex Brown
School Board Member
Plum-Bayou District
Route 1, Box 7-A
Sherrill 72152

Rev. Joseph B. Brown
Alderman (Gilmore)
P. O. Box 136
Turrell 72384

Lewis Brown
Alderman
Reed 71670

Charles Bussey
Assistant Mayor
1860 Izard Street
Little Rock 72206

Cain Cockran
School Board Member
East Side District
Conway County
General Delivery
Solgohachia 72156

Emmitt Jerome Conley
Mayor
P. O. Box 443
Cotton Plant 72036

Sammie A. Criswell
School Board Member
East Side District
Conway County
Route 1, Box 79
Springhill 72157

Dennis Curry
School Board Member
Linwood School District
Route 1, Box 139
Grady 71644

Benjamin F. Davis
School Board Member
Dollarway School District
2505 Fluker Street
Pine Bluff 71601

Press Dorris
Justice of Peace
Hill Township
721 Walnut Street
North Little Rock 72116

Edwin Evans
School Board Member
Linwood School District
P. O. Box 26
Moscow 71659

Paris Frazier
School Board Member
Arkansas City School District
Desha County
Arkansas City 71630

Arkansas

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Route 2, Box 36
Allport 72046

Willie Givens
Alderman (Reed)
Tillar 71670

Jasphas A. Gordon
School Board Member
Dollarway School District
Box 4085
Arkansas AM&N College
Pine Bluff 71601

Lem Gordon
Alderman (Mitchellville)
Route 1, Box 15A
Dumas 71639

Conner Grady, Jr.
School Board Member
Lee County
212 Church Street
Marianna 72360

Tillman Green
Mayor
Sunset

DeArthur Grice
School Board Member
Linwood School District
Jefferson County
General Delivery
Moscow 71659

Mrs. A. S. Guinn
Town Clerk
Menifee 72107

Willie Hall
School Board Member
Snow Lake School District
Desha County
Snow Lake 72379

J. C. Hamilton
School Board Member
Linwood School District
Route 5, Box 320
Pine Bluff 71601

J. D. Hammond
School Board Member
East Side District
Conway County
General Delivery
Menifee 72107

Willie Lee Harris
Alderman
c/o City Hall
West Memphis 72301

R. E. Hemphill
School Board Member
East Side District
Conway County
General Delivery
Menifee 72107

James E. Hightower
Alderman
c/o City Hall
West Memphis 72301

Henry Hite
Justice of Peace
1704 High Street
Little Rock 72202

Albert Hollinshead
Alderman (Mitchellville)
Dumas 71639

John Holmes
School Board Member
Columbia County
Route 5, Box 322
Magnolia 71753

Frank Hunter
School Board Member
District 6
Jefferson County
Route 3, Box 98
Sheridan 72150

Brack Jackson
School Board Member
Snow Lake School District
Desha County
Snow Lake 72379

Jasper Jackson
Alderman (Mitchellville)
Route 1, Box 14
Dumas 71639

Abner Jamar
Alderman
Edmondson 72332

Moses W. Johnson
Mayor (Reed)
Reed R. Station
P. O. Box 158
Tillar 71670

Rev. Lorenzo Jones
Alderman
1900 Cartwright Street
Earle 72331

Edward Jordan
Alderman
Reed 71670

Frank Jordan
School Board Member
Helena - West Helena School District
Phillips County
413 Elm Street
Helena 72342

Walter Kelsey
Alderman
Reed 71670

Woodrow Keown, Sr.
Justice of Peace
Big Rock Township
South Pulaski County
Route 2, Box 659
Little Rock 72206

Jennus King
School Board Member
Desha Central School District
Route 1, Box 255
Tillar 71670

Tommie L. Love
School Board Member
Washington School District
Route 1
Washington 71862

Shuley Lovett
School Board Member
Bradley County
General Delivery
Banks 71631

Minnie Macklin
School Board Member
Sherrill School District
General Delivery
Sherrill 72152

Abraham McCarrell
Alderman (Mitchellville)
Route 1, Box 385B
Dumas 71639

Eula McGhee
Recorder
Reed 71670

Robert McGhee
Alderman
Reed 71670

Joseph Mitchell
Mayor
Edmondson 72332

Charles Montgomery
Alderman
Edmondson 72332

Ladell Morris
Alderman (Menifee)
School Board Member
East Side District
Conway County
General Delivery
Menifee 72107

Mack Morris
Alderman
Edmondson 72332

C. W. Ollaway
School Board Member
District 6
Jefferson County
Route 6, Box 102
Pine Bluff 71601

Elbert Page, Jr.
School Board Member
Route 3
Waldo 71770

Theodore Page
Councilman
418 Malvern Street
Hot Springs 71901

T. E. Patterson
School Board Member
6200 Shirley Drive
Little Rock 72204

Charlie Portis
Recorder (Mitchellville)
Route 1, Box 13
Dumas 71639

Robert Pryor
School Board Member
Washington School District
Washington 71862

William Robertson
School Board Member
Chidester District 59
Chidester 71726

Fannie Mae Rose
Treasurer
Reed 71670

Luevert Rowlett
School Board Member
Selma School District 14
Route 5, Box 132-A
Monticello 71655

Fred Scoggins
Justice of Peace
918 South Ringo Street
Little Rock 72202

James Sims
School Board Member
Wabbaseka School District
Route 2, Box 125
Altheimer 72004

Wiley Sheets
School Board Member
Wilmar School District
Wilmar 71675

Mack Skinner
School Board Member
District 22
615 North Lowe Street
Stuttgart 72160

Frank W. Smith
Mayor
Menifee 72107

John W. Smith
School Board Member
401 West 21st Street
North Little Rock 72206

T. L. Story
School Board Member
Columbia County
Route 3
Emerson 71740

Lawrence J. Strickland
Alderman
General Delivery
Menifee 72107

Frank E. Taylor
Recording Treasurer (Norall)
1650 Cartwright Street
Earle 72331

Houston Taylor, Sr.
School Board Member
District 6
Jefferson County
Route 7
Pine Bluff 71601

Joe Thomas
School Board Member
Dumas School District
Dumas 71639

Vicie Lee Thompson
School Board Member
District 4
Route 3, Box 169
Rosston 71858

Thelma Thrower
School Board Member
District 35
247 Center Street
Camden 71701

McKinley Toney
School Board Member
Route 2, Box 37
Chidester 71726

Lewis Turner
Justice of Peace
Howard County
Route 1, Box 297
Mineral Springs 71851

Andrew Walker
School Board Member
Wabbaseka School District
Jefferson County
Route 2, Box 96
Altheimer 72004

E. A. Wardlow
School Board Member
Dermott School District
Chicot County
Dermott 71638

Frank Washington
School Board Member
Wabbaseka School District
Wabbaseka 72175

Beatrice Wells
Clerk
Edmondson 72332

Vernon Wells
Alderman
Edmondson 72332

Leroy Wert
Alderman
Menifee 72107

Rev. G. Edward West
City Director, Ward 2
721 North Eighth Street
Fort Smith 72901

Willard Whitaker
Mayor
P. O. Box 101
Madison 72359

Cain Wilder
Alderman
P. O. Box 385
Wilmont 71676

D. V. Williams
Alderman
Menifee 72107

B. W. Winfield
Alderman
Edmondson 72332

Wilton Woodard
Alderman
Menifee 72107

A. E. Woods
Treasurer
Menifee 72107

Freedie Lee Young
School Board Member
Route 1
Rosston 71858

Herbert Zackery
School Board Member
Route 2
Rosston 71858

Florida

Earnest Barkley, Jr.
Mayor
P. O. Box 71
Gretna 32332

George R. Barlow
Councilman
P. O. Box 21
Welaka 32093

William Blair
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Gretna 32332

Bobbie E. Brooks
Commissioner
1325 West 28th Street
Riviera Beach 33404

Howard Butler
Councilman
City Hall
Welaka 32093

Neil Arthur Butler, Sr.
Mayor
1214 Southeast 17th Drive
Gainesville 32601

Earl J. Carroll
Commissioner (Dade County)
774 Northwest 44th Street
Miami 33127

Dr. Joseph L. Carwise
Commissioner
1255 Palmetto Street
Clearwater 33515

Jackie Caynon
Commissioner
1213 Avenue "D"
Fort Pierce 33450

Ms. Gwendolyn Cherry
State Representative
Dade County
790 Northwest 54th Street
Miami 33127

W. D. Davidson
Councilman
P. O. Box 2163
Eatonville 32751

James Richard Ford
Commissioner
2029 North Meridian Road
Tallahassee 32303

George H. Gause
Mayor
625 Eighth Avenue
Bartow 33830

Leroy "Spike" Gibson
Vice Mayor (South Miami)
6431 Southwest 58th Place
Miami 33143

Rev. Edward T. Graham
Commissioner
5308 Northwest 8th Avenue
Miami 33127

William A. Grear
Commissioner
P. O. Box 262
Belle Glade 33460

Robert Hall
Commissioner
917 Tarpon Avenue
Stuart 33494

Daniel W. Hendricks
School Board Member
Palm Beach County
1406 Ninth Street
West Palm Beach 33401

Eugene Hickson, Sr.
Councilman
142 S. Orange Avenue
Arcadia 33821

Bobbie Hunter
Commissioner
P. O. Box 2163
Eatonville 32751

John S. Jackson, M. D.
Commissioner
1336 North Dakota Avenue
Lakeland 33801

Earl M. Johnson
Councilman
625 West Union Street
Jacksonville 32202

James Jones
Councilman
2000 Avenue, South
Riviera Beach 33404

Joe Lang Kershaw
State Representative
Dade County
2539 Northwest 46th Street
Miami 33142

Sallye B. Mathis
Councilwoman
1160 Durkee Street
North Jacksonville 32209

Julius Montgomery
Commissioner
3117 South Swift Drive
Melbourne 32901

Robert Moultrie
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Riviera Beach 33404

Rev. Nolan Pitts
Commissioner
P. O. Box 2163
Eatonville 32751

James Randolph
Councilman
P. O. Box 2163
Eatonville 32751

Ada Reed
City Clerk
760 West Seventh Street
Riviera Beach 33404

Blanch Richardson
Councilman
P. O. Box 2163
Eatonville 32751

John T. Saunders
Commissioner, Vice Mayor
112 N. W. 7th Street
Hallandale 33099

Robert Scott
Councilman
P. O. Box 224
Lawtey 32058

Roosevelt Scott
Councilman, Vice Mayor
250 Taylor Street
Eatonville 32751

William Shellman
Constable (Duval County)
703 Broad Street
Jacksonville 32209

Walter T. Simmons, Jr.
Commissioner
P. O. Box A. D.
Eustis 32726

Mrs. Mary L. Singleton
Councilwoman
1353 West 33rd Street
Jacksonville 32206

Carlton Smith
Councilman
P. O. Box 55
Blountstown 32424

Rosalyn Smith
Clerk
c/o City Hall
Gretna 32332

Walter L. Smith
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Gretna 32332

Henry Arthur Taylor
Councilman
3600 Avenue "T"
Riviera Beach 33404

William H. Turner
School Board Member
Dade County
1410 Northeast Second Avenue
Miami 33132

Florida

Nathaniel Vereen
Mayor
P. O. Box 2163
Eatonville 32751

Boisy N. Waiters
Commissioner
P. O. Box 371
Dania 33004

Willie Washington
Councilman
General Delivery
Welaka 32093

Eli White
Councilman
203 North Mills Street
Inverness 32650

H. M. Whites, Sr.
Commissioner
703 West Ohio Avenue
Lake Helen 32744

Alonzo Williams, Jr.
Councilman
Eight West Seventh Street
Apopka 32703

Hollice T. Williams
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Pensacola

C. Bette Wimbish
Councilman, Vice Mayor
3217 Fifteenth Avenue, South
St. Petersburg 33712

Ozie F. Youngblood
Councilman
210 Northwest Sixth Avenue
Delray Beach 33444

Georgia

William H. Alexander
State Representative
District 108
1154 Citizens Trust Company
Bank Building
Atlanta 30303

Marvin S. Arrington
Alderman
883 Neal Street, N. W.
Atlanta 30318

Earl Baggs
Commissioner (Liberty County)
Route 1
Riceboro 31323

Herman Baker
Councilman
136 Steven Street
Wadley 30477

Rev. Jesse Blackshear
State Representative
District 91
P. O. Box 9281
Savannah 31402

Julian Bond
State Representative
District 111
361 Lee Street
Atlanta 30310

P. L. Braswell
Councilman
406 Spring Street
Sandersville 31082

Ben Brown
State Representative
100 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta 30303

A. M. Carter
School Board Member
Richmond County
1421 Twelfth Street
Augusta 30901

Mose Cooper
Councilman (Hilltonia)
Route 1, Box 112-C
Sylvania 30467

J. C. Daugherty
State representative
District 109
Suite 202, Daugherty Building
15 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta 30314

James E. Dean
State Representative
District 76
17 East Lake Drive, N. E.
Atlanta 30317

B. L. Dent
Councilman
1117 Gwinnett Street
Augusta 30901

R. A. Dent
State Representative
District 79
1120 Pine Street
Augusta 30901

Henry D. Dodson
Alderman
749 Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta 30314

C. J. Edwards
Councilman
c/o City Hall
Fort Valley 31030

R. E. Edwards
School Board Member
Hancock County
Route 1, Box 72
Mayfield 31059

Clarence G. Ezzard, Sr.
State Representative
District 102
245 Atlanta Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta 30315

Rev. Roy Fitzgerald
Councilman
117 Ragsdale Street
Hiram 30141

Bowles C. Ford
Alderman
P. O. Box 2247
Savannah 31402

Mrs. Esther F. Garrison
School Board Member
Chatham County
623 West 36th Street
Savannah 31401

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
State Representative
District 112
582 University Place, N. W.
Atlanta 30314

L. J. Hawkins
Councilman
Harrison 31035

Raymond Head
Councilman
438 North Fourth Street
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RANDOLPH COUNTY, ALABAMA

Voter Registration Information

White Voting Age Population	9,196	
White Registered Voters	10,666	(100+%)
Negro Voting Age Population	2,366	
Negro Registered Voters	1,245	(52.6%)

None of the 67 Black Elected Officials in Alabama are in Randolph County.

VEP has made no grants to Randolph County.

file copy

Information RE: RANDOLPH COUNTY, ALABAMA

Emory Via Memo to the Files

It is my understanding that Mr. Terry offered assistance to the Hancock County, Georgia Sewing Industry efforts. He perhaps leased machines to them. However, I understand there has been some flap because he took some of his machines back. McCown evidently feels quite strongly about this incident.

At one time Mr. Terry had offered to assist in setting-up a cut-and-sew shop in Greene County, Alabama. This fell through. Reasons are unknown.

Ron Parker who has been with Atlanta University has worked in Hancock County on their industrial development efforts. Winifred Greene feels he would be a good contacy regarding what happened in Hancock County. Bill Eisenhower in the AFSC office would know how to reach Parker.

EV/km

E. Via

Dispute Over Welfare Rights

ALABAMA CASE IS A VICTORY

FOR 4,000 CHILDREN

WIDOW BRINGS SUIT WHEN AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN BENEFITS ARE CUT OFF

In October, 1966, Mrs. Sylvester Smith, once-widowed, once-deserted, 34 years old and black, was notified by the Department of Pensions and Security of Dallas County, Alabama, that it was cutting off payments to her family under the Aid to Dependent Children program. This meant a loss of about $29 a month, more than a quarter of the Smith household income. It also signaled the beginning of a momentous test, resolved by the United States Supreme Court several weeks ago, of a state's power to deprive children of aid to which they are entitled by a Federal welfare program.

At a time when bureaucracy's entire approach to the poor was coming under radical scrutiny, the Court delivered a blow to state authorities, Northern as well as Southern, who have been withholding Federal dollars from residents because of race, sexual activity or other matters irrelevant to their need.

The Smith decision, beneficently affecting more than 21,000 children in Alabama and perhaps as many as 400,000 throughout the country, was the first handed down by the high court in a dispute over public welfare; it will assuredly not be the last. Like Linda Brown, the schoolgirl from Topeka who won the 1954 school-integration decision, and Clarence Earl Gideon, the Florida convict whose right to an attorney was upheld in 1963, Mrs. Sylvester Smith has set in motion a dramatic change in American society.

MORE THAN HALF OF ADC FUNDS COME FROM FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In first giving aid to Mrs. Smith and then taking it away, Alabama was acting as an agent of the Federal Government, which set up the A. D. C. program under the Social Security Act. Last year, Washington contributed more than half of the $2.3-billion paid to some 4.2 million children around the country. In rich states such as New York the Federal share drops; in poor states such as Alabama it rises. Family payments vary according to need and number of children; in Alabama they average around $15 a child each month -- about half the established level of "need."

Designed to help children who have been deprived of a parent by death, incapacity or simply by "continued absence from the home," A. D. C. has for years been under attack from those who see it as an inducement to immoral behavior, especially among Negroes. "By taxing the good people to pay for these programs," said the esteemed Govenor Orval Faubus of Arkansas in 1959, "we are putting a premium on illegitimacy never before known in the world."

Mrs. Smith's children met all the original requirements for aid, but they did not qualify under one regulation that Alabama, along with most other states of the Old Confederacy and a number in the North, had added. The Smith children were ruled ineligible because their mother was thought to be maintaining a

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This article by Walter Goodman is reprinted from the New York Times Magazine, August 25, 1968

continuing sexual relationship with a "substitute father" -- who, presumably, was expected to help support the children. Some form of the substitute-father rule was instituted in Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North and South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont and Virginia.

JOBS PAY SO LITTLE THAT MRS. SMITH NEVER COULD GET OFF ADC

Mrs. Smith first applied for A. D. C. in March, 1956, a few months after her husband was killed "in a fight over a woman." She was 23 years old and was left with three children -- Ida Elizabeth, 3; Ernestine, 2, and Willie Lewis, 6 months. Aid was granted. In January, 1957, she had her fourth child, Willie James, the son of one Lois Fuller. Willie James was added to the A. D. C. lists in June, 1963, after Fuller left town, presumably for New York. The Smith family received about $67 a month until March, 1966, when Ida Elizabeth, 13 years old and unmarried, bore a daughter of her own and was scratched from the budget.

That summer Mrs. Smith moved with her daughters and baby granddaughter from the country town of Tyler up to Selma, where she had found a job as a cook and waitress in a Negro cafe -- 3:30 A.M. to noon for $16 a week, later raised to $20. (The A. D. C. payments dropped in recognition of this bounty, as they did when she did some picking and hoeing in the cotton fields near Tyler.)

In their home in Selma, there is a neat sitting room in which three people can watch TV with only a little crowding; a bedroom almost completely filled by two beds; a rudimentary kitchen, and a tiny space which Mrs. Smith hopes some day to turn into a bathroom. For the present the family is served by a backyard privy.

Rent is $20 a month. The monthly gas bill comes to around $15 in the winter. Among the other regular expenses are $5 a month for sickness and accident insurance, $2 for fire insurance and 60 cents for a burial society. Mrs. Smith has no savings, and after her court case began she found it hard to get credit. "It's that suit you brought against the welfare people," a salesman told her.

NEIGHBOR TELLS CASEWORKER THAT MRS. SMITH IS VISITED WEEKENDS BY A MAN

One result of the move to Selma in 1966 was that the Smiths were assigned to a new caseworker, a matronly young woman named Mrs. Jacquelyn Stancil whose record bears out the impression she gives of going about her duties in an orderly way. After reviewing the Smith dossier and noting mention therein of one William E. Williams, Mrs. Stancil questioned a third party and was told that Mrs. Smith was receiving weekend visits from Williams, who still lived in Tyler, 15 miles south of Selma. "When I asked who told," recalls Mrs. Smith, "she said, 'It was a little bird.' I'd like to meet that little bird."

Mrs. Smith's caseworker during her years in the country had evidently been content to overlook the visits of Willie Williams; Mrs. Stancil was more fastidious. In September, 1966, Mrs. Stancil notified Mrs. Smith that her aid would be stopped if Williams kept coming around -- that, after all, was the rule.

Not one to suffer rebuffs gladly (a few weeks earlier she had addressed to President Johnson a letter complaining about her daughter's being dropped from the aid rolls because she had a baby). Mrs. Smith got into what Mrs.

Stancil describes as "a very excited state" when her own aid was stopped. She pointed out that Williams was married, his wife worked, they had nine children to take care of and, whatever his impulses, he had never been in a position to help her with more than $4 or $5 a month. "Ain't much he can do," she told Mrs. Stancil. "You can't make a man take care of his own kids, much less take care of other people's kids."

MRS. SMITH INSISTS THAT SHE HAS CERTAIN RIGHTS AND HER KIDS SHOULDN'T SUFFER

Her old caseworker and the county's A. D. C. supervisor were called in, and for two hours the three women attempted to mollify their client. Though she is able to laugh at the commotion now -- "It was a big mess" -- and is quick to concede that her caseworkers have as a rule been "nice" to her, Mrs. Smith remained unmollified about Mrs. Stancil: "She didn't have no right to cut my kids off. Sitting down there in that air-conditioned place and saying my kids can't get aid. She never came round to my house and found anybody there. I told her: 'As long as I'm not having no more kids for you to support, why should you bother me? You shouldn't be so hard on me.'" When Mrs. Stancil suggested that she end the "relationship," Mrs. Smith flatly refused; she was still young and "if I end with him, I'm gonna make a relationship with somebody." She told Mrs. Stancil: "If God had intended for me to be a nun I'd be a nun."

Efforts by Southern states to cleanse their welfare rolls of unwholesome children--a project that owes something to the "worthy poor" philosophy of another era--did not begin with the Smith family. For some years, the main tool in this work was a "suitable home" requirement, under which evidence of a parent's "casual relationships either in or outside the home" would weigh against a recipient child. Any child so vicious as to have a mother who gave birth to an illegitimate sibling would be dropped from the welfare rolls until his mother proved to the satisfaction of her county welfare department that she was going straight.

"SUITABLE HOME" RULE VIOLATES BOTH COMMON SENSE AND HUMANITY

Cleansing expeditions of this sort, carried out exlusively against people who had nothing of their own, were hampered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which pointed out that "suitable home" rules violated both common sense and humanity. Former H. E. W. Secretary Arthur Flemming set forth the Department's position in a 1961 policy ruling against a Louisiana statute: "Whenever there is a question of the suitability of the home for the child's upbringing, steps should be taken to correct the situation, or, in the alternative, to arrange for other appropriate care of the child. It is completely inconsistent, however, to declare a home unsuitable for a child to receive assistance and at the same time permit him to remain in the same environment."

Moreover, it is not at all certain that a man around the house makes the place unsuitable. In a study carried out at about the time Alabama's substitute-father regulation was being developed, the state's welfare workers found that, far from being an invidious influence, the man often developed a warm relationship with the children; he gave them a sense of security and eased the stress on the mother.

SOME STATES LESS INTERESTED IN SAVING MINORS THAN IN CUTTING NEGROES OFF WELFARE

The suspicion among Federal officials responsible for overseeing the A. D. C. program was that some states were less interested in saving minors from corrupting

surroundings than in simply ridding welfare rolls of Negroes. A. D. C. is the only one of Alabama's major assistance programs that has more Negroes in it than whites. A few years ago a study showed that 31,057 of the legitimate children receiving aid were black and 21,623 were white; in the illegitimate category, there were 16 black children for every white one. To an Alabama welfare official intent upon lopping off a lot of black bodies in a hurry, A. D. C. was the most promising field and irregular family arrangements afforded the most inviting route.

Soon after taking office as commissioner of Alabama's Department of Pensions and Security in January, 1963, Ruben K. King set to work on the A. D. C. problem. "I wanted to get down to the real meat of the coconut," says the commisioner, a short and remarkably round gentleman who received his post from former Govenor George Wallace in appreciation of his having attended law school with the Govenor's brother; he is altogether innocent of training in social work. The coconut was cracked in June, 1964, when Alabama put its substitute-father regulation into effect. Under the rule, an able-bodied male was considered a substitute father of all the children in a given household if he lived in the home with the children's mother "for the purpose of cohabitation"; if he didn't live in the house "regularly" but visited "frequently for the purpose of cohabiting" with the mother, or if he met the mother elsewhere for that purpose. The existence of a child under the age of 6 months was the prima facie evidence of the existence of a substitute father, and hence cause for stopping aid.

In reply to the suggestion that this was Alabama's way of discouraging immoral behavior, Commissioner King said, "We are not in the business to judge people morally" -- but he also said that any mother whose aid was stopped could always choose "to give up her pleasure or to act like a woman ought to act like and continue to receive aid."

It was evident that, to those who had put together this provision, "cohabit" was a synonym for "fornicate"; what "regularly" and "frequently" were synonyms for remains anybody's guess.

IN 2 YEAR PERIOD 15,000 CHILDREN WERE REMOVED FROM ALABAMA WELFARE ROLLS

The regulation worked. Between 1964 and 1966 some 15,000 children were removed from the relief rolls of Alabama, and applications for aid on behalf of 6,400 children were rejected. What color children? In 30 months in seven representative counties, 498 cases were closed; 97 per cent of the children were black. Commisioner King expresses regret that the provision seems to have been applied with particular stringency in areas with the heaviest concentrations of Negroes.

Alabama authorities contend that Mrs. Smith's case was not typical. In most of the families covered by the substitute-father rule, they say, the man involved was in fact the father of the recipient children and was keeping up a connection with the family. Nevertheless, had Mrs. Smith wished to become eligible again after being barred from aid, her course was to inform the state that she had broken with the phantom father and to have this news corroborated by at least two "acceptable references in a position to know." Singled out as persons in a position to know were "law-enforcement officials, ministers, neighbors, grocers." With Mrs. Smith's permission an investigator would have gone to her favorite policeman or grocer to inquire whether she was still enjoying sexual relations with Williams and, if so, where and how often. Mrs. Smith did not grant her caseworker such permission -- "I told her it was none of her business."

At no time during her run-in with the Department of Pensions and Security did Mrs. Smith show any of the hangdog apathy once associated with welfare recipients. She skips rather than walks and fairly bounces with energy, her enthusiasm leaping from her granddaughter to the indoor bathroom she is hoping to install to the used car she would like to buy. Her temper is by no means chronically militant, and laughter at her own predicament has a way of breaking through her indignation -- but indignant she surely was at the idea that the welfare people could punish her family, which she had kept together for years by main determination and hard work, because they didn't like her private doings.

LAWYER SAYS MRS. SMITH'S CASE SHOWS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN WELFARE POLICY

In the fall of 1966, she took her story to some civil-rights workers who had won a reputation around Selma for talking tough to welfare-department functionaries. From Selma the details were relayed to New York, to the Center on Social Welfare Policy, which had recently been set up at Columbia University and was soliciting cases in behalf of welfare clients.

An associate at the Columbia Center went to Selma to talk with Mrs. Smith and check the facts. This was but one of many cases the Center's attorneys were looking into at the time, and they decided to go ahead with it. "The facts were perfect," Garbus says. "If Alabama had any sense, they would have restored Mrs. Smith's aid and tried to wash out the action. The so-called substitute father was not in fact the father of any of the children; he was not living in their home or performing any of a father's duties; he was under no obligation to contribute to their support, and in fact he was not contributing."

Although the attorneys suspected that racial discrimination existed in the welfare policies of numerous states, it was easiest to demonstrate in Alabama. They were also attracted to the Smith case by the fact that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had never approved the Alabama regulation. (Not that it had effectively disapproved it. Part of H. E. W.'s ineffectiveness stemmed from its unwieldy power. It could cut off aid altogether if a state program was unacceptable, but barring such massive retaliation, destructive of everybody's interests, its powers were pretty much limited to polite reprimands and requests to the states for a policy in keeping with Federal intent. Even After the Smith case was under way and the court urged it to come forward, H. E. W. played a curiously coy part. The reasons, one may fairly surmise, have to do with politics. In the best of times H. E. W. is not a favored child of the Congress, and these are not the best of times for domestic welfare -- or for upsetting Southern legislators. No one took exception to Commissioner King's contention that H. E. W. suffers from a want of "guts.")

COURT FINDS SUBSTITUTE-FATHER RULE ARBITRARY AND DISCRIMINATORY

Attorney Garbus filed an action in Mrs. Smith's behalf in Federal District Court in Montgomery November 23, 1966. The inducements to go into Federal court rather than attempt to get redress for a Negro in the state courts of of the South require no special elucidation.

At this point we may bid good-by to Mrs. Smith, for her case is in truth no longer hers. It has become a "class action," brought in behalf of "all other persons similarly situated," the tens of thousands of mothers and hundreds of thousands of children who were being deprived of aid by the substitute-father rules of 19 states and the District of Columbia. Mrs. Smith had provided the legal wedge. With the doors of the courtroom now open, she was transformed into Mrs. Sylvester Smith, et al., plaintiffs.

In November, 1967, just a year after the original complaint, United States Circuit Judge John C. Godbold and District Judges Virgil Pittman and Frank Johnson delivered their decision. They called the substitute-father rule "arbitrary and discriminatory" and declared that it violated the equal-protection clause of the 14th Amendment by permitting Alabama to "pick and choose the mothers and children it will aid through the use of some classifications which are not rationally related to the purpose of the applicable statutes."

The State of Alabama appealed the decision and the case went to the U. S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the decision. To the justices, handing down their decision as the poor people were gathering in Resurrection City, it seemed "inconceivable" that Alabama was free to discourage immorality by disqualifying needy children from aid. The Social Security Act stated that aid was to be granted to all eligible children, and so, they ruled, it must be. Chief Justice Warren, in the name of a unanimous Court, wrote: "We hold today only that Congress has made at least this one determination: that destitute children who are legally fatherless cannot be flatly denied federally funded assistance on the transparent fiction that they have a substitute father."

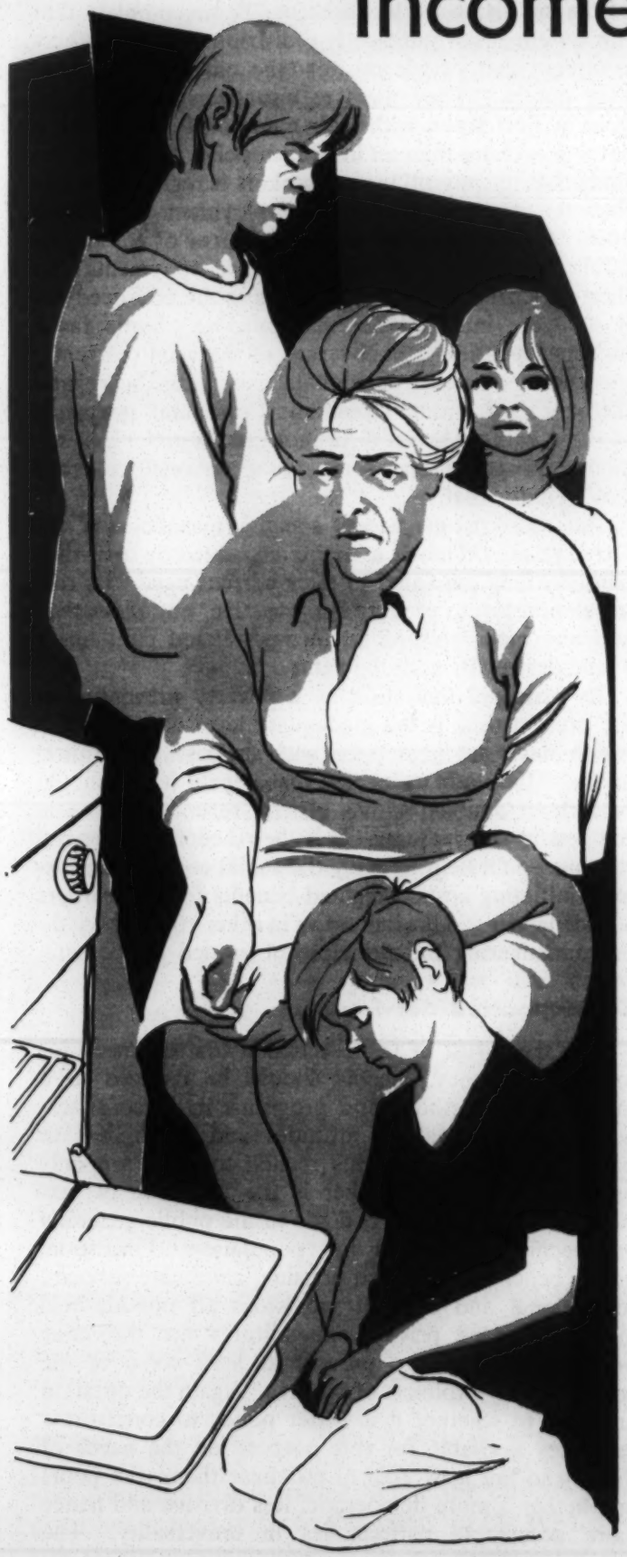
GREAT ISSUE INVOLVED IS WHETHER POOR PEOPLE HAVE REDUCED RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW

The great issue at the center of the Smith case and the cases that will follow is whether individuals are diminished in the eyes of the law because they are poor and need help. Garbus sees his victory as the beginning of a full-scale attack on a whole array of state welfare practices. In its next session, the Supreme Court is scheduled to hear a challenge to the one-year residency requirement for welfare applicants in a number of states, and other challenges are in the making; they could in time affect eight million people.

MRS. SMITH MEETS HER ATTORNEY

Between October, 1966 -- when she learned that her money was being cut off -- and June, 1968 -- when the Supreme Court delivered its decision -- Mrs. Smith never met her attorney champion, Martin Garbus. But a few weeks ago, on the muddy road outside the Smith home, where the town of Selma gives way to open fields, they finally did meet. There was joy on both sides, and the conversation was lively. She told him about the people she knew who had been put back on welfare because of her case; he promised to send her pictures of her family that had appeared in the newspapers. But their happiness was tempered by the news that a few weeks earlier Mrs. Smith, through no fault of her own, had been laid off from a factory job which paid $1.60 an hour. Another job will probably come along for Mrs. Smith; her newest caseworker, impressed by her intelligence and energy, has no doubt of that. But for now the victorious plaintiff was waiting for her latest A. D. C. application to be acted on, and in the meantime she was having difficulty getting together $3 to buy food stamps.

Sharing Prosperity— Income Policy Choices



by Elizabeth Wickenden

The role of work in the modern society is central to any income policy discussion. Popular attitudes place the highest value on work not only as the basis for income, but also for self and community esteem. Most of the current self-help efforts of the poverty program are directed toward fitting the poor to work and creating new job opportunities for that purpose. Yet some writers maintain that cybernation is already making obsolescent this traditional nexus between work and income. They look to the day when every individual or family would be paid a stipend as consumer, somewhat in the tradition of the Townsend old age pension plan. To my mind, this makes much better sense than the complexities of a largescale, all-purpose program based on income deficiency.

But this dream of lying under the cybernetic breadfruit tree has its setting in an unpredictable future. At the present time, it is consistent neither with technological realities nor most people's wishes. It seems an absurdity to talk about work as obsolescent when we have not enough houses, schools, hospitals, cultural centers, parks and playgrounds; when we lack teachers, nurses, librarians, social workers, youth leaders, day care for children, social centers for the aged, homemakers for the ill and handicapped, doctors, lawyers, merchants, chiefs; when our streams and our air are polluted, our parks neglected, our highways and airways corrupted by commercialism and our choices for enriching our spare time similarly constricted. And all this leaves out the desperate needs of the rest of the world for our food, our machinery, our scientific know-how, our support for the instruments of cooperation.

I do not think everyone should have to work or work so long and so hard as many do at present. Considering that we are all born dependent, die dependent and spend varying periods of our life dependent, our fear and rejection of "dependency" is somewhat

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absurd. But for the moment work still offers for most people the most satisfying sense of identity and achievement, the most acceptable source of current and deferred income. Most people are quite willing and conditioned by habit to spending their money for benefits derived from the work of others. But they need to place as high a valuation on direct services as they do the products of labor and as high a valuation on services financed by taxes as on those purchased in the marketplace. For the more mechanical become our processes for producing things, the more we can free our energies for the fundamental human task of mutual service. And as Kenneth Galbraith points out in "The Affuent Society," a large proportion of these services lie in the public sector.

A Guaranteed Job

I feel that the government should guarantee a job at standard wages to everyone willing and able to work, should pioneer in the development of new kinds of work for persons of all ages and backgrounds, should subsidize retraining and relocation for all those displaced by economic change, should facilitate work for those with family responsibilities through social services such as day care and visiting nurse service, should treat education at the higher levels as compensable work, should place a value on work in the home (the Chase Manhattan Bank recently evaluated the average housewife's labor at over $8,000 a year), and should extend expanded social insurance protections to all these categories.

The idea of a guaranteed job, implicit in the Employment Act of 1946 though never implemented, seems revolutionary to many laissez-faire advocates who see in the labor reserve a necessary goad to industry and effort. But in 1906, Beatrice Webb noted in her diary a speech by Winston Churchill advocating a minimal guarantee of income with the state as a "reserve employer of labor." It is evidently not ideas and proposals that are lacking, nor even in our time the means—but rather the will to implement them.

Work-Related Insurance

Work is not only the most generally accepted basis for money transfers in the form of wage or purchase payments, but also seems in our present state of social development to offer the most generally acceptable basis for deferred payments when earnings are interrupted by such general hazards as old age, retirement, disability and premature death and transitional unemployment. Insurance systems in other countries cover additional risks such as health costs, wage losses due to sickness and maternity and the economic costs of child-rearing. The rapid growth in coverage, the addition of new benefits and a high degree of popular acceptability for our own federal Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance program result—in my opinion—from three interrelated factors: its work-related basis for entitlement, the sense of identification between worker as contributor and worker as beneficiary and the fact of self-contained financing outside the annual appropriating process. The modifications which have either taken place or been proposed in each of these principles deserve the most careful evaluation if the system is to be preserved and strengthened.

Social insurance has come under intensive review and some criticism in the current reappraisal. Many of the criticisms are inconsistent. Some complain that the system is not sufficiently redistributive while others complain that people do not take out precisely what they put in. (They seem to visualize a little bag of gold in Fort Knox with their name on it, more like a savings account than an insurance policy.) Some complain that the payroll tax on workers is regressive while that on employers inhibits employment by raising costs. Others make the sophistical error of combining public assistance and social insurance payments and then criticizing the payments going to the non-needy as if all were intended for that purpose. Some favor universal pension-type coverage of the aged (currently incorporated on a transitional basis in medicare and the so-called Prouty amendment minimal payments to those without social insurance credits under governmental program) and some favor optional coverage for the individual.

But most people accept social insurance as a deferred return on labor, a "right" cemented by their own contributions unrelated to their current need. Its role in relationship to poverty is preventive, not alleviative, and any move toward an income-related entitlement would destroy its essential value.

Its principal limitation as a poverty preventive at the present time is the inadequate level of its benefits which have not kept pace with the rise in earnings levels. Many advocates feel that benefit levels should be at least doubled with a general revenue sharing in the cost of this increase. It is their belief that general revenue could help to carry the social costs of the system (initiating costs, weighted benefits for low earners and dependents' allowances) as in other countries without endangering the principle of earned entitlement.

Tax-Supported Services

It is the thrust of this discussion that the need for income deficiency benefits should be reduced to a minimum by methods and programs more consistent with American values, attitudes and willingness to pay. But money payments related to work are only one such method. Another is the provision of tax-supported services and benefits to the public generally or specified groups in the population. Education, health benefits, subsidized housing, child care services, recreational and cultural provisions all provide real income, replace private expenditures for the same purposes and help to prevent at least some of the causes and by-products of poverty. Again the question arises as to whether it is better policy to concentrate resources available for this purpose on the needs of those who are least able to purchase them (the poor) or whether a more democratic, less divisive and hence more acceptable pattern lies in universality. The

former assumes limited resources and compensatory concentration for a transitional period but runs the risk of ultimate segregation by income class and the danger of second-rate services for the poor.

A second question involves the relationship of disposable personal income to tax-supported services. American tradition has tended to an over-evaluation of the former at the expense of the latter but there is also a danger in further distinguishing the poor from the affluent by restrictive benefits. The current recipient revolt against the limitations of the stamp plan for

subsidized food purchases reflects the high valuation which people place on the freedom, convertibility and anonymity of cash income. Without an adequate income policy it is virtually impossible to evaluate the intrinsic utility of such compensatory measures.

Public services also constitute the arena for a peculiarly interesting crosscurrent in American attitudes today. This is the pressure for individuals grouped together as consumers of public services—whether around geographical neighborhoods or particular institutions such as schools, housing projects, social service centers, etc.—to control or influence the character of these services. Again, the poverty program through its emphasis on "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in community action undertakings has been a major catalytic agent in accelerating this decentralizing process.

It is interesting to observe that while pressures for income payments have been largely directed toward more centralization (on the assumption that higher standards and more objective entitlement would lie in nationwide control), the reaction to centralized bureaucracy has largely centered on neighborhood social services—not excluding the services of lawyers to strengthen the hand of consumers vis-à-vis the political and economic bureaucracies. While the poverty program has tended to focus this effort on the poor, the true common denominator is the consumer. Thus we need to cultivate new forms of consumer-dominated cooperation in providing wanted social services as an offset to the limitations of governmental monopoly.

Another frequently discussed alternative to income deficiency payments involves benefits related to age or condition without regard to prior work history or individual need. Family allowances, old age pensions and disability pensions fall in this category. It is my belief that these are all historical anachronisms that would do little to enlist the support so necessary to a more effective income policy. Family limitation through contraceptive aids is now replacing subsidized family expansion as a primary goal of social policy.

Moreover, countries like the United Kingdom and France with longstanding family allowance plans are finding it difficult to channel more money to the most desperately needy families in the face of pressures to raise the universal benefits. Old age pensions would tend to settle at the lowest level of the present retirement benefit scale unless supplemented by payments related to earnings or need, in which case they would lose their basic simplicity. Rehabilitation and facilitated employment have replaced subsidized idleness as the remedy of choice for the disabled. Thus these options of yesteryear seem to me to offer little practical hope for future development.

Income Deficiency Payments

So finally I return once again to income deficiency benefits, residuary legatee of the nation's income policy. It seems obvious that no system based on work-related benefits and universal public services can meet all needs. Some people, either because of physical or emotional disabilities, are never connected with the workforce. Universally available health, mental health, rehabilitative, training and specialized institutional services might meet the need for many of these and each of these services might well carry its own provisions for cash income needs (as, for example, is now the case with the MDTA program). Some risks, most notably that of children deprived of parental support because of desertion before or after birth do not seem to lend themselves to the risk-sharing concept of social insurance. Essentially this is a child welfare problem and is discussed in that context. But more persuasively, some needs are so great, so temporary or so unusual that they require an individualized approach.

Most of the present differences of viewpoint that surround an appropriate method for providing ultimate underpinning protection against these needs seem to be either related to emphasis or administrative method.

On the first score, there are those who feel our primary emphasis in income policy should center on minimal guarantees with some going so far as to see these as replacing all those measures, like social insurance, directed to the prevention of poverty before it occurs. To my mind this is both defeatist in the sense that it presupposes the impossibility or undesir-

ability of preventing poverty (it is a simple fact of logic that one cannot prevent poverty by measures conditioned on its prior existence) and dangerous in subjecting the impoverished minority to all the isolating, denigrating pressures previously discussed. But a national income policy that sets its sights on the prevention of poverty and alienation does not reduce the obligation to provide protective, alleviative and restorative measures on a basis of decency and dignity when they occur. It is simply that we cannot afford to risk the destruction or weakening of preventive measures by an ill-conceived emphasis on alleviative measures which carry such a seductive allure of economy to the rest of society.

Administrative Questions

On the administrative side, I see three interrelated questions: (1) Should a program of minimal income guarantees be federally-administered or should it be continued under some modification of the existing federal-state pattern? (2) Should it be administered by a tax-controlling agency as a reverse aspect of the redistributive function of taxation? and (3) Should the granting of cash income be totally divorced from the giving of individualized social service?

Advisory Council Recommendations

As a member of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare appointed under the authority of the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments, my own views are largely reflected in the recommendations of that Council. It is the general thesis of its report that a radically different pattern of federal financing could assure a federally-determined nationwide minimum standard under state administration and that this standard should incorporate both income guarantees for all needy and essential social services for all who want and need them. The term Basic Social Guarantee is applied to this combined approach.

The Council's recommendations are predicated on the assumption that a primary goal is the reduction of the incidence of income deficiency by all the measures herein described or any others yet to be devised. It is on this assumption that it sees the task of providing residual minimal income guarantees as being closely related to the provision of a vastly expanded range of social services. The family head suddenly confronted with catastrophic needs, the deserted mother of several young children, the elderly couple stricken by illness or failure of competence on the part of one partner, the victim of fire or other emergency (to name just a few examples) cannot afford the time or energy to run from one agency to another. He needs a single source of help, hopefully available in his own neighborhood. He doesn't need an internal revenue agent or an income based on his past year's deficiency but immediate help which is both personal and monetary.

Much of the opposition to this viewpoint stems from judgments directed against the existing public welfare machinery and its social worker agents. The public

welfare agency as the residuary legatee of all society's failures on other fronts is the built-in scapegoat. Taxpayers berate it for excessive leniency and its clients for excessive harshness. But like any other governmental agency, it is the instrument of public laws and attitudes. To the extent that these are harsh, restrictive and inadequate, so, too, is their agent, the public welfare department. Any other agency required under these circumstances to spread too little money over too great a range of legally-entitled need would soon suffer from the same characteristics. The remedy lies in changing the attitudes of the general public.

Present public welfare laws, reflecting anachronistic public attitudes are clearly outdated. They still reflect the impoverished economy of the thirties, when reducing unemployment was the primary social goal and decentralized responsibility the dominating social heritage. By undertaking to guarantee employment for the employables (the rhetoric of 1935 spoke of guarantees though the appropriations were never adequate for the purpose and wartime labor shortages shortly made them unnecessary), three categories of need were singled out for federally-aided assistance. Support for these three categories—old age, blindness, and mothers responsible for small children—was thought to be a socially desirable method of relieving pressure on the labor market. It was assumed that the states should not only set the level of entitlement and support for these categories, but should be able to carry unaided the burden of general assistance for those needy not included in any federal measure. Small stimulative grants for child welfare services in rural areas and those of special need were also provided.

Over the years, the scope of federally-aided assistance has been broadened, though still within the con-

cept of categorical limitations, and the level of federal financial participation has been raised, though still within a reimbursement formula that leaves the standard of assistance to state determination and favors those with low standards. In no sense can it be said that a national assistance policy has been achieved, since each state is free to determine the extent of its own responsibility both as to whom should be aided and at what level. Few states extend assistance to all needy; virtually all—to a greater or lesser extent—deny assistance to newcomers within the state, and the levels of assistance for the most part are far below any conceivable standard of health and decency. Yet many of those whose standards are the lowest (Mississippi, for example, with average per capita monthly allowances for children below $9.00) tax themselves more heavily than the average for this purpose.

Need for National Policy

Obviously, any nationwide remedy for this situation requires federal action which is comprehensive with respect to coverage, standards and financing. Those who argue for outright federalization can make a strong case that a nationwide program incorporating federal standards requires federal financing and cannot be left to the veto power of optional state implementation. The same argument can, however, be made with respect to many other responsibilities traditionally reserved to the states and so far centralizing moves have required oblique rather than direct action for political approval. (Even the unemployment insurance system, clearly a factor in interstate commerce, has been held to state-determined standards by a strongly states' rights resistance to change.)

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare chose the carrot approach to federal standards by proposing a transitionally optional system of financing whereby the federal government would meet in its entirety (above a stipulated fair share annual lump sum expenditure by the state, based on fiscal effort in relationship to its average per capita income) the cost of implementing federal standards. This concept of federal aid, originally the brainchild of the late Senator Robert Taft, places clearly on the federal government the financing of those extra costs resulting from its own standard setting.

It was the thought of the Advisory Council that this financing pattern might prove sufficiently attractive to the states to offset the political resistance which has so far met every effort at national advance. Its principal weakness is, of course, the possibility of state unwillingness to implement the program at any price. Most members of the Council thought this an unlikely contingency in view of its heavy economic price (no state has, for example, declined its costly option to forgo unemployment insurance) while others favored the ultimate sanction of federal administration in the case of state recalcitrance, as existed in the days of federal relief program.

The Council also favored the close association of minimum service standards with minimum income standards, applying the phrase Basic Social Guarantee to this combined approach. This recommendation runs counter to much of the current social orthodoxy which assumes that services are intrinsically a means of curtailing money payments. Again, all depends on popular attitudes and circumstances. The family bent on finding a child for adoption or decent nursing care for an aged relative does not look on social services in this light. The Council's assumption of adequate income from other sources for people capable of working and adequate replacement income for those with a family work history reduces the residual problem of income insufficiency to those with special social problems.

The real problem on both counts comes back to the central ideological confrontation of our times: the puritanical value system of the majority and the ghetto heritage of our principal minority groups. It is most sharply focused in the problem of support for abandoned children and alienated youth: the beneficiaries of our embattled program of Aid for Families Dependent Children. Not all children in this program are Negro, but the judgmental attitudes directed toward Negro alienation from social opportunities and social norms has contributed to the low standards in this program. But in all discussions, from the Moynihan report on the Negro family to the evaluations of the Comptroller General, the central issue seems to have been obscured: that protection of the welfare of children is one of the most ancient of social obligations.

In fact, an anthropologist, Earl Counts, in identifying that which differentiated man from the apes has this to say: "The pre-human juvenile became a human child when the hitherto private business that he is an appurtenance of a certain female becomes everybody's business."

By this standard our claim to humanity seems rather shaky in a day when the weight of public opinion and political action seems bent on forcing needy mothers off the assistance rolls regardless of the impact on their children of such deprivation and indignity. Instead of using the starvation of a child as means of punishing its mother, we need to look upon child welfare protections as involving support as well as social services.

We are now in the rather absurd situation of being willing to pay reasonable fees to a foster mother for the care of a child removed from its home while we deny comparable support to the same child in its own home.

The concept of child welfare services needs to be broadened to carry a built-in provision of income as essential to that protective service. Only in this way can we extend the reality of a protective society to all children without regard to race, income or our judgments regarding the past actions of their parents. No challenge to our democratic pretensions outweighs the need to assure protective provisions for children, primary charge on the social conscience of mankind.

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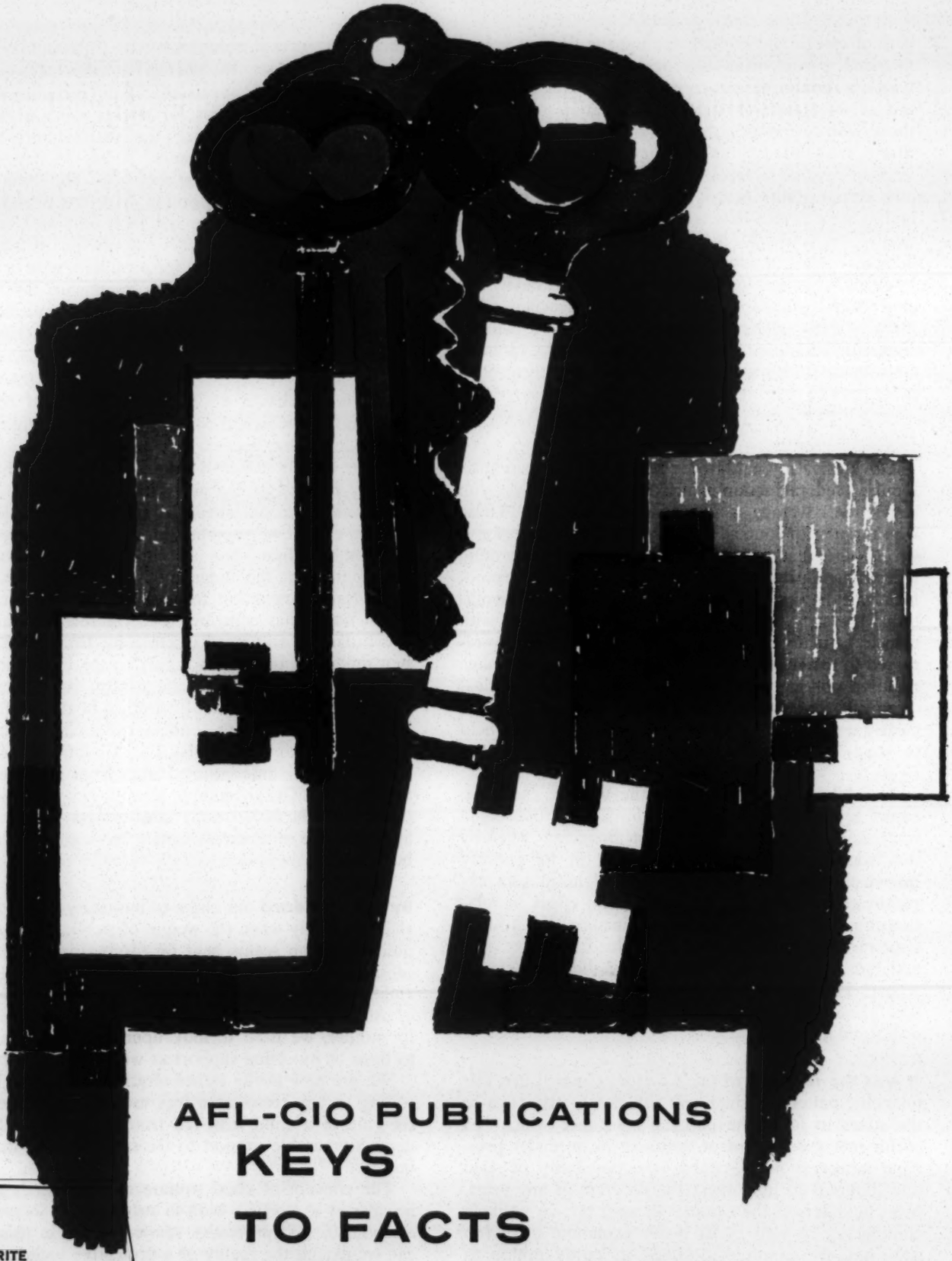

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Guaranteed Income

The Well-to-Do Do Better on Welfare Too

By A. DALE TUSSING

IT is well known that there is an enormous amount of discussion these days of new, general and comprehensive programs for income maintenance and security—family allowances, guaranteed incomes, negative income taxes, and the like.

What is perhaps less well known is that there exists already a vast and complex system of income security, protection, and maintenance, partly public and partly private, partly explicit but largely concealed, which provides largely for the non-poor, and which dwarfs, both in aggregate and on a per-person basis, existing programs for the poor.

I refer to such programs as unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the right to collective bargaining, parity price-support programs, the manifold welfare for-the-rich programs which are hidden in our tax laws, and many, many others. None of these programs is universal in scope; and the poor are always the most substantial group excluded. It is fair to say that we have already succeeded in a kind of war on poverty by erecting a floor to the incomes and well-being of those already in the middle class, such that only the most determined non-poor person could succeed in becoming poor and passing his poverty on to his heirs; but by excluding the poor from most of these programs we have also made this floor a ceiling, making it extremely difficult for the poor to enter the affluence of the middle class.

It is reasonable to inquire how we came to have the complex and confusing labyrinth of special-purpose welfare programs which exist in America today. The general answer is that it is a product of our philosophy of individualism, which has led us to to reject out of hand any comprehensive and uniform income-security program such as the Riot Commission recommends, because such programs violate the maxim that people should prosper only as they are productive, and that receipt of money or goods at public expense is immoral. Our philosophy of individualism has not led us in the middle class to reject welfare programs when we need them; it has instead led us to construct them in a manner which is tailor-made to deal with narrow clienteles and narrow ranges of problems, and in such a way as to conceal their true nature. Indeed, one of the surest ways to tell whether an American is poor is to inquire as to what his income support is called: if it is called "insurance," "parity," "tax relief," and the like, he is unlikely to be poor, but if it is called "welfare," then the recipient is clearly politically and economically underprivileged.

Dignity for Wealthy, Shame for the Poor

Our dual welfare system, hidden and dignified for most, exposed and humiliating for the poor, has had a number of serious consequences. It permits us in the middle class to feel self-righteous about poor people's welfare, and to expect not only gratitude but in most instances surrender of the recipient's control over his own life. That is, it fosters in the poor, but not in the non-poor, an attitude of dependency—an attitude which is of course misplaced in a society in which the lion's share of welfare payments goes to the non-poor, but an attitude which nonetheless is among the most important barriers to solving the problems of poverty.

Secondly, the hidden welfare system for the middle class often provides in a manner precisely opposite to need. The best-known example is the price-support program for farm products, which assists most the largest and most productive farms. But far more important are the techniques concealed in our tax laws. The income tax law permits, for instance, deduction of mortgage-loan interest expense, thus providing a technique for what is in effect a massive rent-supplement program for the middle and upper classes. The cost of this provision, in tax dollars lost, exceeds by a considerable amount the combined costs each year of all federal housing programs for the poor. Moreover, the larger one's income, presumably the larger one's home and mortgage, and the more, not less, assistance is provided by this deduction.

Thirdly, virtually all of the hidden welfare programs for the non-poor are immune to "economy drives," such as we are now experiencing at all levels of government. Thus the Congress slashes Poverty War and urban programs, freezes the percentage of children in each state who can be assisted under Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and the state legislature emasculates the Medicaid program; but there is no discussion at all of cutting back on the welfare programs for the non-poor. Indeed, they continue to grow.

Four Ways to Correct System

The dual welfare system is unjust and must be corrected. There seem to be four possible alternatives:

1. We might extend the existing programs for the non-poor so that they also cover the poor. In some cases this is possible. We can, for instance, extend compulsory collective bargaining to cover farm workers, hospital workers, and others who have been exempted. We can revise the unemployment compensation program so that all workers are covered, and so that employers in some fields are not permitted to use the public assistance system as their own costless unemployment compensation program. But generally, the very nature of existing programs makes it impossible to extend them to the poor.

2. We could attempt to design many new special-purpose welfare programs for the poor, to give them parity with the non-poor. In principle, there is nothing wrong with this strategy; but it will readily be perceived that this is precisely the strategy we have been following, and it has not succeeded.

3. We could, following the advice of Professor Milton Friedman, abolish the entire dual system of welfare—social security, farm price supports, public housing, surplus-food distribution, unemployment compensation, everything—and substitute a uniform and comprehensive income-maintenance system such as Friedman's negative income tax. This is the approach that most economists, left and right in political persuasion, favor. Certainly Friedman's logic is impeccable: we support someone because he needs support, not because he is a homeowner, a farmer, or an aged person; and we maintain the maximum of freedom when we provide them with money supplements as a matter of right to spend as they will, rather than goods or restricted payments at the whim of a bureaucracy.

4. Finally, we can set up an income-maintenance program, as the Riot Commission suggests, which establishes a floor income as a matter of right, and which is, in effect, the income-maintenance program of last resort. That is, it would take into account, to the extent possible, assistance received in other forms. Such a program would make an even floor out of our presently uneven one, by automatically filling in the gaps for those persons for whom there are no tailor-made programs.

A program of income-maintenance sufficiently general and automatic so as to end the dependency-creating effects of the present welfare system, and with sufficiently high benefits as to break the vicious circles of poverty, would be quite costly. But as an economist I must tell you that the costs are well within the reach of the United States. For instance, if in 1964 we had not reduced incomes taxes but had instead applied the same amount to income maintenance, we could have raised every poor family above the poverty line. The costs today would be but a fraction of the costs of Vietnam. Americans do not reject income-maintenance because of cost, but because of a misplaced moralism that leads them to oppose welfare payments on principle and to receive billions in hidden welfare payments themselves. They reject income maintenance programs out of a usually unconscious belief that the poor should be poor, an inevitable by-product of a psychologically necessary belief that they themselves are affluent because they deserve to be.

Mr. Tussing is Assistant Professor of Economics at Syracuse University

File – Guaranteed Income

Union News 10-68

Guaranteed Annual Income Gains Support

The idea of guaranteeing every American a minimum annual income through a "negative income tax" is gaining more and more support across the nation. Which doesn't mean that everyone's in favor of it.

Probably if a poll were taken among the public today, the majority of Americans would reject the idea as another "handout" for the poor and another means of paying people for not working.

But the signs are there that point to a change in the nation's thinking in future years. They are the same signs which preceded the Social Security Act, unemployment insurance, the minimum wage and Medicare. Although all are fully accepted today by most people, they were considered by many as positive steps along the road to socialism hardly more than 30 years ago.

The principal reason for such a "radical" idea as a guaranteed annual wage is dissatisfaction with today's system of public welfare. According to noted columnist Sylvia Porter, those in favor of changes in our welfare programs include such varied Americans as conservative businessmen, radical economists, militant Negros, reactionary politicians, liberal Democrats and stand-pat Republicans.

It started out as a major issue in the political campaigns earlier in the year. Although it has been shoved aside in recent months by the more emotional issues of "law and order" and the Vietnam war, it hasn't been forgotten by those who favor changing the welfare system.

According to Mrs. Porter, the riots of summer 1967 added new urgency to the problem of poverty. It is finally being admitted that poverty is a burden on our whole society, not just the poor. It also is clear that poverty breeds disease, delinquency, crime and immorality.

She also points out that our welfare system has not only failed to solve our poverty problem, but it has actually made the problem worse in many ways. Even after years of the greatest prosperity the nation has ever known, welfare costs are at the highest ever and rising steadily.

The urban crisis also has a direct relationship to the problem of welfare. President Johnson's riot commission favors a national system for boosting incomes, saying that dependence on welfare must be broken by giving children of the poor a chance to join the rest of society. The return on the investment would be great, the commission stated.

Another shortcoming of the present welfare system is the lack of uniform assistance among the states. Relief benefits for a family of four range from a low of $40 a month in Mississippi to $280 a month in New Jersey.

And most states withhold welfare to families where there is a "man in the house" which has resulted in the abandonment of countless families by the men so the children can get assistance.

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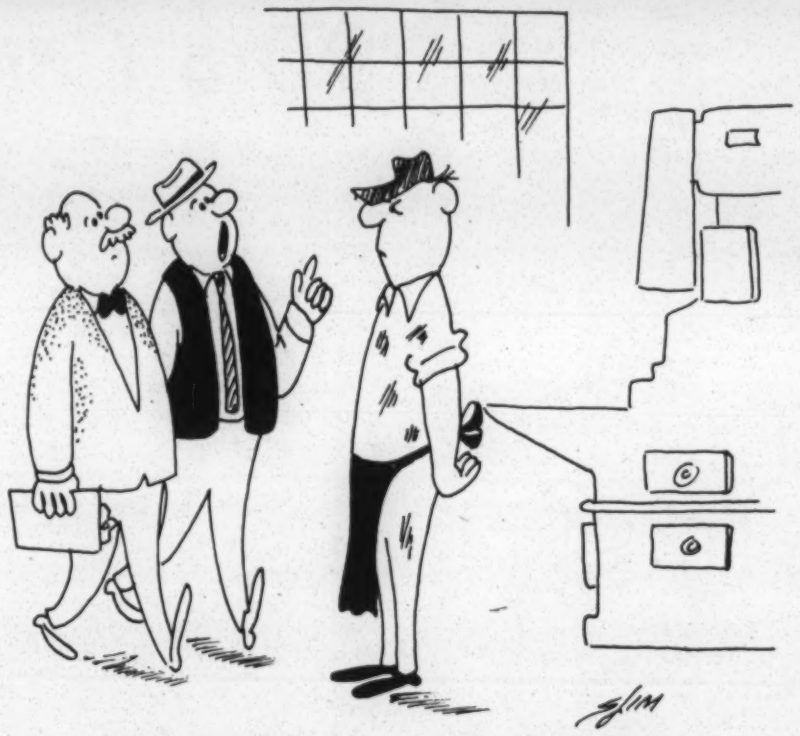
What's wrong with today's welfare system? Mrs. Porter answers with the statement that it doesn't work. It covers only about eight million of the 30 million Americans now living below the $3,300 poverty level set by the federal government for a family of four.



"Settle a bet for us, will you, Luther? Did you do something right last Tuesday around 1:00 o'clock?"

It costs $8 billion a year to do only this, $840 million of which goes for administrative costs.

It is degrading and humiliating, she says, and it undermines human dignity and importance. And its conflicting rules discourage people who want to work from doing so.

Those 30 million Americans living below the poverty line represent 15 percent of our population and one out of every four of the nation's children. More than half are under 18. About 80 percent of the kids on welfare live in homes without fathers including one of every ten white children and six of every ten non-white children.

One-third of those on welfare are the aged, the blind and the disabled, and some study groups have recommended that those persons be transferred to Social Security.

Many leading Americans have given opinions on the welfare system and possible solutions to the problem. Vice President Humphrey says the present welfare program "mocks justice." Richard Nixon, the Republican presidential candidate, said he is studying a wide range of alternatives to the present welfare system, including a guaranteed income.

The AFL-CIO has come out in favor of a system of minimum incomes, and economists ranging from the conservative Dr. Milton Friedman, Barry Goldwater's advisor, to the liberal Dr. James Tobin of Yale University have endorsed the negative income tax.

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The negative income tax has attracted the most attention and probably has more support than other proposals such as "children's or family allowances" which would make payments to all families with children, rich or poor.

Under the negative income tax concept, a break-even level of income would be set as the dividing line between poor and non-poor. The poverty line could possibly be $3,300 for a family of four, the standard set by the federal government.

Every tax unit, either a person living alone or a family, would then add up its total annual income and file a return. If that income amounted to less than its break-even level, the unit would **receive a tax payment** from the Treasury **instead of paying a tax to the Treasury.** In other words, it would be a negative income tax.

One feature of the plan which probably will draw the most criticism would be payment of the allowance in cash with each recipient having the freedom to spend it as he pleases.

Mrs. Porter explains that the benefits would be a matter of right. She describes "right" as the heart of the negative income tax proposal, because it removes distinctions between the person who can't work and the "loafer" who won't. Under that concept, only the family's size and income level would determine the amount of payment.

It is estimated that the poverty gap amounts to $10.8 billion... which means it would cost that much on top of the $8 billion a year now being spent on welfare to lift all 30 million of the poor out of poverty.

The negative income tax and welfare reform seem to be tied as closely together as poverty and disease, immorality and crime. Whether you believe the present welfare system is adequate or inadequate, just or unjust, you undoubtedly will be hearing more about reforms and new concepts in the months and years ahead.

NEW YORK TIMES DEC 21 1968

Nixon's Agriculture Secretary Sees a Need for Federal Farm Programs

By FELIX BELAIR JR.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20 — The next Secretary of Agriculture said today that some Federal programs would be necessary to keep farm production in line with domestic and foreign demand and to remedy the "income gap" for farmers.

But Clifford M. Hardin, who will head the Department of Agriculture in the Nixon Administration, refused in his first news conference to commit himself on any specific policy question. Near the end of an hour's session with newsmen he was asked to outline broadly any differences between the farm policies of the Nixon Administration and those of its predecessor.

"I do not think I know," Mr. Hardin said.

It was clear that the 53-year-old chancellor of the University of Nebraska took literally President-elect Richard M. Nixon's admonition to all members of his prospective Cabinet to avoid public discussion of policy questions until the new Administration takes over on Jan. 20.

It was equally clear that Mr. Hardin was determined to say nothing that could stir opposition in the Democratically controlled Congress, such as greeted the news conference remarks earlier in the week of the Interior Secretary-designate Walter J. Hickel, now Governor of Alaska.

Two Democratic Senators, Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and Gale W. McGee of Wyoming, criticized Mr. Hickel today for his statements on Wednesday about conservation.

And Senator George D. Aiken, Republican of Vermont, said at Montpelier that he would fight the confirmation of Mr. Hickel for the Cabinet post if he was opposed to the foreign trade zones proposed for Portland and Machiasport, Me.

Senator Aiken said that if Mr. Hickel was correctly quoted in his news conference here as opposing an 8 per cent share of the national foreign oil import quota for the planned foreign trade zones, "it sounds like he thinks the Secretary of Interior is supposed to represent Alaska and the Western oil fields."

Senator Mondale said Mr. Hickel's philosophy "does violence to conservation principles essential to the country." He cited Mr. Hickel's announced opposition to setting aside land and natural resources "strictly in the name of conservation" and his disagreement with the fixing of national clean water standards.

Senator Mondale said national standards were needed to clean up pollution of rivers and lakes. He said that without such standards industries would migrate from states having strict controls to those having none.

Senator McGee said Mr. Hickel's statements about conservation had made many Senators "feel uneasy."

Herbert G. Klein, communications director for President-elect Nixon, said in introducing Mr. Hardin at the news conference that policy questions would be "off limits." One reason for this, he said, was that a study group was being organized to advise Mr. Hardin on details of the programs he will have to administer after Jan. 20.

Still, some policy directions shone through Mr. Hardin's replies to questions when he did not sidestep them entirely. He said, for instance, that there was little he could do to change most ongoing farm programs before 1970, when they will terminate by law unless renewed.

Has No New Plan

Regulation of production will have to be continued in some form, he said, because it is a continuing problem arising from the blessings of abundance. Part of the problem stems from the fact that the return to farmers on invested capital is lower than for other sectors of the economy, so that farmers have not shared fully in advancing technology, he added.

But whether supply management is to be sought through acreage controls with price supports and payment certificates, as at present, will have to be decided later, Mr. Hardin said. Later he indicated he had no plan to substitute for the present system.

This came when he was asked about a proposal, during the recent Congress, that payments to farmres cooperating in acreage control programs be limited to a maximum of $25,000 to any individual producer.

Mr. Hardin said that he was aware of the proposal but that it raised a question whether enough acres could be taken out of production if the limitation were incorporated in control programs. Some large wheat producers have received more than $1-million a year because of the extensive acreage they control.

NE[illegible] 1968

Romney Vows Low-Cost Homes; Seeks New Priorities for Cities

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20—The man who made the compact car popular a decade ago promised today to bring America the low-cost house.

Gov. George Romney of Michigan, a former president and chairman of American Motors, held his first Washington news conference since Richard M. Nixon chose him to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. He was exuberant and expansive and left the impression that he could not wait until Jan. 20 to shake up the Government.

Mr. Romney made it plain that he favored keeping the department operating on at least its current level of commitment and that he would like to see a realignment of Government priorities so that more would be done for the cities.

The Nixon people, in their transition offices two blocks from the White House, have been putting Cabinet designers before the press all week. Herbert G. Klein, the new Administration's press aide introduced Mr. Romney with the usual statement that he would not talk about "future policy, strategy or programs."

But Mr. Romney spoke with some confidence about some of the things he intended to do at the housing department, which has the reputation of containing one of the most lethargic bureaucracies in Washington.

In the automobile industry, he recalled, he had "made the compact car popular, at least for a while," and he hoped to employ "the same kind of technology and innovations to bring down the costs of building housing."

Recent studies have shown that restrictive building codes, union practices and manufacturing methods have made the cost of new decent housing so high that millions of Americans cannot afford it. As housing Secretary, Mr. Romney will be in a position to correct some of these practices in administering the Omnibus Housing Act of 1968.

Mr. Romney said he was delighted that Mr. Nixon had decided to have a Council on Urban Affairs at Cabinet level with Daniel P. Moynihan, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, to head it. He said he envisioned Mr. Moynihan as the "idea man," with the Cabinet members and the President deciding which programs to push.

Too Soon to Comment

Reminded that Mr. Moynihan has for some time been a strong advocate of a family allowance from the Government, Mr. Romney was asked if he, too, favored such a plan. Mr. Romney said it was too early to get into that.

"I have the impression Mr. Moynihan will be looking at some of the things he has written and said," Mr. Romney said.

Mr. Romney was also asked about the use of tax credits to engage private enterprise in rebuilding the slums, a concept advocated by Mr. Nixon in his campaign but opposed by key members of Congress.

"That is a tool we ought to take a good, hard look at," Mr. Romney said. "On a selective basis it could be good, but only as one of many tools."

Mr. Nixon has given Governor Romney the additional assignment of organizing volunteer work across the country to help rebuild the cities. Mr. Romney said he was enthusiastic about this assignment and addressed himself at length to it, citing examples of how private initiative had secured jobs and training for the urban poor.

He was asked if such efforts under the Nixon Administration would supplant Government action.

"I don't think it substitutes, generally speaking," Mr. Romney said. "It supplements but does not substitute for the level of spending you now have at H.U.D."

Mr. Romney said he would push within the Administration for giving the needs of the cities high priority.

"A reordering of priorities is one of the things we will face," he said.

Guaranteed Income

4 CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

'Self-declaration' plan for welfare ignites lively debate

By Jo Ann Levine
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

When Wilbur J. Cohen, who heads the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), trumpeted a halt last month to burdensome investigations of welfare applicants, he hit a sour note with taxpayers, legislators, and even public-welfare officials.

Under Secretary Cohen's plan, all welfare departments would be required to adopt a "self-declaration" system by July 1, 1969. Already adopted partially in 22 states and completely in 14, this system is one in which a welfare recipient fills out his own application form at home, much as he would fill out an income-tax form.

If his application is approved, he could receive a welfare check within the month without ever having personal contact with a social worker at the welfare department. Later he would be told of social services available to him.

First impressions by the public were that the program was "untried" and would mean a welfare "giveaway." Legislators have since been swamping HEW in Washington for information about the declaration form.

In Massachusetts, the Joint Legislative Committee on Social Welfare responded to its conception of the plan and voted to recommend that it not be adopted in the commonwealth.

Timing criticized

Welfare officials favorable and familiar with the declaration system are not deterred from criticizing Mr. Cohen by the fact that the secretary promised Dr. Ralph Abernathy and the Poor People's Campaign last summer that he would set the plan in motion. They say the outgoing secretary's announcement was "tactlessly released to an unprepared public" and was "calculated to be postelection."

The adoption of a declaration system nationwide would serve to structure the welfare department in such a way, that, should Congress ever make the decision, the income-maintenance portion of welfare could be lifted right out of welfare departments and be administered through another agency, such as the Social Security Administration.

The primary purpose of the declaration system at this time is to maintain the dignity and self-respect of a poor person applying for welfare while increasing the efficiency of welfare personnel, simplifying paperwork, and speeding up accounting procedures.

"I don't see how Secretary Cohen's policy is going to be fully operational by July 1, 1969; if you do a rush job, you are not going to work the kinks out of it," said Paul LeVecque, supervisior of field operations in the Division of Family Services, Maine Department of Health and Welfare.

HEW officials say that the states would have gradually adopted the declaration form anyway, "just because it makes sense."

For example, all but two of the New England states are using some type of declaration form in all or part of their welfare programs. The idea was voluntarily picked up because it seemed to be working in the states where it was being tried.

Maine, a state which now uses the most advanced declaration system, according to regional officials of HEW, reported that in fiscal year 1964, 8 percent of its public-assistance recipients were receiving aid illegally.

But in 1966, the year the declaration form was adopted for applications in the "adult categories"—aid to the blind, the "totally and permanently disabled," the aged—illegal claims dropped 2.5 percent.

In fiscal 1968, they were down to 1 percent.

"You can't get much lower than 1 percent," said Mr. LeVecque. He explained that the 1964 ineligibility rate of 8 percent in Maine "was not because people cheated, but because some of our policies were so complex that when we checked cases we would find mistakes we had made."

HEW reports that the national ineligibility rate when forms are filled out by welfare workers is 1.7 percent in the adult categories and 1.6 for families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children. These figures were taken from cases handled from April 1, 1967, to March 31, 1968.

Social-welfare administrators generally have been cautious about the declaration system, because they tend to fear public and legislative reaction.

Opinion obtained

Complained one social worker, "The public seems to feel that needy people change into cheaters and raiders of the public treasury the day they ask their government for help."

Mr. LeVecque reports: "We are just beginning to get public opinion. For a while, nothing at all was said. . . . Now that we are moving into AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children], there is some reaction. The legislators are coming [into session] in January, and they don't quite trust it. . . . We will be watched very closely. The legislators just have to understand that we don't automatically grant a check to every client who writes in."

New Hampshire is a state which hopes to include the AFDC category on the declaration system by July, 1969. The state has been adjusting to using the declaration form in its adult-assistance categories since July of 1967.

Says Thomas Hooker, director of the Division of Family Services in the New Hampshire Department of Public Welfare, "That we are using the declaration form doesn't seem to be so widely known here, and the welfare department has not made a big issue of it. We have, however, assured ourselves that it is working properly."

The impact on social workers in the public-welfare departments has been dramatic. In Maine and New Hampshire, social workers no longer have to deal with a client's eligibility and some of them "don't know what to do with themselves," says Mr. Hooker.

Says Mr. LeVecque, "Social workers can no longer say, 'I don't have any time to give services because I'm so busy establishing eligibility.' . . . A few social workers have said, 'This isn't for me,' and have resigned."

Welfare recipients appear to respond in two ways: either they feel pride in being

(cont'd on p. 5)

WASHINGTON POST
DEC 21 1968

PRIDE IS PLANNING 2 MORE VENTURES

By Phil Casey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Pride, Inc., leaders said yesterday they hope to establish at least two more businesses in the next six months, and have long-range hopes for a black-operated shopping complex.

But Pride gave no details on what the new enterprises might be. Pride, which has nearly 1000 black members in its various programs, operates a sevice station and a landscaping business now.

Marion Barry, director of operations, said Pride is developing a narcotics program aimed at preventing use of heroin and other addictive drugs. It also works with addicts who want to be helped and employs them while they are trying to stop using drugs.

Pride's role is that of "economic development" of the black community, said Barry, who with Carroll Harvey, Pride's executive director, held a news conference to recite the various programs Pride has sponsored and developed to help ghetto youth.

Pride helps youths to return to the school system, operates a credit union, an on-job training program, an education department and a major community clean-up program.

Barry said Pride cleans an average of 1000 blocks and alleys a month and kills 10,000 rats a month.

"Pride has killed 160,000 rats so far," Barry said, and has conducted several special clean-up programs in ghetto areas.

"We at Pride said we were going to put dudes who had been left out, pushed out, kicked out or dropped out of school and dudes who had multiple jail records, in positions of responsibility and trust . . .," Barry said.

"We knew from the very beginning we would have problems. Not only did we have men who had been hustling all their lives, but also men who had lived a life of extreme violence and alienation, men who had no sense of discipline, no sense of good work habits.

"We at Pride are committed to developing these men to their fullest potential. In most we are succeeding, but with a few we have failed. However, our track record is better than the National Training School and other job programs," he added.

Week of March 9, 1970

Presented Event

PRESIDENT SAYS NATION MUST PROVIDE TRAINING, JOBS FOR UNEMPLOYED AND CURB THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

WASHINGTON -- President Nixon has reiterated the Administration's pledge to provide the unemployed with training and jobs and to combat inflation in a message to the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

"These are not merely economic issues," he said. "They are, fundamentally, moral issues. It is as immoral to stop a man from getting a job for which he is qualified as it is to allow a worker to be robbed of his money by inflation.

Text of the message -- sent to the AFL-CIO body which convened its winter meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida -- follows:

Greetings to the members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council as you meet to discuss and seek solutions to our economic and social problems.

Over one hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln said: "Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn." The central social and economic questions of our time: can we as a free people make that source available to those who have been denied its use and can we maintain a stable economy that will enable all workers to purchase those "comforts and necessities" without the cruel, hidden tax of inflation?

This Administration says we must -- and we can. The unskilled and unemployed American must be provided training and job opportunities; the workingman must know the dollar he earns is not being secretly eaten away by inflation even as he earns it. These are not merely economic issues. They are, fundamentally, moral issues. It is as immoral to stop a man from getting a job for which he is qualified as it is to allow a worker to be robbed of his money by inflation.

I know you and all the members of the AFL-CIO share these goals, for they are goals of decency and respect for workingmen everywhere. Working together, I know we can attain these goals. It is my hope that out of your deliberations come solutions that help America confront the problems of the seventies with the determination and common sense typical of the American workingman.

s/s Richard Nixon

WASHINGTON POST APR 21 1969

Computer Locates Work For Baltimore Jobless

BALTIMORE April 21 AP) —A year ago, the idea was born of establishing a single clearinghouse for persons needing jobs and employers seeking workers.

Through use of a computer, an up-to-date list of the thousands of jobs currently available now is turned out every weekday morning.

Today the Job Bank, as it is called, has come far enough that Baltimore people are teaching other cities how to do it.

The program is ready to start in Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, Hartford, Conn., and Portland Ore. Another dozen cities are expected to open job banks by July 1.

"I'm a little overwhelmed" says J. Donn Aiken, lean, white-haired director of the Maryland Employment Service and creator of the project.

"It is so simple when you look at it work, you wonder why in the name of God it was never done before."

Federal Funds

In March, 1968, employers were besieged by requests to list their openings from all of the many programs financed by Federal funds.

Aiken and Eugene B. Moore Jr., general manager of the Chamber of Commerce, then met with representatives of 30 agencies that touch on manpower to devise something to halt the flood.

The mechanical process of the Job Bank begins at Aiken's office at 6:30 p.m. By 1 or 2 a.m. a computer and a copier have turned out 29 copies of pages containing thousands of current job openings.

The pages are assembled into books and distributed by morning to Aiken's placement counselors and the city's anti-poverty agencies. More than 30 pieces of information are listed for each opening, ranging from a $1.50-an-hour kitchen helper to a $14,000-a-year marine architect.

Good Jobs

"When we first began we listed 3000 openings a day. Right now we're carrying 9000 to 10,000," Aiken said.

The Job Bank opened May 27, 1968. "In the first six months, we placed 36 per cent more hardcore unemployed than at any other time," Aiken said.

He estimated that "60 per cent to 70 per cent of the employers in the metropolitan area are listing with us."

"Our chief charge today is dealing with the disadvantaged," Aiken said. But he said much of the work is with senior citizens, and contended the Job Bank is not just for the hard-core jobless.

State Employes

Job Bank workers are State employes paid by Federal funds. It started with $56,000 a year and now spends $150,000.

Westinghouse and Bethlehem Steel are among the large employers in this area using the Job Bank. "As far as we're concerned, it's working well," said a Westinghouse spokesman.

James Chavis, director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, calls the bank "a very good idea" but he has reservations.

"The Job Bank helps people with education, or who have a —skill—it helps them tremendously. For those locked out, it is not providing jobs—low skilled, low education people, especially young black people in Baltimore's ghettos."

WASHINGTON POST APR 22 1969

Textile Firm Denies Bias In Hiring

Special to The Washington Post

GREENVILLE, S.C. April 21—Robert S. Small, president and chief executive officer of the Dan River Mills, said today that the company has been committed to a positive program of non-discrimination in employment for years.

He cited figures for the last five years. Between 1964 and 1969, he said, the employment of minorities has more than doubled. The company now has about 3200 employes who are members of minority groups and this is approximately 17 per cent of the company's work force of 19,000, he said. In 1964, he said the company had 17,600 employes of whom about 1500 or 9 per cent were members of minority groups.

WASHINGTON POST APR 21 1969

Post - Graduate Choice Difficult For Negro Business Students

By Robert J. Samuelson
Washington Post Staff Writer

ST. LOUIS, Mo., April 18—"I'm at a crossroads where I have to make up my mind: do I join the corporate structure or . . . do I get involved directly with my people?"

In those terms a 28-year-old Negro, one of the few blacks who will receive Masters of Business Administration degrees this year, described his own career dilemma. He spoke to a predominately white audience at a conference here this week on "Turmoil on the College Campus and It's Implications for Business."

The student, Thomas Bourelly, said that university-educated Negroes cannot desert their communities.

"We believe in collective salvation," he said, "we are all in the same bag—some of us are at the top, some at the bottom, but we're all in the same bag."

In an interview, Bourelly elaborated on plans which he believes reconcile personal ambition with group loyalty. Along with six colleagues who are also receiving MBA degrees, he will form a black investment company.

The seven will first spend a year or two in existing firms. It is essential, Bourelly said, that the firms not be too large. Jobs in big firms, he said, tend toward specialization, and the seven want positions "where we get to make business decisions and develop business judgment."

Simultaneously, the seven will solicit white money—$5 million for the first 18 to 24 months. This capital will put the group in business.

Whites are expected to play a large role not only in providing capital, but also in lending early management guidance ("to minimize our errors") and supplying business for the fledgling firms.

A good example is a printing firm now envisioned. A white printer, whom Bourelly describes as an "unusual man," has already agreed to act as the group's consultant and to "put his whole staff at our disposal" in the training of new black printers.

The next step would be to persuade large white companies to divert a portion of their commercial printing to the firm. According to Bourelly this approach would force white businesses to put money behind their "social consciences." Simultaneously, it would reduce the printing firm's marketing costs.

Eventually, the group would diversify in a number of areas, including housing construction in black neighborhoods, construction bonding for predominantly black construction firms, and electronic manufacturing.

Blacks would retain a majoritu control over the businesses, and under the original investment agreements there would be buy-back provisions. Thus, Blacks could eventually buy out the original white investors.

"The whole idea," he said, "is that you develop business expertise and reinvest it in the black community."

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

APR 21 1969

Cranston Appeals to Nixon To Delay Job Corps Cuts

By DANA BULLEN
Star Staff Writer

Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., has urged President Nixon to defer steps, already begun to shut down 59 Job Corps centers by July 1.

He told the President in a telegram last night that delay is needed if Congress is to be permitted "to proceed meaningfully" in considering the controversial shutdown plan.

The news that initial steps were being taken aimed at closing down the centers—and Cranston's wire to the President—came after a bumpy start of Senate hearings on the issue yesterday.

11,000 Interviewed

After a session of the Senate Manpower and Poverty subcommittee was temporarily blocked by Sen. Winston L. Prouty, R-Vt., pollster Louis Harris laid out stacks of figures showing that Job Corps training helps underprivileged youths.

As he had indicated at earlier House hearings, Harris said interviews with more than 11,000 persons, including Job Corpsmen, their families and employers, showed that the training made a big initial difference.

In the first six months after training, Harris said, youths made 38 cents more an hour. After 12 months, he said, hourly wages increased again by 7 cents an hour.

The figures showed that benefits from Job Corps training tended to lessen with time, indicating in Harris's view that former poor environments might be reasserting their grip.

The pollster, who studied the Job Corps for the Office of Economic Opportunity, saw a need for followup measures after youths complete Job Corps programs and begin work.

Cranston, before it became known that moves to close some centers were under way, said during the hearing he would ask the Senate to approve a resolution stating that no Job Corps installations should be shut down until Congress completes normal legislative and budgetary deliberations on the program.

Would Apply Pressure

If approved, such a resolution would not be binding on the administration, but it would place great pressure on officials to delay shutdowns while Conducted its study.

"The Congress has a right to study this very carefully before steps are taken," Cranston said.

Bertrand Harding, acting OEO director, confirmed reports from Cranston's office that notices have gone to some centers directing preliminary steps, such as a halt in contracting for future services, aimed at a shutdown of these centers.

Aides to Cranston said they understood telegrams went out yesterday to seven centers. On Monday, these sources said, 45 more notices will be sent to other centers scheduled to close.

Harding emphasized that the notices are only an initial step to put shutdown processes in motion.

The seven Job Corps centers notified to begin shutdown procedures are installations at Camp Kilmer, N.J.; Oak Glen, Calif.; Marquette, Mich.; Huntington, W.Va., and three facilities in Puerto Rico.

House Unit Summoned

In the House, meanwhile, chairman Carl D. Perkins, D-Ky., summoned his House Education and Labor subcommittee into session today to hear from directors and officials of a number of the Job Corps centers being shut down.

The initial hearing before the Senate Manpower and Poverty subcommittee, headed by Sen. Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., made it clear the administration's proposals would spark deep controversy, as they already have in the House.

Prouty and Sen. Peter Dominick, R-Colo., questioned Harris closely about methods and conclusions involved in his OEO-financed survey of Job Corps operations.

Prouty charged that members of the subcommittee had not been given time to study Harris's 82-page report. The Vermont Republican also said that administration witnesses should have been the first to testify.

The subcommittee, originally scheduled to begin its hearing at noon but unable to get it under way until an hour-and-a-half later because of Prouty's objection to the starting time, is scheduled to hear testimony by Secretary of Labor George Shultz on Friday. Shultz will appear before Perkins' panel Monday.

Guaranteed Income

NEW YORK TIMES APR 2 2 1969

TV: False Notions About Welfare Are Examined

Number Who Can Work Found to Be Small

By GEORGE GENT

FOR its next-to-final program, the Public Broadcast Laboratory Sunday offered informative reports on two different but interrelated aspects of the current revolution of the poor.

The program, seen on Channel 13 here, looked first at the growing resentment against public welfare in "None of My Business." While little was disclosed that had not been reported elsewhere, the segment neatly skewered the widely held belief that the welfare rolls are populated largely by people too lazy to work.

Fifty per cent of the 8.5 million people on welfare are children under 18, and 40 per cent are made up of the blind, the aged and the permanently disabled. Only 10 per cent can be called employable and it was pointed out that most of the nation's 22 million poor are already regularly employed.

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The notion that the poor like welfare was disputed in testimony after testimony before a hearing in Fresno County, Calif., of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. There, black and white, Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans, affirmed their dislike for the programs because of the indignities visited upon them in applying. Many were ignoring their rights to welfare rather than suffer these indignities.

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Welfare programs, it was shown, are costly, complicated and inequitable, but the commission found that public support for some sort of income maintenance for the poor was growing. The poor agricultural worker has begun to wonder why the Government can pay subsidies to his farm employer not to grow crops, but cannot subsidize his necessities.

The inequity, the program pointed out, has been called socialism for the rich and free enterprise for the poor. The patience of the poor is ending.

The second part of the program was devoted to a moving study of the new militancy among the nation's Mexican - Americans. Long ground down in poverty as agricultural workers, the Mexican-Americans, like the Southern Negroes, have been uprooted by technology and more and more are becoming an urban people. Like the Negroes, they are becoming aware that their poverty and ignorance are socially induced and are not part of the nature of things and they have begun to demand their rightful place in American society. The new thrust is toward more education and a new inculcation of Hispanic culture.

Pride of race—defined as "enduring spirit"—is the message of America's second oldest settlers. In the vineyards of Delano, Calif., and in the barrios of Los Angeles, the message is coming in loud and clear.

WALL STREET JOURNAL APR 22 1969

Bill to Speed Collections Of Jobless Tax Advances

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The House Ways and Means Committee approved a bill that would require most employers to pay the Federal unemployment tax on a quarterly rather than an annual basis.

The accelerated payment schedule is necessary because administrative costs of the Federal-state unemployment insurance program and the public employment services are outstripping revenue, according to officials of the Administration and of state departments of employment security.

The Administration bill is expected to get Congressional approval without difficulty.

Wages for Mothers: a way to fight poverty

By DAVID G. GIL, Ph.D.

During recent years an awareness of poverty, its high social and economic costs, and its disastrous consequences for those directly affected by it, as well as for society as a whole, has spread throughout the nation. This increasing visibility of poverty has given rise to mounting dissatisfaction with the public welfare system and especially with the program of aid to families with dependent children which was designed more than 30 years ago as one of the nation's defenses against poverty. In response to this general dissatisfaction with the failure of public welfare programs to deal adequately with the massive problem of poverty, a variety of far-reaching proposals have been formulated by economists and other social and political scientists and by political leaders in and outside the government.

The general objective of all these proposals is to assure everyone an adequate share in the affluence of American society as a basic right to enable all people to live decently during all phases of their lives, regardless of economic trends and the many risks connected with age, ill health, and physical, emotional, and social handicaps.

Social Security for Motherhood

The approach I propose may be designated as Mothers' Wages, or Social Security for Motherhood. It is based on the premise that society has a stake in, and an ultimate responsibility for, the rearing of children, since on this function depends the continuity and survival of society. The child's family is in a sense serving as society's agent in carrying out this function. If this is so, then any work performed in bringing up a child constitutes an important social task for which society should compensate those who have to disengage from, or to stay out of, the labor market to perform it. For society to accept the ultimate responsibility for rearing the next generation of citizens and to compensate mothers for their investment of time, energy, and work in assuming responsibility would be quite consistent with 19th and 20th century social and legal developments concerning the status of children. Indeed, unless society compensates mothers for their voluntary-yet-forced withdrawal from the labor market and for their assumption of the essential tasks of child bearing and rearing, it is actually relying on "slave labor" in exploiting women's biological roles and psychological tendencies.

Society has gradually accepted the responsibility for rearing and socializing children who are under the supervision of persons other than their biological or adopted parents. No one today seriously questions the appropriateness of compensating teachers and institutional workers for their investment of time, energy and work on behalf of children assigned to their care and few question the appropriateness of compensating foster parents, although the compensation may be far from adequate.

It would seem therefore, that society should pay an appropriate wage to every mother and expectant mother for as long as child bearing and rearing tasks keep them outside the labor market, whether or not by choice. The level of the mothers' wages should be fixed by federal law to correspond at least to the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and thus every mother would be assured an income well above the poverty level. If wages were computed for only 8 hours per day, 7 days per week, a mother would receive about $90 per week, or $4,680 per year.

Child Care a Full-Time Responsibility

Under such a system mothers' wages would not vary in relation to the number of children under care, since their purpose would be to compensate the mother for staying out of the labor market to invest effort in a societal function. The number of children in the mother's care would not change this context. The wages, however, would vary in relation to the extent to which the mothers did or did not participate in the labor market. A mother who undertook part-time employment or self-employment would receive mothers' wages on a prorated basis. A mother who engaged in full-time employment would receive a fixed fraction of the mother's wage, in recognition of the fact that child rearing involves an around-the-clock, 365 days-a-year, stand-by maternal responsibility.

The age of the children in a mother's care might be another factor in varying the wage level since the time commitment a mother must make to child rearing tasks varies with the age of the child. Before the child enters school, the mother's investment in child rearing is total. From that point on, under normal circumstances, the mother's investment of time and effort in child rearing decreases and she may no longer need to stay completely out of the labor market.

All Mothers Would Be Eligible

Since the only criteria for paying mothers' wages and determining their amount would be the status of motherhood or expectant motherhood and the extent of attachment to the labor market, all mothers who qualified under these criteria would be entitled to compensation irrespective of their legal and financial status. Thus mothers would not be stigmatized for receiving such wages. Marital status, property, and other sources of income would be disregarded in determining eligibility. However, since the mothers' wages would be taxable income, regular taxation mechanism would return excess income to society.

Mothers' wages as proposed here are conceived of as an entitlement related to a specified societal context, motherhood, and disengagement from the labor market. Thus conceptualized, a program of mothers' wages fits the social security model and the Social Security Administration becomes the most appropriate and economic government mechanism to administer it. To obtain her wage, an expectant mother would register her claim at a social security office, and checks would be issued to her automatically as long as she continued to be eligible. The cost of the program could be met partly through raising the base for social security deductions and partly from general revenue, which would increase because mothers who received societal wages could not be claimed as dependents for income purposes.

It would seem to be desirable to link the mothers' wages plan proposed here with a system of children's allowances to which all legal minors would be entitled. This combination of programs would assure proportionally larger incomes for larger families.

I am aware that a proposal for mothers' wages raises many complicated issues requiring thorough exploration. However, it would be unrealistic to expect easy solutions to as complex a problem as poverty in America. People who are discouraged by the complexities involved in eliminating poverty should remember that preserving the status quo of a society divided in affluent and poverty-stricken segments might be even more complicated a task than bringing about social justice.

Dr. Gil is associate professor of Social Welfare at Brandeis University.

U.S. Department of Labor
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WALL STREET JOURNAL MAY 29 1969

Guaranteed Income

Welfare at Crossroads

Nixon Men Study Alternate Aids to Poor: National Minimums or Guaranteed Income

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—As the Nixon Administration begins the final stages of shaping its much-heralded welfare reform program, two dramatically different concepts are being hotly debated by top officials.

One would couple a national minimum standard under existing welfare programs with a separate plan for sharing Federal revenue with the states.

The alternative concept would replace current welfare programs for needy families with an entirely new effort called the Family Security System. In effect, FSS would be a modest form of negative tax or guaranteed income plan, although proponents avoid such labels.

The first approach, favored by White House Counselor Arthur Burns and other conservatives, also would emphasize work-training, day care and other programs in an effort to trim relief rolls in the long run. But it would immediately increase Federal welfare outlays by $300 million to $400 million a year, plus a good deal more if revenue sharing and other expenses are added in. Its main aim is to preserve and perfect the existing Federal-state welfare system.

The competing approach, fostered by Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Finch and favored by social activists in the Administration, is intended to assure that a penniless family of four receives $1,500 in Federal payments annually. But the payments would decline progressively as the family's outside income increased, and would end entirely at an earnings level of $3,000 a year. The additional cost of the FSS plan, along with a Finch-favored Federal standard in payments for aged and other welfare recipients, would be about $1.6 billion a year.

Compromise Possible

Officials say the President hasn't hinted which approach he favors, and in the end some kind of compromise might be adopted. Possible mixtures of minimum welfare standards, work-training plans, guaranteed income for some workers and revenue sharing are almost limitless. At any rate, a Presidential decision is expected within a month or so, followed by presentation of the program to Congress.

The Burns and Finch plans are poles apart, both in philosophy and practical approach. Mr. Finch believes that a dramatic departure from the Depression-spawned Federal-state public welfare system is the best way to achieve reform. Mr. Burns, on the other hand, prefers to keep intact the existing system, which leaves most administrative authority in the states and requires states to furnish a portion of public-assistance payments.

The HEW Secretary is seeking an entirely Federally financed and administered program that would put cash in the hands of all low-income families, yet still make it advantageous for them to work. The aim is to supplement incomes of "working poor" families—an estimated six million to seven million people.

Not only would this approach strengthen families that might otherwise break up, Mr. Finch argues, it also would tend to increase incentives to work. Thus, Mr. Finch insists, "to include the working poor isn't basically a left-ish" initiative, but rather is an essentially conservative move that nevertheless appeals to liberals. Further, he says, it would place aid directly in the hands of the poor, so that the individual has the option to deal with his own problems.

Mr. Burns believes that welfare should be extended only to those who are unable to support themselves. The work incentives that underlie the free enterprise system will be eroded if welfare becomes a "right" for all the poor, Mr. Burns reasons. "It seems inescapable that more and more people would make the purely rational decision to remain idle rather than work," he says. There's a great risk, he warns, "of a corrosive effect on moral values and attitudes, not only in the case of recipient adults but on their children as well," he adds.

Mr. Burns would make more adequate grants to some of the six million recipients currently on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) rolls and would expand the program to include more of the poor, at least in the short run. But major long-term reliance would be placed on a major expansion of work-training programs, day care and other endeavors, already under way on a small scale, to turn welfare recipients into tax-paying, self-sufficient workers.

Prolonged Debate Seen

The total Federal-state cost of public assistance programs is about $7 billion a year, covering more than nine million recipients. Little public controversy surrounds the so-called adult categories—the aged, blind and disabled. The big issue is AFDC, which is rising at more than 10% a year. The local financial burden of AFDC has become a prime political problem in many states, and Mr. Nixon, during the campaign and after his election, promised significant reforms.

Although the President is expected to make his final choice within a few weeks, some officials believe the issues are so complex and the plans so far apart that the debate could drag on well into the summer. The changes aren't intended to take effect until July 1, 1970, or possibly a year later.

The slow start, of course, will help hold down immediate expenditures and give Congress more time for careful consideration. Overall, it's expected, any combination of welfare reform, work training and revenue sharing will add at least $1 billion a year to welfare costs at the start.

The Burns plan probably is less expensive and less controversial. But whatever the President proposes is sure to encounter obstacles in Congress. Conservatives who control some of the key committees are loath to approve increases in welfare spending.

Continued on Page 5

NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 29 1969

STATE TO HANDLE YOUTH JOB FUNDS

U.S. Bypasses City to Pay $14.7-Million to 42,000 in Summer Program

By EMANUEL PERLMUTTER

The state will handle all the money to be paid to the 42,000 youngsters who are going to be employed in the city this summer in the federally financial Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

The Federal Government has asked the State Division of Employment to assume responsibility for the $14.7-million that Washington is providing for the summer youth job program here. This action follows disclosures of frauds, thefts and mismanagements in the city's Human Resources Administration, which runs the antipoverty programs here.

In confirming the new procedure, Edward L. Weintraub, regional information director for the United States of Labor, said last night that this was the first time that such a measure of fiscal control over Neighborhood Youth projects has been shifted by the Federal Government from a city to a state.

"You can consider this a pilot project, in a sense," he said.

"We didn't seek this assignment, the Federal Government asked us to do it, "Alfred L. Green, the executive director

Continued on Page 5

NEW YORK TIMES MAY 29 1969

Dispute Over Vocational Schools Revived

Extensive delays in plans to abolish the city's multi-trade vocational high schools have led to a renewal of the dispute over the school's quality and usefulness.

Not since 1965, when the Board of Education decided to combine academic and vocational studies in single comprehensive high schools that would "improve education and enhance integration," has the controversy over vocational schools appeared so divisive.

Proponents of vocational schools argue that many of them are getting better and should be retained — as Sidney Platt, the principal of Eli Whitney Vocational High School in Brooklyn, puts it — to "help kids get their feet on the ladder of success."

Advocates of the comprehensive schools are alarmed that not one has been opened, largely because of construction delays. They fear that further postponements and opposition may undermine the change-over and rob students of broad educational and job opportunities.

Review Sought

Mr. Platt, who is president of the Vocational High School Principal's Association, said his group would ask the new interim Board of Education to review the policy on comprehensive schools "in the light of newer thinking."

The comprehensive schools would only "water down and fragment" occupational education, he added, but strengthened vocational schools would offer academic work, and "at the same time give the youngsters the ability to make a living."

"We're not engaged in animal training," Mr. Platt said, "and we want flexibility. However we don't want flexibility for devaluing. And we think the citizens should have some say in whether they're ready to invest hundreds of millions of dollars in the comprehensive idea."

Also distressed, but for different reasons, are the educators and laymen who want the comprehensive program speeded up.

"The situation is really indefensible," said Mrs. Alexander Katz, chairman of the education committee of the Women's City Club and projector director of the Public Education Association's committee on education, guidance and work.

"It means that for five years we've just been marking time," she said, "and for kids it means that they are no better equipped than before to enter the labor market or continue their education."

Called Out-of-Date

Mrs. Katz said the vocational schools, which have 42,000 students, "haven't really retooled to help kids find their way" to higher education.

She also said the "nature of the job market," had made obsolete the kind of training that has been given in vocational schools here—but not trade training as such.

"The increasingly white collar market puts a high premium on basic skills — reading, writing, thinking and words and numbers," Mrs. Katz said.

While the arguments go on, so do the remaining 23 multi-trade vocational schools and the five specialized schools—Art and Design, Automotive, Aviation, Fashion and Printing.

The latter would not be changed with the advent of the comprehensive school, but the multi-trade schools, under present plans, would be eliminated.

School Seem Calm

The routine in many multi-trade schools appears to be little affected by their fate. Reinforcing this sense of order is the fact that they have been largely free of the student unrest that has troubled many academic schools.

The exterior of Central Commercial High School in Manhattan is freshly painted and the steady beat of typewriters can be heard across the front courtyard.

At Clara Barton High in Brooklyn, two new dental operating rooms have been added with Federal aid. In some schools, courses in such fields as data processing, electronics and appliance repair have replaced millinery, sheet metal and other studies in reduced demand.

Many youths who have stayed in the vocational schools even while hundreds were dropping out are quick to express their satisfaction.

Evilio Ortiz, a senior at Eli Whitney, interrupted his tacking in an upholstery class the other day, and joined a few students summing up their views of the school.

"To me," he said, "Whitney is the greatest."

The vocational schools have long been charged with being a "dumping ground."

Five years ago, when 22 per cent of the students in the 60 academic high schools were Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the comparable figure in the vocational schools was 48 per cent. In 1967, Negroes and Puerto Ricans made up 34 per cent of the enrollment in the academic schools; 60 per cent in the vocational schools.

A number of school officials concede that the "dumping ground" charges may have had some truth a decade ago. Now, they maintain, many of the vocational schools have instituted screening measures and are receiving abler students.

"The vocational schools are no longer the dumping ground in this town," said Eli E. Cohen, chairman of the Board of Education's advisory committee on vocational education and executive secretary of the National Committee on the Employment of Youth.

Mr. Cohen said that 15 to 20 per cent of the vocational graduates were going on to some form of higher education — particularly in two-year community colleges—and that 75 to 80 per cent of the graduates immediately available for work were finding jobs in fields in which they were trained.

However, he conceded that "the really soul-searching question" of whether time in the vocational high schools was efficiently spent in terms of students' long-range needs was unanswered. In the absence of follow-up studies, he said, "we really don't know for sure what difference it made that a student took a vocational course."

The matter of the vocational [illegible]fulness to business and industry is also much debated.

The Board of Education reported that of the 7,585 graduates in 1967, a total of 4,724 were available for employment at once. It said that 4,508 had ben hired and that 3,679, or 77.9 per cent had taken work outside their special areas, and 4.5 per cent were unemployed six months after graduation.

Job Placement Rates

In descending order, the highest rates of job placements by trades offered in four or more schools were in secretarial practice, business education, stenography, commerce, practical nursing, bookkeeping, printing, distributive education (marketing, retailng), cosmetology, women's wear manufacturing, machine shop mechanics, sheet metal and auto mechanics. All were above 70 per cent.

Mrs. Katz argued that many of the most successful trades could easily be included in comprehensive high schools, with less focus on specialization, and that business and industry could provide more on-the-job training for students who wanted it.

She also insited that the comprehnsive schools — or even the academic high schools—czould serve many students at less expense. The per pupil cost in the vocational high schools in 1966-67 was $1,766; in the academic schools, $1,164.

Mr. Platt contended that the extra cost was justified and that it was "criminal that people are being misled into thinking that certain jobs are disappearing" or that industry would pick up any slack in high-skill training.

"You just try to get a roofer or a carpenter or an electrician or a plumber," he said.

Seelig Lester, the Deputy Superintendent of Schools for instruction and curriculum, said that a recent survey of 1,000 businesses and industries here had shown a preference for prospective employes who were both skilled in a trade and generally well-educated.

"If we can't give them both," he added, "they'd rather have the kid who was well-rounded and they'll train him."

Herbert Bienstock, regional director of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, said he was "not at all sure you can train secondary school students for specific job openings" in coming years.

Where Jobs Will Be

Three weeks ago, in a survey of the city economy, Mr. Bienstock said that job increases in the next decade "will be largely in occupations characterized by higher levels of educational attainment."

Yet most employment opportunities, he noted, "develop as a result of labor attrition rather than through industrial expansion."

"Large numbers of job openings in the city in the decade from 1965 to 1975 will result from repdacement needs," he said, "many in job categories with only modest educational requirements."

Whatever the progress, the anxieties over vocational schools presist.

A plea for restudying "the whole concept of where we're going in vocational education" was entered yesterday by Morris Iushevitz, who until his term on the Board of Education expired this month headed a committee on occupational training.

Mr. Iushevitz described the vocational schools as "antiquated." He also criticized the program for comprehensive schools.

"What we're getting," he said, "is neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring. The whole thing has been swept under the rug but it has [illegible] brought out. We have to [illegible]n for the modern age."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

June 11, 1969 The Dallas Morning News

Women Considered Disadvantaged Also

By MARY BRINKERHOFF

Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, the first Negro ever to head the U.S. Women's Bureau, spent nearly a quarter of a century dealing with slow learners and the disadvantaged.

The fact is, she never has stopped.

But Mrs. Koontz hopes things will get better, both for the disadvantaged — women — and for the slow learners, those who cherish the "mythology" of prejudice against them.

There's every logical reason to look for improvement, the articulate teacher-turned-bureaucrat told reporters and local leaders who turned out to greet her during a fast stop at Love Field Tuesday. The question of using or wasting female talent "matters a lot to the economy now, you see, not just to women."

So far, she conceded, "we're still pretty much at the bottom," less because of outright, conscious prejudice against women than because of "something which I think is worse: absolute unawareness of their existence."

Mrs. Koontz, on her way back to work after a speaking date at College Station, stopped off to help the Dallas regional office of the Women's Bureau mark its fifth anniversary. She and Miss Rhobia C. Taylor, regional director, cut a birthday cake in the Braniff Airways press room.

Last July, the teacher from Salisbury, N.C.—wife of Harry L. Koontz, a teacher and athletic director—took over the presidency of the National Education Association at a convention in Dallas. She was the first of her race in that job too.

Early this year, Mrs. Koontz was appointed U.S. delegate to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. Eight days later came her selection to head the Women's Bureau.

In this "sub-cabinet" job, she became the first woman placed in a high-ranking post by the Nixon administration, itself criticized in some quarters for slighting female talent. Mrs. Koontz Tuesday referred questioners who brought up such criticism to the President himself.

She said that the Women's Bureau will work to open new fields of employment and advancemenn to women, to further their training, to expand child-care facilities, to study still-existing laws which hinder their full achievement.

Other Koontz comments Tuesday:

Employers still look for "the best man" to fill a post and often don't even think of visiting women's colleges.

It's important to change the attitudes of personnel directors, but success in fighting job discrimination depends on the willingness of individual women to speak up. Many newspaper "help wanted" advertisements still reflect discrimination.

A woman can take time to work and still be a good mother. "We don't require 24 hours on the job from anybody else."

Child-care centers can help not only children of working mothers but kids from affluent families who must learn sooner or later to share the world with those different from themselves.

Household workers must be provided adequate standards of pay, performance and training.

Young husbands today take pride in working wives, companinship in marriage and the sharing of household duties. "Thank God for the barbecue pit, a manly way of cooking."

SUNDAY HERALD TRAVELER, JUNE 15, 1969

Computor System Tested in Newton

By SHIRLEY GOLDWYN

A $1.8 million, three-year project to develop a computer guidance system is being field tested in Newton schools. The plan will help students and guidance counselors make career and college choices.

Called the Information System for Vocational Decisions, and funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the project has involved the Harvard School of Education, New England Data Systems and the Newton public schools.

Sophisticated computers have been placed in Newton High School, Bigelow Junior High School, Hamilton Elementary School and WEMBROC (West Metropolitan Boston Regional Opportunity Council).

SIXTEEN JUNIORS who agreed to take part in the field tests have been involved at Newton High School since the computer was installed in April.

They were scheduled to work with the computer at the Career Guidance Resource Center at the high school once a week under the supervision of Mrs. Martha Trachtenberg, the counselor in charge of the center.

The computer is equipped to give information about colleges, occupations, trade and vocational schools and career opportunities in the military.

If a student is interested in using the computer to help him select a college, he asks it questions. He may indicate his wish to stay in New England or the Middle Atlantic States. The computer may respond with a further question to help narrow the field. It may ask "What size college?"

Through a continuing give and take, the student may find that there are 10 colleges of the kind in which he is interested which he may wish to investigate further.

THOUGH GRADES and college board examination scores are not included, the student's class rank may be, thus helping him to be realistic about his goals.

The same technique is used for jobs. The student might tell the computer that he would like to work with other people. The computer, through the question and answer approach, helps the student to narrow the field and suggests likely possibilities.

The computer also is equipped to show slides of a particular college campus or of people at work in various occupations.

According to Robert Aylmer, a doctoral student at the Harvard School of Education who is working with the project, there is no thought of replacing the guidance counselor in the school.

However, school counselors today are overburdened with detail, and the use of computers to help supply information would free the counselor to perform his real function—that of counseling and helping the students to sort out information and evaluate their own feelings about what they would like to do with their future lives, Aylmer said.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE Wednesday, June 11, 1969

People Want Work, Says Employer

Huntsville (AP)—The president of a company formed to hire hard-core unemployed has said here that contrary to what one hears or reads, "People do want to work."

"If you train people and give them an opportunity to use the training, they will respond," said George W. Craig, president of Ventura Manufacturing Co., San Antonio. Craig was speaking Tuesday at an interagency workshop at Sam Houston State University's Institute of Contemporary Corrections.

Craig told the group he started the company with 200 hard core unemployed workers. He said his company's main objective was to provide training and permanent employment for the group following the president's test cities program.

He said 70 percent of his workers had police records and 40 percent had served time in prison.

His criterion was unemployed or with income of less than $3000 yearly family income.

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL
JUNE 12, 1969

Negro Farmers Win Grant To Raise Cattle

GREENVILLE, Miss., June 11. — (UPI) — The Ford Foundation has approved a $100,000 grant aimed at helping low-income Negro farmers in Holmes and Issaquena counties become self-sufficient beef cattle operators, it was reported Wednesday.

The grant went to the center for community change acting on behalf of Milestone Cooperative Association and Mississippi Action for Community Education.

The project got underway earlier this year with an initial grant of $265,153 from the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was designed to help farmers supplement their income by raising cattle on their own property or on land leased through grazing associations.

Summit Assails Schools On Training for Waiters

By LEE SIMOWITZ

The Metropolitan Atlanta Summit Leadership Congress Thursday attacked the Fulton County and Atlanta school systems for submitting a proposal for federal funds to train poor people as waiters and waitresses.

The congress, a biracial organization of community leaders, claimed the two school systems were planning to produce 3,000 waiters and waitresses in 1969-70.

"We demand that the school system use better ways for preparing people to make a living," said the statement. "The school system should not be training poor people to be servants."

"The training of poor people by our public school system to be hand servants for the wall-to-do is inhuman and cannot be allowed," the statement added.

NOT ENOUGH INTERESTED

John Standridge, director of vocational and technical training for the Atlanta school system, said Thursday night that the system has no waiter-waitress training as such because not enough students are interested in taking courses in serving food.

There are no plans to train 3,000 waiters and waitresses in Atlanta, Standridge continued, though there is a food service program at Atlanta Area Technical School that offers courses in various aspects of restaurant management.

"I certainly agree with the statement that we shouldn't be training poor people to take minimum wage-type employment," Standridge said.

REDUCED DEMAND

But the low pay offered to waiters has so reduced demand for courses in that area, he continued, that the only waiter training the system gives is through extension courses to enable waiters already on the job to gain promotions to other positions.

The school system's course offerings are not for low-paying jobs, Standridge said, but rather for fields such as data processing, clerical occupations and accounting.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE JUN 17 1969

Heineman Urges Cash Subsidy for All Poor

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Pittsburgh, June 16—Federal cash subsidies for all poor persons, whether they work or not, were urged today by Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs.

At the same time, George Romney, secretary of housing and urban development, warned the nation's mayors that if they want to see an income tax sharing program with the federal government, they will have to get together with the governors of their states.

Speak to U. S. Mayors

Both men made appearances here before 500 mayors attending the United States Conference of Mayors.

Heineman, who is president of Northwest Industries, Inc., and board chairman of the Chicago and North Western railway, said that noncategorical cash transfers to the poor is the only logical answer to poverty in America.

"The extension of cash income to all the poor is essential for an effective income maintenance strategy," he said. "Transfers given only to certain groups are inequitable and indefensible. Thus, fundamentally we must ask of our income maintenance programs that they transfer incomes. The poor need and must have cash."

Heineman said any such program must have built-in work incentives.

"Income transfer systems can be made reconcilable with the preservation of work incentives," he said. "By changing a household's income transfer grant 50 cents, for example, for each dollar earned, a worker will always have a higher net income than a nonworker with a similar sized family."

Current welfare and social insurance programs do not work in this country, Heineman maintained. In addition, "they seem to create almost as many problems as they solve," he said.

"And, unlike the dilemma of many other nations, poverty in the United States is not a problem of national productivity," he said. "Both statistics and our subjective view of affluence in America tell us that our gross national product can amply provide for all our citizens. Our poverty problem is one of distribution, not of production."

Romney, in telling the mayors they must deal with the governors on revenue sharing, was in effect speaking on an issue that has come up several times during the conference.

Mayors Urge Direct Aid

The mayors have been strong in voicing the opinion that federal funds must come directly to the cities, not thru the state capitals. According to the mayors, Vice President Agnew has indicated in recent statements that President Nixon favors funneling the money thru the states.

"The Nixon administration is committed to revenue sharing," Romney said. "If this can be shaped politically so it can secure the approval of the Congress, I think it's going to come.

"But I want to say in all realism, if you're going to get revenue sharing it's only going to come as the result of a coalition between the mayors and the governors," he said. "It's not going to come if the mayors and the governors can't get together. I urge you to take a very hard look at it from that standpoint."

Of all the urban problems, housing is the greatest physical one, he said.

"The national goals, as stated by Congress, understate rather than overstate the housing needs," he said.

One problem, he said, is the climbing cost of housing. The recent 1 per cent increase in the bank prime rate increased the cost of housing by 7 to 10 per cent, he said.

THE KANSAS CITY TIMES
Thursday, June 12, 1969
Kansas City, Kansas

PREJUDICE BLAMED IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Poor Persons Discriminated Against, Model Cities Chairmen Agree

The overriding cause of employment problems and economic development in Model Cities neighborhoods is prejudice toward poor persons and minority groups, three area committee chairmen of the Model Cities economic development agreed Tuesday night.

The chairmen blamed businessmen for emphasizing ability and said poor operating practices and discriminatory personnel tests have resulted in a lack of jobs in the Negro community.

Poor Job Training

The chairmen also said job-training programs are inadequate because of poor co-ordination and follow-up counseling after job placement is nonexistent.

The committees have tentatively established four major economic problems in the black community:

- A greater percentage of men and women in the Model Cities neighborhood are unemployed and underemployed than in the rest of the city.
- Total education for many is inadequate.
- Economic development resources are inadequate.
- Supportive services (child care, transportation, medical and social services) that people might require to be optimally employable are inadequate.

The chairman outlined economic goals for the Negro community, including more successful businessmen and supervisory personnel in industry and more training and work opportunities.

They complained the rise in the minimum wage level had priced many women and teenagers in the black community out of work. Employers hire men instead of either of these because they have to pay the higher wage, the chairmen said.

These and other points are being prepared in a special report which, when approved by all six area chairmen, will be sent to the Model Cities policy planning board for incorporation into the over-all plan.

Guaranteed Income

The Urban Coalition
Report

September 1969

Urban Coalition Action Council States Views on Administration's Welfare Proposals

The Urban Coalition Action Council praised President Nixon's welfare programs but recommended ways in which they could be improved.

The Executive Committee of the Action Council, the independent legislative arm of the Urban Coalition, met in Washington, D.C., in mid-August to review the Administration's proposals. John W. Gardner, Chairman of the Council, issued the following statement on the committee's behalf:

▪ President Nixon has taken the initiative to reform America's outmoded welfare system. The Urban Coalition Action Council welcomes this major departure and commends the President for moving to correct the serious deficiencies of the current system.

The President's proposals are significant on several counts;

(a) They will provide assistance to the millions of working poor who are totally ignored by the present system.

(b) They will provide income to unemployed parents who are seeking work or training, thereby keeping families together. (In most states today unemployed fathers have to desert their families to make the families eligible for aid.)

(c) They remove the powerful barrier to work which is a gross defect of the present system, and introduce a positive incentive for the individual to enter the job market.

(d) Though the level of support is modest, they take the enormously important step of accepting federal responsibility to place a floor under the income of those eligible for assistance.

(e) They will provide national eligibility standards for those receiving federal assistance under the new program.

We have strongly advocated such measures and we will do all that we can to make them a legislative reality. If that is to come about, all who are concerned for the nation's future must work together to ensure that the best program we can devise is finally written into law. To assure the ultimate success of the program, it must be strengthened in every way possible during the public debate and the legislative deliberations to come. Here are some of the ways in which strengthening could be accomplished:

1. The Administration proposals could be further strengthened by raising the level of funding in order to increase the level of minimum income, to afford relief for those states and municipalities which are being crushed by the spiraling welfare burden and to include single persons and childless couples who are not now covered.

2. The plan proposed by the President ex-

Executive Committee members John V. Lindsay, and Frederick J. Close.

Toward A Full Opportunity

Statement of
John W. Gardner, Chairman
The Urban Coalition Action Council
on The Administration's
Family Assistance Proposals
to The Ways and Means Committee
United States
House of Representatives
November 13, 1969

Guaranteed Income

Mr. Chairman, your committee is faced with an extraordinary opportunity. The time has come to discard the existing patchwork of ineffective and in many ways destructive public assistance programs. You have the opportunity to replace them with a national system of income maintenance that will help people to help themselves but preserve individual dignity in aiding those left behind by society.

The Need

The need is manifest. This committee knows all the facts and statistics of poverty.

You know the cost of welfare, but you know also the great cost to society of human neglect. The child whose health needs are denied early medical attention because of poverty may suffer a lifelong handicap and become a lifelong burden to the community. The child whose attitudes and motivation are shaped by the pathology of extreme poverty may become a delinquent or derelict or addict and end up as a burden on society. The cost to society is not to be compared with the human cost. But those who calculate social costs (and someone must) know that for society the day of reckoning always comes. It requires a lot of money to maintain jails, to rehabilitate addicts, to support the victims of early neglect. We can serve human values and social providence at the same time by making such casualties less likely.

Many Americans sincerely believe that people living in poverty are people who don't want to work—or people who don't want *steady* work. In other words, able-bodied loafers. That is a long way from the truth. Of the 25 million persons living below the poverty line, 15 million are either under 18 or over 65.

Of the remaining 10 million, nine million fall within the scope of the Administration's family assistance proposals (as being adults in poor families that include children). Let us look at that 9 million. The Administration estimates that 7.9 million are already working, but earn too little to bring them above the poverty level, or are the wives of such men, or are disabled, or are women who must stay home because of very young children. That leaves 1.1 million adults who the Administration feels can significantly help themselves and would thus be required to register for jobs or work training—600,000 men and 500,000 mothers of school-aged children.

I emphasize those facts because they suggest the limits of what we may expect from the work requirement. Those who cherish the false notion that the welfare rolls are made up chiefly of able-bodied loafers could easily imagine that the present proposals will bring a sharp reduction in the rolls. If they believe that, they will end up disappointed and angry, because it won't happen. Most people who now receive welfare or would receive it under the new proposals are not candidates for the job market. As the above figures indicate, either they are already working or they are too old, too young, disabled, or mothers of young children.

I need not deal at length with the well-known shortcomings of the present welfare system (or non-system). In 70 per cent of the families receiving benefits the fathers are absent from the home. To the degree that the welfare system has helped to create such a situation it endangers the fabric of our family-based society. And clearly a system in which an American in one state can receive only one eighth of that which his fellow citizen with the same need receives in another

Nov. 13, 1969

Guaranteed Income

Welfare Reform Plan Bigger Than Nixon's Is Urged by Johnson-Appointed Commission

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—A welfare reform plan similar to the Nixon Administration's proposed family-assistance program, but far broader and more expensive was urged by an advisory commission appointed by former President Johnson.

The commission, headed by Northwest Industries Inc.'s president, Ben W. Heineman, said the Nixon program "represents a major step forward towards meeting the needs that we have documented." But the panel outlined a program that would cover many more poor people and specifically urged it be expanded in the future as current fiscal pressures ease.

The Administration's program is being considered by a skeptical House Ways and Means Committee and is encountering opposition from conservatives and liberals alike. The Heineman report's bigger, costlier version is sure to appeal to the committee's liberals. But Mr. Nixon's biggest problem is convincing conservative Ways and Means members and other Congressmen that his more modest plan won't unduly inflate welfare spending in the short run and will lead ultimately to a decrease in welfare costs by making the poor more self-sufficient.

The Heineman commission estimated its plan would cost an additional $7 billion in Federal funds in the fiscal year that starts July 1, and furnish payments to 36 million poor persons.

The Administration's program calls for added Federal expenditures of $25 billion for cash payments to only 22 million persons. However, the White House also is recommending he expansion of the food stamp programs for an even larger number of the poor, which would increase the cost of family assistance to over $3.5 billion a year. The Heineman commission wants to do away entirely with food stamp and other surplus commodity programs, on the ground that directly distributing cash is a better way to combat poverty.

Heineman Plan's Appeal

The Heineman plan would provide a maximum payment of $2,400 a year to a family of four without outside income. The payments would be scaled down as outside earnings rose, being eliminated entirely at an income level of $4,800 a year.

The basic Nixon family assistance plan calls for a $1,600 a year maximum cash payment for a four-member family. However, the Administration also would povide free food stamps, under a formula calling for a combined cash-food stamp payment of $2,350 a year to a four-member family without outside income. The cash and food stamp benefit would be decreased in roughly similar fashion to the Heineman plan, but all payments would be cut off at $4,000 a year in outside income.

Daniel Moynihan, Presidential counsellor who helped design the Administration's welfare program, emphasized the similarities between the two plans at a White House press briefing. It's obvious, however, that the broader scope of the Heineman commission proposal, its stress on future expansion and a number of detailed differences will make it far more appealing to liberals on Capitol Hill.

Many Democrats have been criticizing the Nixon plan as too meager, too complex and potentially restrictive in its requirement that able-bodied welfare recipients seek jobs or enroll in work-training programs to receive their Federal assistance payments.

But the liberals are likely in the end to support the Nixon plan, even if it doesn't live up to their full desires. The reason: It's better than nothing and at least represents a substantial departure from the present, much criticized public assistance programs particularly Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Despite the sniping at the Nixon Administration by liberal political organizations and professional social welfare groups, their leaders will be hard pressed to publicly oppose the family assistance approach.

As one specific difference, the Heineman proposal dispenses with the work and training requirement. Staff director Robert Harris explained that the commission believed the incentive of receiving more money would be sufficient to encourage most poor persons to seek jobs. The commission also concluded that a work requirement couldn't be administered on an objective basis; it would inevitably require that welfare workers exert considerable discretion in deciding who should be forced to work or take training and who should be allowed to remain at home.

Elimination of a mandatory work requirement will please Congressional liberals. But it's certain to offend the conservatives who worry about people quitting work to live on welfare.

Capitol Leaders' Views

For one, Rep. Byrnes of Wisconsin, ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, is insisting that work restrictions be built into any new welfare program. The views of Chairman Mills (D., Ark.), most of which have so far been held close to his chest, will probably be the key element in shaping any new program that emerges from his committee.

But cost is certain to be an important consideration. The Administration has presented a total price tag of $4.4 billion a year in added Federal funds for its family-assistance plan, coupled with expansion in day care to help mothers of small children, and more work training programs.

The Heineman commission recommended other changes in Federal programs to help the poor, including improvements in manpower programs, more birth control services, and broader unemployment insurance coverage.

The total additional Federal outlays required for all its recommendations was $10 billion a year. But the commission insisted that even this sum "doesn't meet fully the obvious need." So it proposed that as rapidly as Federal finances permit, the welfare payment levels be increased from the $2,400 level .

The commission noted that setting the level at the poverty line of $3,550 for a four-member family would cost $27 billion a year in cash grants, hardly a sum that either Congress or the Administration is likely to be enthusiastic about.

Ecological Science Acquisitions

MIAMI — Ecological Science Corp. said it agreed to acquire two privately held companies for an undisclosed amount of its common stock, cash and notes.

One concern is Waste Heat Engineering Corp. for stock. Waste Heat, a Houston concern engaged in engineering, making and marketing sophisticated heat recovery equipment, has annual sales of about $3 million, Ecological Science said.

Ecological Science, an environmental control company, also agreed to acquire American Hydrotherm Corp. for cash, notes, and stock. American Hydrotherm, a New York designer and operator of sophisticated heating equipment, has annual sales of about $2 million, according to Ecological Science.

Guaranteed Income

Social Security: Providing Basic Needs as a Legal Right

TO THE average American, "Social Security" is another way of saying "retirement." Upon hearing those words, most people think of the federal system into which both workers and employers contribute so the worker can have a monthly pension when he's too old to work.

The Social Security system that has been developing in this country during the past 34 years does mean that, but it also means much more than retirement benefits which workers receive, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of right.

This program also means:

- Monthly benefits that provide for growing children and their mothers in the event that the family breadwinner dies while the children are still young.
- Monthly benefits for totally disabled workers and their families.
- A basic in-hospital program, plus an optional plan to help pay doctor and medical bills, for the nation's elderly citizens.

And this is not the full story. The Social Security system also provides:

- The basic machinery for administration of the federal-state unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation programs.
- Much-needed aid for aged persons, blind persons and dependent children.
- Help for those in need of maternal and child welfare, and public health assistance.

In other words, when Congress passed the Social Security Act in 1935, then signed into law by Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, it was setting American feet firmly on the path of social reform.

For the first time a law expressed the principle that American citizens were entitled to basic safeguards in time of need. But even though the law was new to the nation, the Constitution nearly two centuries ago had empowered the federal government to collect taxes and to "provide for the . . . general welfare."

A booklet giving analysis of the way these various elements of our Social Security operate has been prepared by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security under the supervision of Director Bert Seidman.

What follows is the first of several articles adapted from the AFL-CIO booklet, which will be run from time to time in UNION NEWS. The series will contain the AFL-CIO's suggestions as to the steps that must now be taken to improve the Social Security system.

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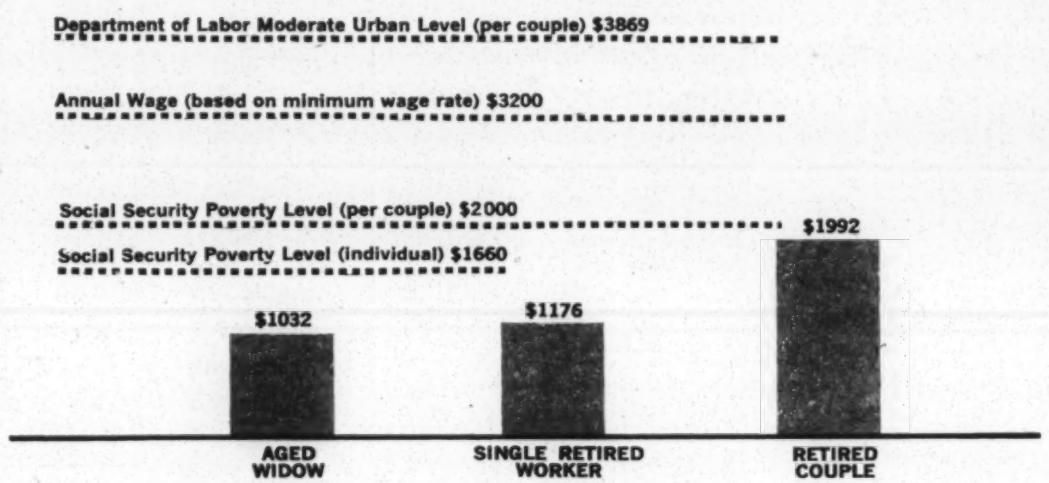
Unlike private insurance, almost universal coverage is assured by auto-

for Social Security. Now 90 percent are eligible.

Benefits Aid Economy

The favorable impact of the Social Security system on the American economy is considerable. It pays out more than $2 billion in benefits each month to 24 million Americans.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS ARE BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
1968 Average



1968, the full-time earnings of a worker at the minimum level reached $3,200 — assuming, of course, that he was employed year-round.

This is nearly three times the average Social Security benefit of the single retired worker, and more than 60 percent higher than the average benefit of a retired couple.

A False Assumption

Increasingly the claim is made that if the Social Security law were repealed, and if an individual regularly invested the amount of his Social Security contribution, he would be able to purchase a private insurance annuity that would provide a greater retirement allowance.

This is a totally false assumption. For one thing, it totally ignores the employer's contribution, which is now paid into the Social Security system as a matter of law. For another, it ignores the experience with private pension systems which clearly shows that tens of millions of workers could not find the way to purchase annuities, or to save regularly, were it not for the Social Security system which deducts the

the sole source of funding will have to be modified.

A government contribution for Social Security is common practice in many nations. It has long been thought of for this country — as far back as 1934 the group which did the development work for the original Social Security law favored some financing from general revenue. Social Security advisory councils since that time have made similar recommendations.

There are good reasons to justify financing at least part of the cost of the program from general revenues. One is the savings in welfare costs that have flowed directly from the establishment of the Social Security system.

For example, since 1950, the percentage of the older population receiving welfare payments through old-age assistance has decreased from 23 percent to 11 percent — a reduction of one-half.

Even though savings in welfare costs would help substantially to meet the cost of a government contribution, it is not just a matter of money. It is a matter of dignity and self-respect of Social Security recipients, who receive adequate Social Security benefits as a matter of right.

This program also means:

- Monthly benefits that provide for growing children and their mothers in the event that the family breadwinner dies while the children are still young.

- Monthly benefits for totally disabled workers and their families.

- A basic in-hospital program, plus an optional plan to help pay doctor and medical bills, for the nation's elderly citizens.

And this is not the full story. The Social Security system also provides:

- The basic machinery for administration of the federal-state unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation programs.

- Much-needed aid for aged persons,

to the nation, the Constitution nearly two centuries ago had empowered the federal government to collect taxes and to "provide for the . . . general welfare."

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Unlike private insurance, almost universal coverage is assured by automatically making a worker eligible, simply by reason of his employment. During his working life the employe contributes part of his pay to a fund, with the employer making a matching contribution.

When the individual becomes unable to work because of age, disability, or if he dies, he or his dependents or survivors receive cash benefits. When he and his wife (or his widow) incur certain medical expenses after age 65, they receive medical benefits.

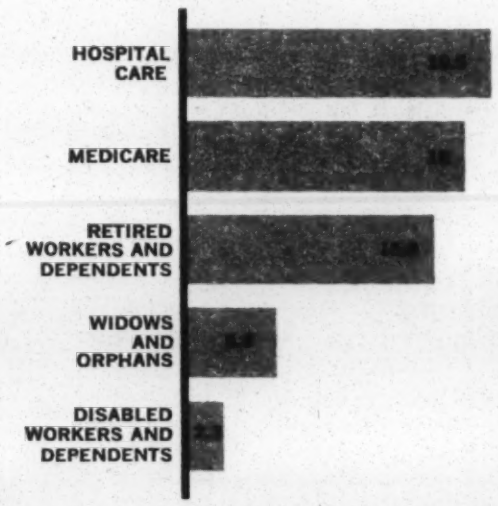
The program covers the worker wherever he moves in the United States. It is a contributory system through which he can help pay for his own social insurance protection and that of his family. Benefits are paid as a legal right and the worker does not have to plead poverty in order to receive them.

As originally passed Social Security provided only retirement benefits for workers. Now it also provides continuing income for the family after the loss of the breadwinner's earnings through disability or death. In July 1966 it began to provide an added cushion against the impact of ill health in old age.

In 1950 only about one-fourth of the population aged 65 and over were eligible for Social Security. Now 90 percent are eligible.

PERSONS RECEIVING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

In Millions—1968



Benefits Aid Economy

The favorable impact of the Social Security system on the American economy is considerable. It pays out more than $2 billion in benefits each month to 24 million Americans.

It provides protection against the cost of hospitalization and related care for more than 19.5 million and almost all retired persons over 65. The benefit figures include retirement benefits for 15.9 million workers and their dependents; survivor's benefits to 5.8 million widows and orphans; disability benefits to nearly 2.3 million disabled workers and their dependents. More than 18 million aged persons have medical insurance protection.

Here's another way to measure Social Security benefits:

- Some 9 out of 10 people age 65 and over are drawing benefits or are eligible for benefits under the program.

- About 19 out of every 20 young children and their mothers can count on monthly benefits if the family breadwinner dies.

- About 67 million people under age 65 are insured in the event of severe disability.

Clearly, then, the Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance program plays a key role in providing economic security for millions of Americans. It is a program that preserves human dignity.

But despite the progress there are still major problems.

The Social Security Administration estimates that about 5.4 million persons age 65 and over are living in poverty, and that another 6.7 million are kept out of poverty only by their Social Security benefits.

A government survey in 1962 found that more than 50 percent of the aged couples had incomes of less than $3,000, and that 29 percent had incomes of less than $2,000.

The Labor Dept. sets its level for adequate living for an elderly couple at about $3,869 a year in an urban area, and $3,460 in a smaller community.

When the $1.60 an hour federal minimum wage became effective in February

1968, the full-time earnings of a worker at the minimum level reached $3,200 — assuming, of course, that he was employed year-round.

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Those who favor elimination of Social Security focus exclusively on the retirement benefit. But the system provides more than that. It also includes lump-sum death benefits, survivors' benefits, disability benefits, and hospital and related health benefits — and all of these have considerable value.

It is estimated, for example, assuming an average monthly wage of $550 (the median earnings of regularly employed men), and using standard life expectancies, that a worker who dies at age 35 leaving a 32-year-old mother with two children, age 3 and 5, would have survivors' insurance protection valued at over $56,000.

If the same worker became disabled and died five years later, the value of the benefits payable exceeds $59,000. If the same worker retires at age 65 without becoming disabled, he and his wife (age 55) would have retirement insurance protection worth nearly $38,000.

These amounts are understated since they are based on existing benefits. Increases are bound to take place so that the actual amounts received would be considerably higher. Moreover, the benefits payable under Medicare must be added to all of these in order to get a true picture of the value of Social Security.

Tax Limit Approaching

An increasing number of low-income families are paying more in Social Security taxes than in income taxes. For example, a man with a wife and two children, earning from $2,000 to $3,000 a year pays no income tax — yet he pays between $96 and $144 in Social Security taxes. Not until he reaches about $4,500 a year does he pay more income tax than Social Security tax.

The point is fast approaching where it will be difficult to increase the Social Security tax rate for low-paid workers. The principle that payroll taxes shall be the sole source of funding will have to be modified.

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Even though savings in welfare costs would help substantially to meet the cost of a government contribution, it is not just a matter of money. It is a matter of dignity and self-respect of Social Security recipients, who receive adequate Social Security benefits as a matter of right.

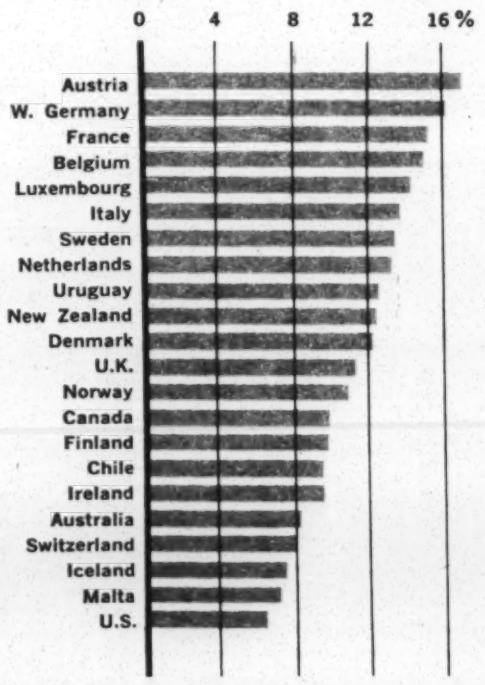
Many Americans think the Social Security system is adequate today because of the great improvements made in the law in the past 30 years — the addition of survivor, disability and medical care benefits and the greatly increased retirement benefits.

Behind Other Nations

But despite these gains, the United States uses less of its national wealth for the social welfare of its citizens than other advanced industrial nations. The U.S. ranks below every free nation in Europe in the percentage of national income devoted to social benefits. (See chart below.)

If Social Security benefits were increased 50 percent, the average single retiree's benefit would still be only $1,764 a year, and elderly couples would receive only about $2,970.

U.S. RANKS BELOW MANY FREE NATIONS IN PERCENTAGE OF GNP DEVOTED TO SOCIAL BENEFITS

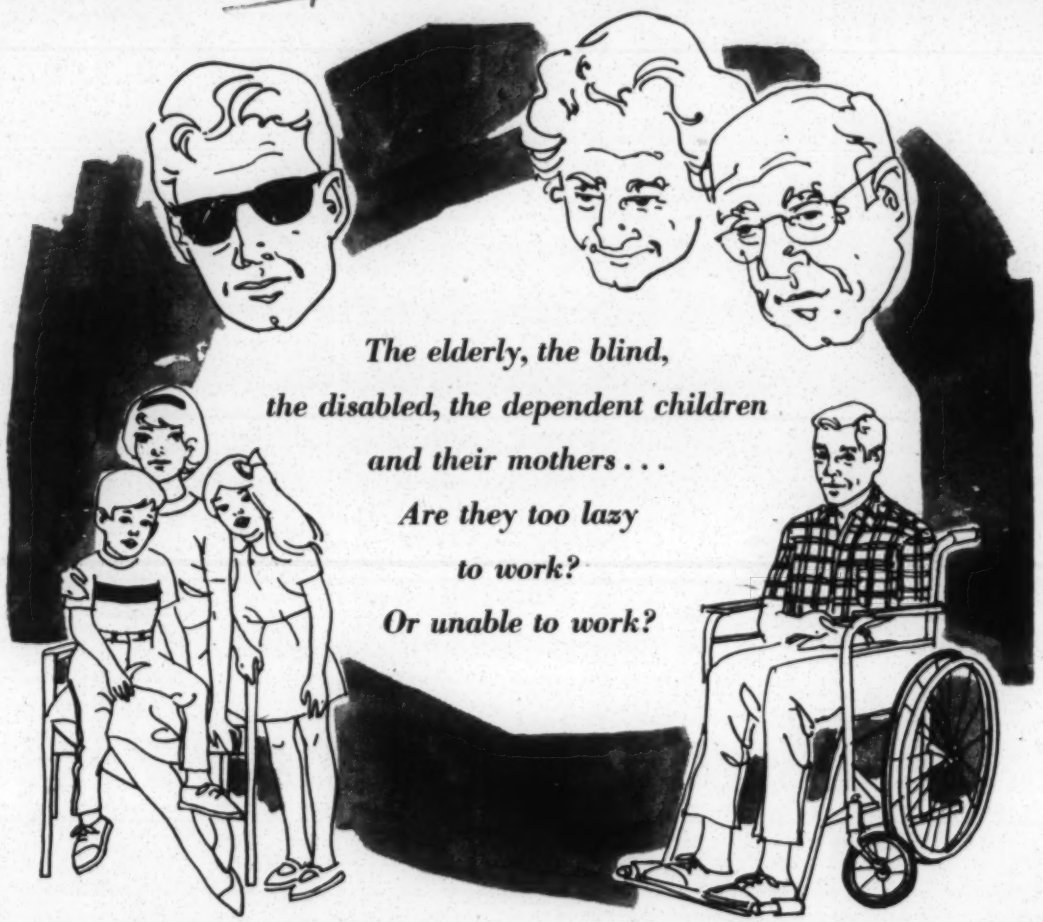


Source: The Cost of Social Security 1961-63, International Labor Organization, Geneva, Switzerland, 1967.

Welfare (or Guaranteed Income)

We've Come a Long Way, But . . .

Among the Poor, Only 1 in 4 Receives Public Assistance



Editor's note: One of the most commonly heard criticisms of welfare programs is that "handouts are given out to those people who are too lazy to work." "Why don't they get a job?" the complaint goes. "Why, I'd do anything — even scrub floors on my hands and knees — before I'd accept welfare."

That is the thinking of a great number of Americans — who usually are white, middle class and steadily employed. On this subject, they are the not-so-silent majority. And they couldn't be more off base.

For most people on welfare are not there by choice, or because they are "too lazy to work." In fact, all but a small handful of welfare recipients are unable to work. They are either too old to work or they are disabled, or they are blind, or they are children, or they are mothers caring for those children.

Following is the second in a series of articles on Social Security adapted from an AFL-CIO booklet, "Security in Time of Need," which tells of provisions in the Social Security Act for federal contributions to inadequate state public welfare programs.

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THE public welfare system in the United States took a long time to grow — and when it did begin, its growth was gradual and uneven.

It had its start in the early days of the republic, when Congress used part of the revenues raised from general taxation to pay pensions of disabled veterans of the Revolutionary War, and for a maritime hospital to care for merchant seamen.

Its growth accelerated somewhat during the industrial revolution for, in the shift from a rural to an urban society, way. But measured against the problem that still exists, these statistics show the total inadequacy of public assistance efforts.

Less than one-quarter of the poor in America receive public assistance. In nearly all states public welfare payments fail to bring the incomes of the poor who do receive them up to poverty levels.

Public welfare programs throughout the country are so financially starved of needed funds that they can provide only sub-minimum maintenance and inadequate social service to a mere 22 percent of the poorest and most underprivileged members of our society — including mothers caring for fatherless children, the most poverty-stricken among the elderly, and the neediest of the disabled and blind.

THESE stark facts measure the inadequacy of public welfare — yet even they do not tell the whole story. For, contrary to the allegations of those who would slash public welfare programs, most needy people get no public assistance at all.

Why? Because less than half the poor fall into the artificial categories of public assistance that have been established — the needy aged, the blind, the permanently and totally disabled, and certain needy families with dependent children.

In addition, some, but not all, states finance general assistance programs for which there is no federal aid. The reason why so few poor people get assistance is because:

- There are gaps in the categories of needy people for whom federally aided public assistance is available.
- Some states are either financially

- **Inadequate Social Security benefits,** which have forced a considerable number of people on Social Security to seek public assistance to supplement their benefits and thus meet minimum needs.
- Inadequate guidance, training and rehabilitation programs and insufficient work opportunity to permit ultimately employable public assistance recipients to obtain the jobs they might fill.

It should be recognized, however, that most people receiving public assistance — including large numbers of the elderly, the disabled and mothers with young children — either could not, or should not, work full time even if they were able to obtain suitable jobs.

ACTING under legislation passed two years earlier, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in 1964 appointed a 12-member Advisory Council on Public Welfare. The council's mandate from

shown that if a program is to be at all meaningful and effective it must be developed gradually and carefully and be responsive to all aspects of the problem it is set up to deal with.

It is certainly not in the national interest to put people in jobs paying below a minimum wage, or to take mothers of young children out of the home until adequate child care provisions have been made. The problems resulting from having small children move into an already crowded home of a neighbor for day care while their mother is in training or at work could be costly in both dollars and human terms.

IF THE serious intent is to provide the means by which people take care of their own needs and also contribute to society, then the AFL-CIO believes that the following must be done:

Begin working toward the objectives

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Its growth accelerated somewhat during the industrial revolution for, in the shift from a rural to an urban society, people faced staggering economic problems resulting from unemployment, disability and death — problems that had no parallel on the farm.

The frontiers of social conscience began to expand in the latter half of the 19th Century, when some states established homes for the mentally ill and later for dependent children, the blind, the deaf and the aged.

Legislative activity increased in some of the states early in the 20th Century, at which time cash assistance was provided to certain categories among the poor.

Laws making it possible for orphans and other children without support from their fathers to live at home with their mothers, rather than in institutions, were adopted in a number of states prior to World War I. In the mid-Twenties, a few states began to experiment with old-age assistance and aid to the blind.

But, in general, these public assistance programs lagged far behind the need, and when Congress enacted the Social Security Act of 1935, it included in it basic provisions for shoring up the inadequate state programs.

Federal grants are now provided to the states for financial assistance, medical care and other services to the aged, the blind, totally disabled persons, and children in low-income families when they are unable to meet either basic needs or such special needs as medical care.

Those who receive federally assisted welfare — 8,680,000 — are virtually all handicapped by age, physical condition, education, training or family circumstances. More than 2 million are over 65; a half million are totally disabled; some 100,000 are blind; more than 3 million are children; about 1 million are adults caring for these children.

On the surface the statistics on those helped through public assistance programs may seem impressive. When measured against what this country has done — or has failed to do — in the past, it can be said that we've come a long

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In addition, some, but not all, states finance general assistance programs for which there is no federal aid. The reason why so few poor people get assistance is because:

- There are gaps in the categories of needy people for whom federally aided public assistance is available.
- Some states are either financially unable or unwilling to participate in all of the available federal programs.
- Some states provide limitations and restrictions not required by federal law.
- Assistance standards in some states are so low as to exclude many persons who are below the state's own minimum-need standards, and far below the poverty level.

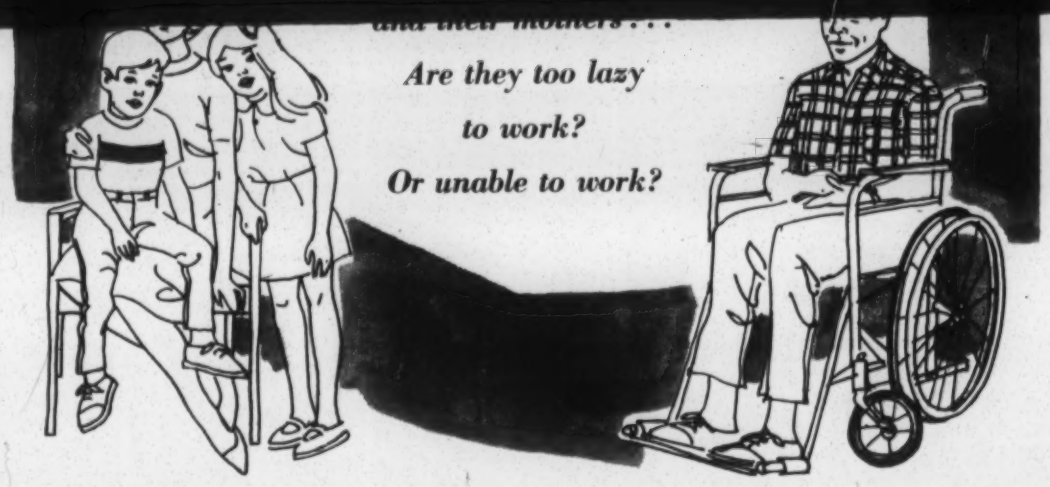
Many people do not fit into restrictive categories. The result is that among the poor who get no help from federally aided public assistance programs are most needy adults under age 65 who are unemployed or unable to earn an adequate living; most needy children living with both parents; needy disabled adults who are not both permanently and totally disabled; many children in need because of the unemployment of a parent; needy persons who have not lived in a state for a specified period; needy employable mothers for whom no jobs are available; and persons with defective vision but not blind enough to qualify for assistance.

Public assistance payments are extremely low. In every instance they are far below poverty levels. The lowest average payment for aid to families with dependent children is Mississippi's $8.50 per recipient; the highest is New York's $62.70; the national average is $41.35.

THE inadequacy of public assistance cannot be challenged. But despite this fact, costs have been increasing. It should be emphasized, however, that this is true only in absolute terms — for public assistance costs, as a proportion of the gross national product, have been declining.

The dollar increase in public assistance costs can be attributed to:

- Rising, though still inadequate, payments which in most cases have not even kept pace with the increasing cost of living.
- Larger than average increases in the numbers of very young and very old people — the two most dependent groups in our society.



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ACTING under legislation passed two years earlier, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in 1964 appointed a 12-member Advisory Council on Public Welfare. The council's mandate from Congress was to review the nation's public assistance programs. After two years of inquiry, which included public hearings in every section of the country, the council made its report in June 1966.

This group — broadly representative of all citizens deeply concerned about the poor and their problems — recommended a new approach to public welfare. The highlights of its recommendations were these:

- A national minimum standard for public assistance payments, below which no state may fall.
- A national comprehensive system of public assistance based on a single criterion: Need.
- A uniform, simple plan for federal-state sharing in the costs of all public welfare programs — one which provides for equitable and reasonable fiscal effort on the part of the states, and which also recognizes the relative fiscal capacities of federal and state governments.
- Comprehensive social services readily accessible, as a matter of right, at all times to all in need.
- A principle that all welfare programs receiving federal funds be administered in a way that would be consistent with the concept that the right of the individual must be safeguarded at all times.

The view of the AFL-CIO is that these objectives should be reached as soon as possible.

WHILE Congress was increasing and extending Social Security benefits in 1967, it also enacted harsh, new restrictions on poor mothers and children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

Congress then set up a program requiring that mothers on AFDC accept work or training, or lose public support for their children. The AFL-CIO strongly supports any program which, in fact, provides job opportunities to the employed.

However, experience has clearly shown that if a program is to be at all meaningful and effective it must be developed gradually and carefully and be responsive to all aspects of the problem it is set up to deal with.

It is certainly not in the national interest to put people in jobs paying below a minimum wage, or to take mothers of young children out of the home until adequate child care provisions have been made. The problems resulting from having small children move into an already crowded home of a neighbor for day care while their mother is in training or at work could be costly in both dollars and human terms.

IF THE serious intent is to provide the means by which people take care of their own needs and also contribute to society, then the AFL-CIO believes that the following must be done:

Begin working toward the objectives of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare as listed above; establish good day-care centers where working mothers may leave their children; establish training programs that lead to real jobs which pay at least the minimum wage, and eliminate the "freeze" which sharply restricts the number of children from broken homes who have been eligible to receive assistance since July 1, 1969.

In addition to the steps outlined by the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, the following improvements, in the opinion of the AFL-CIO, are urgently needed:

- The federal government should make it mandatory that all states provide AFDC to families with a jobless father in the home, while maintaining the requirement for fathers to accept suitable employment or training. This would eliminate the cruel dilemma in many states which forces fathers to leave their families to make them eligible for assistance.
- Minimum standards should be required in housing occupied by public welfare recipients, the rents of which are being paid out of public funds. It is inconceivable that public welfare should, in effect, be used to subsidize slum housing.
- Aid to the permanently and totally disabled should be improved by including the relatively short-term disabled, recognizing partial disability which is seriously incapacitating, and eliminating the present minimum age of 18.
- Where they still exist detailed demeaning investigations of public assistance applicants and recipients should be eliminated in favor of less costly and more democratic methods of determining eligibility. These methods should be consistent with constitutional and statutory rights, and should not violate the privacy or dignity of individuals seeking assistance.
- Child welfare programs should be extended and improved. Better services are needed for care and protection of children — including foster care and day care.

Va. Welfare Cutback Suggested to Aid Farm Labor Pool

By Tom Wilkinson
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND, June 4—A Virginia study commission suggested today the curtailment of some existing unemployment assistance programs as a way of increasing the labor pool available for State agriculture.

The commission also suggested that Federal regulations on the housing of seasonal workers require housing that is too costly.

The recommendations were two of many contained in a 100-page report submitted to Gov. Mills E. Godwin by the Commission of the Industry of Agriculture. In general, the commission pictured agriculture in Virginia as healthy and growing, but admitted the existence of some problems.

S. Mason Carbaugh, executive director of the study group, said the commission had no specific recommendations for trimming or eliminating any particular unemployment or welfare program.

"A number of people felt that some of these programs don't encourage able-bodied men to work. They felt many would work if the programs were not available to them," commented Carbaugh.

No recommendations for program cuts will be forthcoming, said the executive director, noting the strictly advisory nature of the commission. He expressed the hope that the commission's recommendation would force recognition of the problem.

The commission's report, two years in the making, also suggested the modification of the "red tape" involved in employing 14- to 16-year-olds in agriculture. Carbaugh said the intent of that recommendation was to increase the number and types of jobs that persons in the age group could legally perform.

Another labor recommendation is to modify Federal regulations governing the housing of seasonal workers. Carbaugh said it is "extremely costly to provide the type of housing required by Federal standards" and indicated the commission preferred broader housing regulations.

Statistics compiled by the commission showed 340,000 people employed in agriculture in Virginia, and the report predicted the farm labor force would be reduced by 40 per cent by 1980.

The traditional family farm is disappearing the commission reported. It indicated the majority of small farms would have to consolidate and introduce modern business methods if they hoped to survive.

The total retail value of State agricultural products was set at $3 billion in 1968 and is expected to reach $4.1 billion by 1980, said the report. Gross farm income is expected to climb from $568 million to $891 million.

VOL. CLXXIII NO. 113

Heading Off Trouble

Nixon Aims to Switch Emphasis in Welfare From Aged to Children

Spending Expected to Jump After the War; Education, Health Programs Planned But the Elderly Have Clout

Wall St. Journal 6/10/69

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Nixon Administration is embarking on a determined but politically difficult campaign to shift the Federal welfare focus from aiding the aged to caring for kids.

The basic concept: Tax dollars can be better spent preventing educational and health handicaps in children—particularly poor children—than treating such disabilities later in life.

"The President is deadly serious about this—a national commitment to the first five years of life. He wants to make this a central theme of this Administration," declares a high-ranking White House official.

As one result, the President already has ruled out reductions in programs for children in the current round of anti-inflation belt-tightening. But the broader impact is envisioned when the Vietnam war ends, permitting expansion of domestic programs. The Administration's expressed objective is gradually to funnel a steadily larger share of ever-growing Federal revenues to youngsters, though not disregarding the needs of the aged.

Higher HEW Outlays

Such an approach could require a significant increase in outlays by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, whose budget for the coming fiscal year totals $50.5 billion even after a downward revision by the Nixon Administration. Says HEW Secretary Robert Finch: "I'd like to see a great chunk of resources put in at the lower end of the age spectrum and hold (spending) at the top end."

The obstacles are substantial. Congress' approval would be required for such a reordering of priorities, and the old folks exert immense influence there. The AFL-CIO and senior citizens' organizations are active lobbyists for the aged. Voting clout aside, many lawmakers feel sincere concern for the plight of the typical senior citizen.

Other well-established social welfare programs also have powerful constituencies who could feel short-changed by a new concentration on children ("It implies writing off the present generation" a planner in the poverty war complains). Finally, although a Federal campaign for children could have wide popular appeal, its major beneficiaries at least at the start would likely be Negro children and jobless parents. Thus, conservative forces in the Cabinet and in the Republican Party might prevail on the President to moderate the change.

Proposed Policies

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Proposed Policies

Whatever the difficulties, here are some of the youth-oriented policies the Nixon Administration will probably attempt to pursue:

—Enlargement of cash payments for needy children, either through a guaranteed annual family income, as favored by Secretary Finch, or a more conventional bolstering of existing public welfare programs. In any case, the emphasis will be on aiding poverty-stricken parents, in the hope that more Federal money will hold families together and enable adults to provide more adequately for their children. The sharpest increases would occur in the South, where welfare payments for children now are the lowest.

—Restraints on increases in Social Security payments. Many Nixon Administration officials question the need for regularly raising these retirement benefits every few years. Mr. Nixon has called for a 7% rise in Social Security outlays next year, sufficient only to cover cost-of-living increases since February 1968, in contrast to the 10% boost proposed by the Johnson Administration.

—Expansion of health care programs for mothers and children, in hopes of preventing costly medical problems by early treatment. For example, HEW's high command will enthusiastically underwrite free immunization campaigns with a new German measles vaccine soon to be available, in an effort to curtail crippling birth defects from that disease. More broadly, the long-range goal would be to expand comprehensive maternal care for all poverty-stricken mothers. Now only about 125,000, or less than 20%, receive such Federally financed help.

—More spending for family-planning services, particularly information about contraception, so that an impoverished mother could avoid too-frequent child-bearing and the accompanying risk of birth defects, while lightening the economic load on her family. In the coming year, an estimated $67 million will be spent on family-planning aid for about 1.3 million women. To reach all five million poor women of child-bearing age would cost about $90 million more annually, experts estimate.

—Enlargement of day-care programs, not only to enable mothers to work but to educate and otherwise help their young children. Present Federal services reach about 45,000 children at a cost of $27 million annually; communities already are being encouraged to pool day-care funds from various Government agencies, with the aim of making the service more effective and more comprehensive.

—Improvement of preschool education efforts, particularly Head Start. Recent studies find youngsters without Head Start doing as well academically as those who participated, and the experts' conclusion is that even earlier and more sustained "intervention" in the life of the impoverished child is essential to prevent lifelong learning disabilities. Thus, preschooling will be provided, at least experimentally, to children under age three; more followup services will be furnished to Head Start graduates through their early grade-school years, and the search for ways to stimulate infant intelligence will be intensified.

It would be misleading to suggest that a sudden shift in Federal spending from the aged to the very young is imminent. The Administration's intent is a gradual expansion of programs for kids while holding down increases in

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Heading Off Trouble: President Plans To Stress Programs to Aid Children

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expenditures on the aged. However, it's likely that the old folks will get the lion's share of Federal social welfare expenditures for many years to come.

In the fiscal year starting July 1, Uncle Sam will spend an estimated $35 billion (much of it in Social Security benefits) on the 20 million Americans 65 and older, or $1,750 per capita. In contrast, $15 billion is earmarked for the 81.5 million Americans under 21, or $190 per capita (for the aged, per-capita outlays for health care alone will be more than double this amount).

The imbalance has diminished somewhat in the last decade, as the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations sought to emphasize programs for children as part of their push against poverty. But the new Administration may find it difficult to depart further from the traditional priority for the aged. One reason is that doling out more cash to old folks is automatically achieved through Social Security and Medicare benefits. "It is easier to write bigger Social Security checks for the aged; it is much harder to deliver better educational services to children," observes a Budget Bureau expert.

Potential Problems

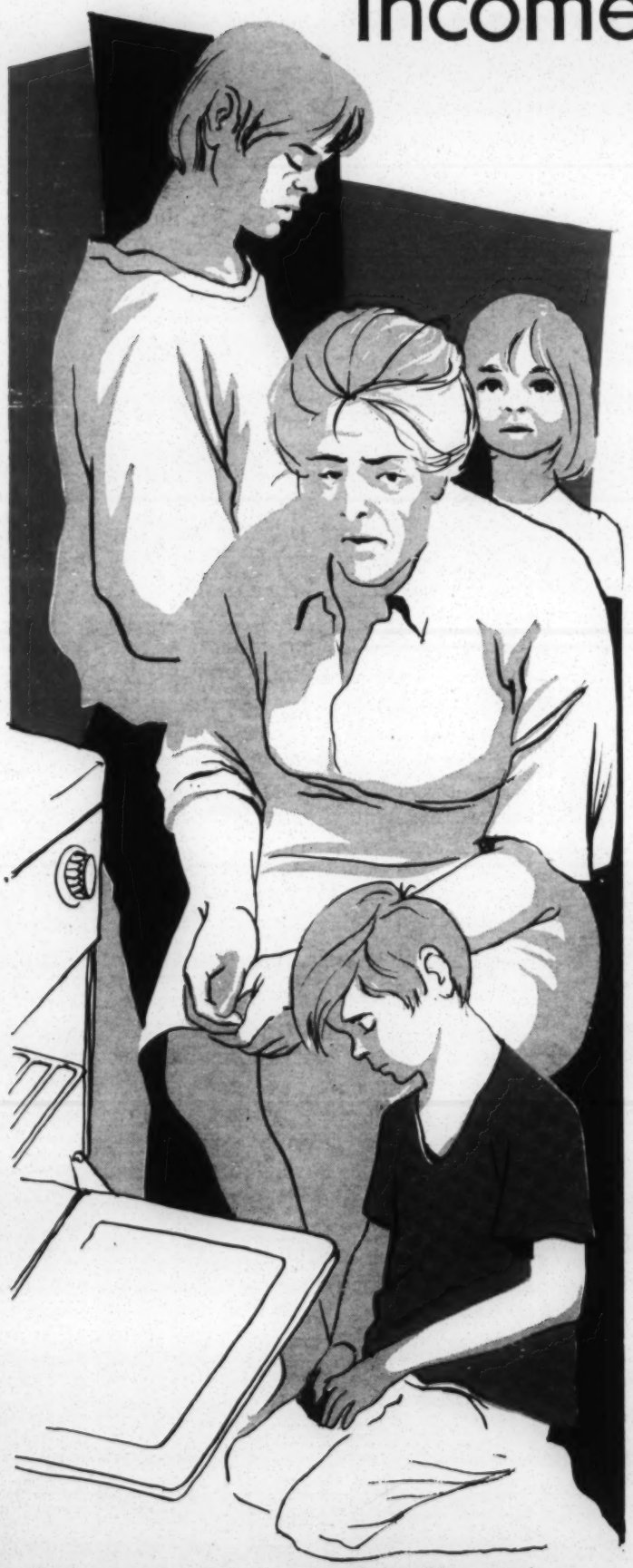
Some of the Administration's specific ideas could provoke criticism, too. Welfare experts worry about big day-care centers providing nothing more than baby-sitting, ignoring the children's educational needs. Conservatives on Capitol Hill could attack increasing Federal involvement in family affairs and infant training. Militant Negroes might claim that expansion of Federal birth control programs is amied at reducing the black population.

The most fundamental uncertainty of all centers on the new Administration's willingness to expand spending on social programs. All signs now point to substantial post-Vietnam increases in Federal domestic outlays, but other demands could interfere—military needs for new equipment, public pressure for tax relief, state insistence on revenue-sharing.

Nonetheless, the Finch forces appear firmly committed to expanding early-childhood programs. "When you start talking about breaking the poverty cycle . . . the emphasis has to be on the child and changing his attitude and environment, and I don't think you can start too young in that respect," declares John Veneman, HEW Under Secretary and a key Finch confidant.

A new office of child development has just been established to give impetus to HEW's programs for children. Supervised by Assistant HEW Secretary James Farmer, the veteran civil rights leader, the office's first challenge will be to remedy the shortcomings of the $338-million-a-year Head Start program, which now enrolls more than 700,000 kids annually in full-year or summer programs. The President is shifting Head Start out of the Office of Economic Opportunity as of July 1.

Sharing Prosperity— Income Policy Choices



by Elizabeth Wickenden

The role of work in the modern society is central to any income policy discussion. Popular attitudes place the highest value on work not only as the basis for income, but also for self and community esteem. Most of the current self-help efforts of the poverty program are directed toward fitting the poor to work and creating new job opportunities for that purpose. Yet some writers maintain that cybernation is already making obsolescent this traditional nexus between work and income. They look to the day when every individual or family would be paid a stipend as consumer, somewhat in the tradition of the Townsend old age pension plan. To my mind, this makes much better sense than the complexities of a largescale, all-purpose program based on income deficiency.

But this dream of lying under the cybernetic breadfruit tree has its setting in an unpredictable future. At the present time, it is consistent neither with technological realities nor most people's wishes. It seems an absurdity to talk about work as obsolescent when we have not enough houses, schools, hospitals, cultural centers, parks and playgrounds; when we lack teachers, nurses, librarians, social workers, youth leaders, day care for children, social centers for the aged, homemakers for the ill and handicapped, doctors, lawyers, merchants, chiefs; when our streams and our air are polluted, our parks neglected, our highways and airways corrupted by commercialism and our choices for enriching our spare time similarly constricted. And all this leaves out the desperate needs of the rest of the world for our food, our machinery, our scientific know-how, our support for the instruments of cooperation.

I do not think everyone should have to work or work so long and so hard as many do at present. Considering that we are all born dependent, die dependent and spend varying periods of our life dependent, our fear and rejection of "dependency" is somewhat

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absurd. But for the moment work still offers for most people the most satisfying sense of identity and achievement, the most acceptable source of current and deferred income. Most people are quite willing and conditioned by habit to spending their money for benefits derived from the work of others. But they need to place as high a valuation on direct services as they do the products of labor and as high a valuation on services financed by taxes as on those purchased in the marketplace. For the more mechanical become our processes for producing things, the more we can free our energies for the fundamental human task of mutual service. And as Kenneth Galbraith points out in "The Affuent Society," a large proportion of these services lie in the public sector.

A Guaranteed Job

I feel that the government should guarantee a job at standard wages to everyone willing and able to work, should pioneer in the development of new kinds of work for persons of all ages and backgrounds, should subsidize retraining and relocation for all those displaced by economic change, should facilitate work for those with family responsibilities through social services such as day care and visiting nurse service, should treat education at the higher levels as compensable work, should place a value on work in the home (the Chase Manhattan Bank recently evaluated the average housewife's labor at over $8,000 a year), and should extend expanded social insurance protections to all these categories.

The idea of a guaranteed job, implicit in the Employment Act of 1946 though never implemented, seems revolutionary to many laissez-faire advocates who see in the labor reserve a necessary goad to industry and effort. But in 1906, Beatrice Webb noted in her diary a speech by Winston Churchill advocating a minimal guarantee of income with the state as a "reserve employer of labor." It is evidently not ideas and proposals that are lacking, nor even in our time the means—but rather the will to implement them.

Work-Related Insurance

Work is not only the most generally accepted basis for money transfers in the form of wage or purchase payments, but also seems in our present state of social development to offer the most generally acceptable basis for deferred payments when earnings are interrupted by such general hazards as old age, retirement, disability and premature death and transitional unemployment. Insurance systems in other countries cover additional risks such as health costs, wage losses due to sickness and maternity and the economic costs of child-rearing. The rapid growth in coverage, the addition of new benefits and a high degree of popular acceptability for our own federal Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance program result—in my opinion—from three interrelated factors: its work-related basis for entitlement, the sense of identification between worker as contributor and worker as beneficiary and the fact of self-contained financing outside the annual appropriating process. The modifications which have either taken place or been proposed in each of these principles deserve the most careful evaluation if the system is to be preserved and strengthened.

Social insurance has come under intensive review and some criticism in the current reappraisal. Many of the criticisms are inconsistent. Some complain that the system is not sufficiently redistributive while others complain that people do not take out precisely what they put in. (They seem to visualize a little bag of gold in Fort Knox with their name on it, more like a savings account than an insurance policy.) Some complain that the payroll tax on workers is regressive while that on employers inhibits employment by raising costs. Others make the sophistical error of combining public assistance and social insurance payments and then criticizing the payments going to the non-needy as if all were intended for that purpose. Some favor universal pension-type coverage of the aged (currently incorporated on a transitional basis in medicare and the so-called Prouty amendment minimal payments to those without social insurance credits under governmental program) and some favor optional coverage for the individual.

But most people accept social insurance as a deferred return on labor, a "right" cemented by their own contributions unrelated to their current need. Its role in relationship to poverty is preventive, not alleviative, and any move toward an income-related entitlement would destroy its essential value.

Its principal limitation as a poverty preventive at the present time is the inadequate level of its benefits which have not kept pace with the rise in earnings levels. Many advocates feel that benefit levels should be at least doubled with a general revenue sharing in the cost of this increase. It is their belief that general revenue could help to carry the social costs of the system (initiating costs, weighted benefits for low earners and dependents' allowances) as in other countries without endangering the principle of earned entitlement.

Tax-Supported Services

It is the thrust of this discussion that the need for income deficiency benefits should be reduced to a minimum by methods and programs more consistent with American values, attitudes and willingness to pay. But money payments related to work are only one such method. Another is the provision of tax-supported services and benefits to the public generally or specified groups in the population. Education, health benefits, subsidized housing, child care services, recreational and cultural provisions all provide real income, replace private expenditures for the same purposes and help to prevent at least some of the causes and by-products of poverty. Again the question arises as to whether it is better policy to concentrate resources available for this purpose on the needs of those who are least able to purchase them (the poor) or whether a more democratic, less divisive and hence more acceptable pattern lies in universality. The

former assumes limited resources and compensatory concentration for a transitional period but runs the risk of ultimate segregation by income class and the danger of second-rate services for the poor.

A second question involves the relationship of disposable personal income to tax-supported services. American tradition has tended to an over-evaluation of the former at the expense of the latter but there is also a danger in further distinguishing the poor from the affluent by restrictive benefits. The current recipient revolt against the limitations of the stamp plan for

subsidized food purchases reflects the high valuation which people place on the freedom, convertibility and anonymity of cash income. Without an adequate income policy it is virtually impossible to evaluate the intrinsic utility of such compensatory measures.

Public services also constitute the arena for a peculiarly interesting crosscurrent in American attitudes today. This is the pressure for individuals grouped together as consumers of public services—whether around geographical neighborhoods or particular institutions such as schools, housing projects, social service centers, etc.—to control or influence the character of these services. Again, the poverty program through its emphasis on "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in community action undertakings has been a major catalytic agent in accelerating this decentralizing process.

It is interesting to observe that while pressures for income payments have been largely directed toward more centralization (on the assumption that higher standards and more objective entitlement would lie in nationwide control), the reaction to centralized bureaucracy has largely centered on neighborhood social services—not excluding the services of lawyers to strengthen the hand of consumers vis-à-vis the political and economic bureaucracies. While the poverty program has tended to focus this effort on the poor, the true common denominator is the consumer. Thus we need to cultivate new forms of consumer-dominated cooperation in providing wanted social services as an offset to the limitations of governmental monopoly.

Another frequently discussed alternative to income deficiency payments involves benefits related to age or condition without regard to prior work history or individual need. Family allowances, old age pensions and disability pensions fall in this category. It is my belief that these are all historical anachronisms that would do little to enlist the support so necessary to a more effective income policy. Family limitation through contraceptive aids is now replacing subsidized family expansion as a primary goal of social policy.

Moreover, countries like the United Kingdom and France with longstanding family allowance plans are finding it difficult to channel more money to the most desperately needy families in the face of pressures to raise the universal benefits. Old age pensions would tend to settle at the lowest level of the present retirement benefit scale unless supplemented by payments related to earnings or need, in which case they would lose their basic simplicity. Rehabilitation and facilitated employment have replaced subsidized idleness as the remedy of choice for the disabled. Thus these options of yesteryear seem to me to offer little practical hope for future development.

Income Deficiency Payments

So finally I return once again to income deficiency benefits, residuary legatee of the nation's income policy. It seems obvious that no system based on work-related benefits and universal public services can meet all needs. Some people, either because of physical or emotional disabilities, are never connected with the workforce. Universally available health, mental health, rehabilitative, training and specialized institutional services might meet the need for many of these and each of these services might well carry its own provisions for cash income needs (as, for example, is now the case with the MDTA program). Some risks, most notably that of children deprived of parental support because of desertion before or after birth do not seem to lend themselves to the risk-sharing concept of social insurance. Essentially this is a child welfare problem and is discussed in that context. But more persuasively, some needs are so great, so temporary or so unusual that they require an individualized approach.

Most of the present differences of viewpoint that surround an appropriate method for providing ultimate underpinning protection against these needs seem to be either related to emphasis or administrative method.

On the first score, there are those who feel our primary emphasis in income policy should center on minimal guarantees with some going so far as to see these as replacing all those measures, like social insurance, directed to the prevention of poverty before it occurs. To my mind this is both defeatist in the sense that it presupposes the impossibility or undesir-

ability of preventing poverty (it is a simple fact of logic that one cannot prevent poverty by measures conditioned on its prior existence) and dangerous in subjecting the impoverished minority to all the isolating, denigrating pressures previously discussed. But a national income policy that sets its sights on the prevention of poverty and alienation does not reduce the obligation to provide protective, alleviative and restorative measures on a basis of decency and dignity when they occur. It is simply that we cannot afford to risk the destruction or weakening of preventive measures by an ill-conceived emphasis on alleviative measures which carry such a seductive allure of economy to the rest of society.

Administrative Questions

On the administrative side, I see three interrelated questions: (1) Should a program of minimal income guarantees be federally-administered or should it be continued under some modification of the existing federal-state pattern? (2) Should it be administered by a tax-controlling agency as a reverse aspect of the redistributive function of taxation? and (3) Should the granting of cash income be totally divorced from the giving of individualized social service?

Advisory Council Recommendations

As a member of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare appointed under the authority of the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments, my own views are largely reflected in the recommendations of that Council. It is the general thesis of its report that a radically different pattern of federal financing could assure a federally-determined nationwide minimum standard under state administration and that this standard should incorporate both income guarantees for all needy and essential social services for all who want and need them. The term Basic Social Guarantee is applied to this combined approach.

The Council's recommendations are predicated on the assumption that a primary goal is the reduction of the incidence of income deficiency by all the measures herein described or any others yet to be devised. It is on this assumption that it sees the task of providing residual minimal income guarantees as being closely related to the provision of a vastly expanded range of social services. The family head suddenly confronted with catastrophic needs, the deserted mother of several young children, the elderly couple stricken by illness or failure of competence on the part of one partner, the victim of fire or other emergency (to name just a few examples) cannot afford the time or energy to run from one agency to another. He needs a single source of help, hopefully available in his own neighborhood. He doesn't need an internal revenue agent or an income based on his past year's deficiency but immediate help which is both personal and monetary.

Much of the opposition to this viewpoint stems from judgments directed against the existing public welfare machinery and its social worker agents. The public

welfare agency as the residuary legatee of all society's failures on other fronts is the built-in scapegoat. Taxpayers berate it for excessive leniency and its clients for excessive harshness. But like any other governmental agency, it is the instrument of public laws and attitudes. To the extent that these are harsh, restrictive and inadequate, so, too, is their agent, the public welfare department. Any other agency required under these circumstances to spread too little money over too great a range of legally-entitled need would soon suffer from the same characteristics. The remedy lies in changing the attitudes of the general public.

Present public welfare laws, reflecting anachronistic public attitudes are clearly outdated. They still reflect the impoverished economy of the thirties, when reducing unemployment was the primary social goal and decentralized responsibility the dominating social heritage. By undertaking to guarantee employment for the employables (the rhetoric of 1935 spoke of guarantees though the appropriations were never adequate for the purpose and wartime labor shortages shortly made them unnecessary), three categories of need were singled out for federally-aided assistance. Support for these three categories—old age, blindness, and mothers responsible for small children—was thought to be a socially desirable method of relieving pressure on the labor market. It was assumed that the states should not only set the level of entitlement and support for these categories, but should be able to carry unaided the burden of general assistance for those needy not included in any federal measure. Small stimulative grants for child welfare services in rural areas and those of special need were also provided.

Over the years, the scope of federally-aided assistance has been broadened, though still within the con-

cept of categorical limitations, and the level of federal financial participation has been raised, though still within a reimbursement formula that leaves the standard of assistance to state determination and favors those with low standards. In no sense can it be said that a national assistance policy has been achieved, since each state is free to determine the extent of its own responsibility both as to whom should be aided and at what level. Few states extend assistance to all needy; virtually all—to a greater or lesser extent—deny assistance to newcomers within the state, and the levels of assistance for the most part are far below any conceivable standard of health and decency. Yet many of those whose standards are the lowest (Mississippi, for example, with average per capita monthly allowances for children below $9.00) tax themselves more heavily than the average for this purpose.

Need for National Policy

Obviously, any nationwide remedy for this situation requires federal action which is comprehensive with respect to coverage, standards and financing. Those who argue for outright federalization can make a strong case that a nationwide program incorporating federal standards requires federal financing and cannot be left to the veto power of optional state implementation. The same argument can, however, be made with respect to many other responsibilities traditionally reserved to the states and so far centralizing moves have required oblique rather than direct action for political approval. (Even the unemployment insurance system, clearly a factor in interstate commerce, has been held to state-determined standards by a strongly states' rights resistance to change.)

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare chose the carrot approach to federal standards by proposing a transitionally optional system of financing whereby the federal government would meet in its entirety (above a stipulated fair share annual lump sum expenditure by the state, based on fiscal effort in relationship to its average per capita income) the cost of implementing federal standards. This concept of federal aid, originally the brainchild of the late Senator Robert Taft, places clearly on the federal government the financing of those extra costs resulting from its own standard setting.

It was the thought of the Advisory Council that this financing pattern might prove sufficiently attractive to the states to offset the political resistance which has so far met every effort at national advance. Its principal weakness is, of course, the possibility of state unwillingness to implement the program at any price. Most members of the Council thought this an unlikely contingency in view of its heavy economic price (no state has, for example, declined its costly option to forgo unemployment insurance) while others favored the ultimate sanction of federal administration in the case of state recalcitrance, as existed in the days of federal relief program.

The Council also favored the close association of minimum service standards with minimum income standards, applying the phrase Basic Social Guarantee to this combined approach. This recommendation runs counter to much of the current social orthodoxy which assumes that services are intrinsically a means of curtailing money payments. Again, all depends on popular attitudes and circumstances. The family bent on finding a child for adoption or decent nursing care for an aged relative does not look on social services in this light. The Council's assumption of adequate income from other sources for people capable of working and adequate replacement income for those with a family work history reduces the residual problem of income insufficiency to those with special social problems.

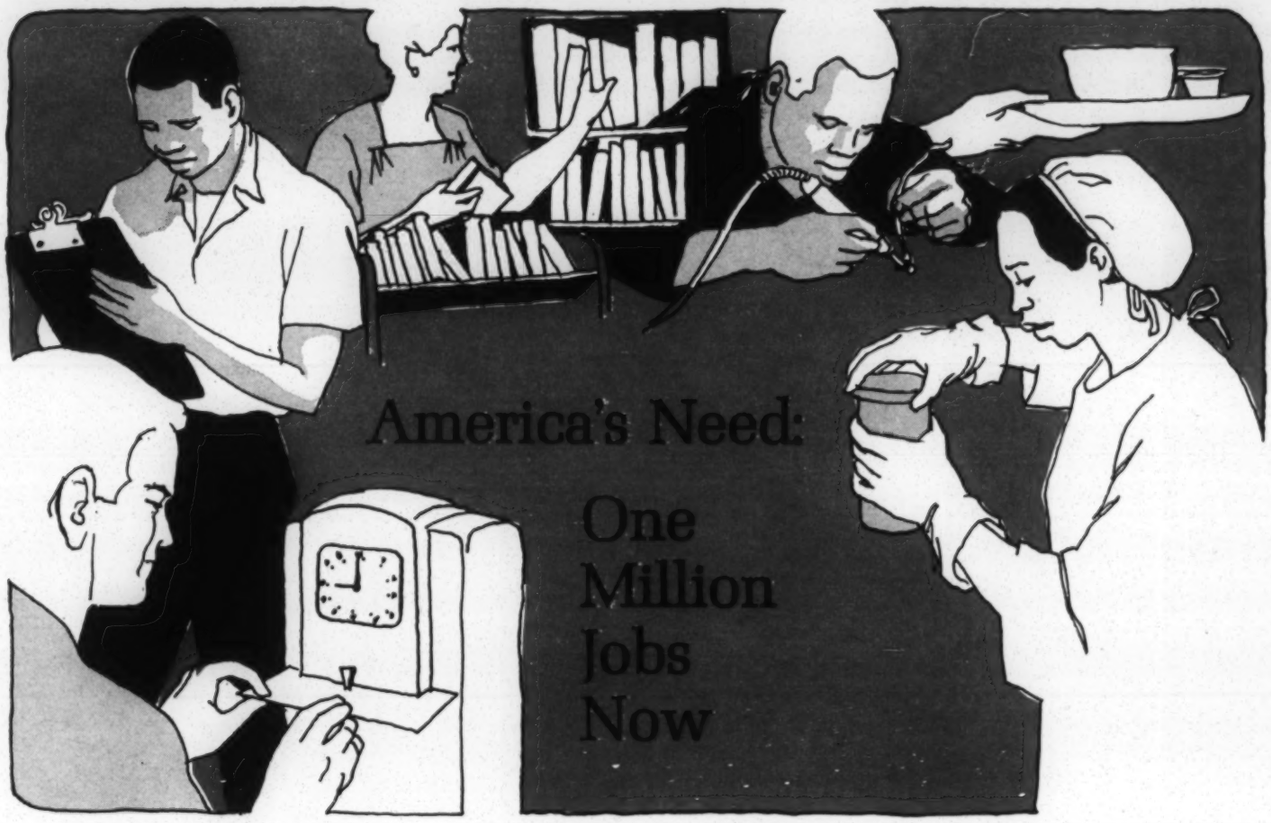
The real problem on both counts comes back to the central ideological confrontation of our times: the puritanical value system of the majority and the ghetto heritage of our principal minority groups. It is most sharply focused in the problem of support for abandoned children and alienated youth: the beneficiaries of our embattled program of Aid for Families Dependent Children. Not all children in this program are Negro, but the judgmental attitudes directed toward Negro alienation from social opportunities and social norms has contributed to the low standards in this program. But in all discussions, from the Moynihan report on the Negro family to the evaluations of the Comptroller General, the central issue seems to have been obscured: that protection of the welfare of children is one of the most ancient of social obligations.

In fact, an anthropologist, Earl Counts, in identifying that which differentiated man from the apes has this to say: "The pre-human juvenile became a human child when the hitherto private business that he is an appurtenance of a certain female becomes everybody's business."

By this standard our claim to humanity seems rather shaky in a day when the weight of public opinion and political action seems bent on forcing needy mothers off the assistance rolls regardless of the impact on their children of such deprivation and indignity. Instead of using the starvation of a child as means of punishing its mother, we need to look upon child welfare protections as involving support as well as social services.

We are now in the rather absurd situation of being willing to pay reasonable fees to a foster mother for the care of a child removed from its home while we deny comparable support to the same child in its own home.

The concept of child welfare services needs to be broadened to carry a built-in provision of income as essential to that protective service. Only in this way can we extend the reality of a protective society to all children without regard to race, income or our judgments regarding the past actions of their parents. No challenge to our democratic pretensions outweighs the need to assure protective provisions for children, primary charge on the social conscience of mankind.



In our work-oriented society the major solution to unemployment, under-employment and most poverty is the opportunity for a regular job at decent wages. For the unemployed and the under-employed, as well as for the children of all impoverished families, there is no more realistic route out of poverty than gainful employment.

The O'Hara bill gets directly to the heart of this issue. It authorizes $4 billion of federal grants to federal, state and local government agencies and private non-profit organizations, in the first year of operation, for the creation of up to one million public service jobs for the unemployed and under-employed. Moreover, the services that would be provided by this program are badly needed, socially useful work that would not otherwise be done.

The bill proposes, with utter simplicity, that America meet two of its pressing national problems—unemployment and a backlog of unmet public service needs. It does this through a program that would put one million unemployed and under-employed people to work, at not less than the federal minimum wage or the prevailing wage, whichever is the higher, in performing badly needed services in parks, schools, hospitals, playgrounds, libraries, public buildings and similar institutions in the government and private non-profit sectors of the economy.

THIS ARTICLE IS EXCERPTED from the testimony of AFL-CIO President George Meany before a House Education and Labor subcommittee in support of a bill introduced by Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.). The O'Hara bill would create 1 million public service jobs for the unemployed and under-employed.

In advocating the idea of a public service employment program in February 1966, the tripartite National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress declared that:

"Employing the unemployed is, in an important sense, almost costless. The unemployed consume; they do not produce. To provide them meaningful jobs increases not only their income but that of society. Much of the work that needs doing calls only for limited skills and minor amounts of training . .

"The public service employment program should be coupled with basic education, training and counseling to raise the productivity of the employes and assist them to move on to better jobs. With this assistance, the opportunity for higher incomes would provide the necessary incentive to seek other jobs. Since the jobs would provide services for which society has growing needs, no element of make-work would be involved."

Early enactment of this bill would get such programs under way. It would provide the keystone for the government's numerous anti-poverty efforts among people of working age, as well as the various private programs to provide jobs for some of the hard-core unemployed. It would be a resounding act of federal government commitment to help the unemployed and under-employed lift themselves and their families out of poverty.

Unfortunately, largescale pockets of unemployment

and under-employment in our urban centers and depressed rural areas have become a social cancer, despite the general economic improvements of the past seven years. The rise of sales, production and employment of the 1960s has not provided enough job opportunities for the most disadvantaged, unskilled, inexperienced jobseekers—particularly Negroes and teenagers—in a period of spreading automation and rapid growth of the labor force.

In 1967, according to the official reports of the Labor Department, there were 3 million unemployed or 3.8 percent of the civilian labor force. Among Negroes in the labor force, 7.4 percent were reported to be unemployed. Among teenagers, 12.9 percent were unemployed and for Negro teenagers the percentage was 26.3 percent.

However, the government's report of 3 million unemployed in 1967 is an economic statistic—an average for the year as a whole. Such an economic statistic, however, does not adequately measure how great an impact unemployment has on people. The situation—in human terms—is much greater and more serious.

In 1966, when reported unemployment was about the same as last year, the government's survey of the work-experience of the population showed that 11.4 million people were unemployed sometime during the course of the year; 3.4 million had two or more periods of joblessness; 2.4 million were unemployed 15 weeks or more during the year and 1.5 million of these long-term unemployed were men; 2.2 million Negroes were unemployed during the course of 1966 and one-third of them were jobless for 15 weeks and more. A similar situation existed in 1967, as the government's report will indicate when it is published.

Revealing as these reported figures are on the extent of unemployment, it is now widely recognized that they are an understatement.

This understatement is partly due to the fact that the 1960 decennial census did not accurately count the population. This was particularly true in urban slums and depressed rural areas. It is also due to the fact that people who have given up seeking jobs are not counted as unemployed. The greatest social problems are among those who are not counted—those who are so cut off from the mainstream of American society that they are not included in the officially-reported, regular statistics.

Estimates of the unemployment undercount vary—some go as high as 3 million or more. The estimate of the AFL-CIO Research Department is that the understatement is in the neighborhood of 1.5 million, possibly more.

This would mean that there were approximately 4.5 million unemployed, on the average, in 1967. It would mean that about 13 million people were unemployed during the course of the year and about 3.5 million to 4 million were unemployed 15 weeks and more.

In addition, we have the Labor Department's reports on under-employment. In 1967, there were 2.2 million people who were reported to have been compelled to work part-time because fulltime jobs were not available.

In recent years, therefore, there have been about 3 million to 5 million people who have been unemployed for long periods of time or have been seriously under-employed.

This situation is even more serious than it looks on the surface, because it is not evenly distributed throughout the country and across the entire population. It is concentrated—with dire social implications—in the slum districts of our urban centers and in depressed rural areas.

In a special survey of 10 urban slum areas in November 1966, the Labor Department found that approximately one-third of the population of working age had serious job and income problems—unemployment, under-employment and very low yearly incomes. This would mean that about 10 percent to 15 percent of the adult men and about 40 percent to 50 percent of out-of-school teenagers—including those not usually counted—were unemployed in the slum districts of our major cities in November 1966. The situation in urban slum areas is only a bit better in early 1968.

As for rural areas, the Commission on Rural Poverty estimated that approximately 18 percent of adults in such areas are under-employed. A measure of the problem in less-populated areas of the country can be seen in the Labor Department's report for March 1968 that there was substantial or persistent unemployment in 487 small rural communities—about the same as two years before.

In terms of human beings, families and communities, therefore, the problem of unemployment and under-employment is far more serious than official reports usually indicate. And this problem is highly concentrated in urban slum districts and depressed rural areas—particularly among Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians.

Moreover, many of these unemployed and under-employed people have very little, if any, education, vocational training or regular work-experience. Many of them, too, are rural migrants from the southern states into the cities of the North and West, or the children of such migrants. Ill-equipped to compete in the regular labor market, they are unemployed or part-time occasional workers—frequently people who have drifted outside the government's usual statistical reports.

So a key answer to this problem is jobs now—not next year or the year after.

And public institutions, in both urban and rural areas, have an urgent need for the services that these people can perform.

Let us put these two needs together constructively—as this bill does—and get this program on the road, now.

Such employment at the wage floors provided in the bill should include provisions for assistance to help these people move up the job and income ladder to

better-paying and more-skilled jobs in public and private employment. The immediate need is regular employment, linked with literacy training, guidance, counseling and training in skills.

Moreover, the program envisioned in this bill does not preclude the importance of private business efforts to hire some of the hard-core unemployed. But the process of business hiring—depending on general economic expansion and the opening of unskilled, entry jobs in private business—can hardly be expected to meet the needs of the large numbers of disadvantaged unemployed and under-employed rapidly enough.

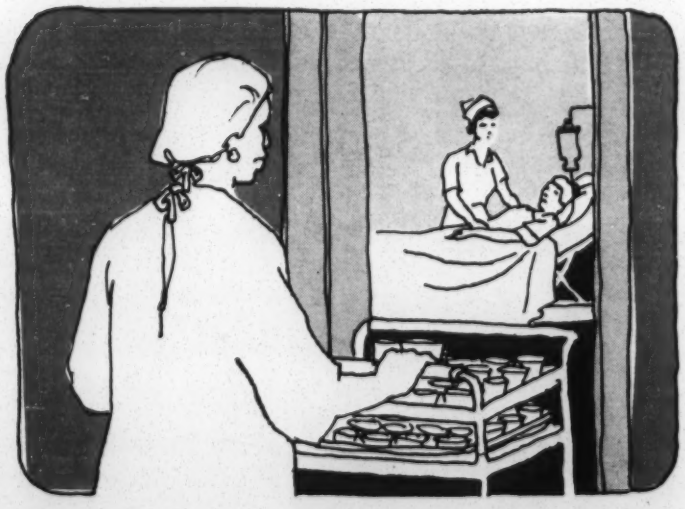
Let me, at this point, make a comment on the proposals to "let private business take care of the problem."

The fact is the private sector just cannot do the job alone. I think it is time the Congress faces up to this fact and stops trying to pass the buck to private employers.

We think the jobs program of the National Alliance of Businessmen—to hire and train 500,000 hard-core unemployed people during the next three years—is a good idea and we are doing our best to be helpful. But even if its program is a 100 percent success, it will only make a dent in the problem—with 3 million to 5 million long-term unemployed or seriously under-employed people at present.

When we look ahead we find that America's labor force is growing rapidly—about 1.5 million a year in the next 10 years. And the spread of automation is reducing labor requirements in some industries, increasing the educational and skill requirements of many jobs and moving industry location from cities to the suburbs and countryside.

The American economy must expand rapidly to prevent the present level of unemployment from rising by providing jobs for new entrants into the labor force and for those displaced by automation. Unless immediate action is taken to provide a million public service jobs now, largescale pockets of unemployed and under-employed disadvantaged people will persist as a spreading danger to the fabric of American society, even if the economy continues to expand normally.



A halt to general economic expansion or a recession, of course, would mean rising unemployment and under-employment—a potentially explosive situation. But even the present size of the problem has serious social consequences.

Federal action to create one million public service jobs must be the keystone of any realistic national effort to employ the long-term unemployed and seriously under-employed. The government must be the employer of last resort and the time for such action is now!

At this point, someone may say: "Fine, but is it feasible?"

There is ample evidence to prove that such a program is as workable as it is necessary.

Two studies in the past several years report a public service employment potential of between 4 million and over 5 million jobs (4.3 million according to a study by Greenleigh Associates and 5.3 million reported by a study for the Automation Commission).

This need in urban and rural public services and private, non-profit institutions can rapidly be translated into one million jobs within a year, if the funds are made available.

Dr. John W. Gardner, Chairman of the Urban Coalition, recently reported:

"To find out how many socially useful jobs could be made available immediately, the Urban Coalition asked Dr. Harold Sheppard of the Upjohn Institute to survey a sample of major cities. Based upon a preliminary analysis of this survey, Dr. Sheppard has concluded that at least 141,000 persons could be employed almost overnight in the 130 cities with population over 100,000. These would be jobs in regular city departments where supervisors are already available and work tasks are clearly defined. If this sample were expanded to small cities, to county and state governments and to jobs with private, non-profit organizations, it is likely that enough jobs could be found to put 500,000 persons to work within six months. By further planning, the number might be expanded to a million or more within a year.

"A public service employment program would not only enable unemployed to earn their own way; it would benefit the general public by the many necessary and useful tasks which would be performed."

I agree completely with Dr. Gardner.

We in the AFL-CIO have been warning about unemployment and the social ills it breeds for the last dozen years. Eight years ago, it was the major burden of our testimony to the platform committees of both parties.

We've said it repeatedly in every conceivable forum and we've been greeted with indifference by the Congress.

Now the Congress can no longer delay. Now the Congress can no longer pretend unemployment will disappear if no one notices it. Now the Congress is hearing the voices of the people all over this land.

Now the Congress must act.

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guaranteed income, the negative income tax, and family allowances

SELECTED REFERENCES

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
341 NINTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

Herbert Bienstock, Director
Middle Atlantic Region

DECEMBER 1968

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
341 Ninth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001

In view of the rising interest in the subject of the guaranteed income and family allowances as an alternative, or addition, to the existing welfare system, this office has put together a short bibliography of books and articles on these subjects. It is an updated version of a similar bibliography prepared by the U. S. Department of Labor Library in 1966.

GUARANTEED INCOME, THE NEGATIVE INCOME TAX, AND FAMILY ALLOWANCES : SELECTED REFERENCES

Early proposals for guaranteeing an income are included in the following references:

Speizman, Milton D., "Speenhamland: an experiment in guaranteed income," Social Service Review, March 1966, v.40, pp. 44-55.
A historical precedent for programs of guaranteed income is the Speenhamland system effective in England between 1795 and 1834.

Rhys-Williams, Juliet E. (Glyn), Lady. Something to look forward to: a suggestion for a new social contract. (London, Macdonald and Co., 1943). 232 p.
This plan is often cited as the first modern proposal of a guaranteed income. See especially pages 138-218.

Peacock, Alan T., Economics of National Insurance (London, William Hodge and Co., ltd., 1952). 126 p.
The proposals set forth by Lady Rhys-Williams are the basis for this income redistribution system, whereby every individual would be paid a "social dividend" which would replace all the positive allowances receivable under insurance and assistance.

Family allowances in Britain were adopted as a result of the famous "Beveridge Report " (William H. Beveridge, Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services, 1942).

Two recent exponents of guaranteed income and negative income tax are Robert Theobald, a British economist who advocates a guaranteed income for all, and Milton Friedman, a University of Chicago economist said to be the first American to propose the negative income tax plan. Their proposals are set forth in the following works:

Theobald, Robert, The Challenge of Abundance (New York, Clarkson N. Potter, 1961). 253 p.
Examination of the dangers and opportunities presented by our economy of abundance.

Theobald, Robert, Free Men and Free Markets (New York, Clarkson N. Potter, 1963). 203 p.
Proposals for a guaranteed income and income maintenance are set forth in Part II and the Appendix.

Theobald, Robert, ed., The Guaranteed Income: Next Step in Economic Evolution? (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday & Co., 1966). 233 p.
Includes essays by Robert H. David, Ben B. Seligman, Meno Lovenstein, Edward E. Schwartz, William Vogt, C.E. Ayres, Erich Fromm, Marshall McLuhan, Conrad M. Arensberg and Robert Theobald.

"A Guaranteed Income for Everyone?", Labour Gazette (Canada) September 1964, vol. 64, p. 776-777.
Robert Theobald and Harry Bridges, speaking at the annual convention of the International Association of Personnel in Employment Security, advocate a guaranteed income for all.

Theobald, Robert, "Guaranteeing an Income: A New Constitutional Right for the Developing Post Industrial Age," Commonweal, September 4, 1964, vol. 80, p. 603-606.

Friedman, Milton, Capitalism and Freedom (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962). 202 p.
See pages 190-195 for the proposal of a negative income tax.

Breul, Frank R., "Capitalism and Freedom: An Essay Review", Social Service Review, June 1963, vol. 37, p. 201-207.

Friedman, Milton, "Transfer Payments and the Social Security System", Conference Board Record, September 1965, vol. 2, p. 7-10.

James C. Vadakin has long advocated family allowances in the United States. Two of his books are listed below:

Vadakin, James C., Family Allowances (1958).
Vadakin, James C., Children, Poverty, and Family Allowances (New York, Basic Books, 1968).

In 1964 the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution published a statement connecting the revolutions in cybernation, weaponry and civil rights, and suggesting that society undertake an unqualified commitment to provide every individual and every family with an adequate income as a matter of right. The statement was signed by W.H. Ferry, Vice President of Fund for the Republic, Inc., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and twenty-four others. The following references discuss the Triple Revolution:

Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, The Triple Revolution: An Appraisal of the Major U.S. Crises and Proposals for Action (Washington, D.C., Maurer, Fleisher, Zon & Associates, Inc., 1964). 29 p.

"Latest plan: full pay for no work," U.S. News and World Report, April 6, 1964, vol. 56, p. 84.

"Machines do it better than humans: an assessment of a workless society and proposals for action," Advertising Age, April 6, 1964, vol. 35, p. 121-122.
The full text of the memorandum of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution is reproduced with brief comments by the editors.

Schorr, Alvin L., "The New Radicals: the Triple Revolution," Social Work, January 1965, vol. 10, p. 112-114.

Walinsky, Adam, "Keeping the poor in their place; notes on the importance of being one-up," New Republic, July 4, 1964, vol. 151, p. 15-18.
Opposition to the plan for a guaranteed income set out by the Committee on the Triple Revolution is essential, according to Mr. Walinsky, because "of all the devices that have been invented for keeping the status-poor in their place, putting them on a dole is by far the most effective."

Early in 1966 the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress published its report which included a suggestion for income maintenance in terms of the negative income tax.

U.S. National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, Technology and the American Economy, Vol. I. (Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1966) 115 p.
See pages 38-41 for discussion of income maintenance.

Bowen, Howard R., "Technology and Employment: the Years Ahead," Vital Speeches of the Day, May 1, 1966, vol. 32, p. 435-439.

Theobald, Robert, "Should men compete with machines?", Nation, May 9, 1966, vol. 202, p. 544-550.
Economic growth and employment are discussed in light of the Report of the Commission and guaranteed income, or Basic Economic Security as Theobald terms it, is advocated.

The following list of references is divided into four sections - general discussions and articles; and references on guaranteed income, negative income tax, and family allowances.

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Critical review of John Pierson's "Insuring Full Employment" and Robert Theobald's "Guaranteed Income."

Burns, Eveline, "Social Security in Evolution," Social Service Review, June 1965, vol. 39, p. 129-140.
The author discusses negative income tax as an approach to income maintenance but is not in favor of the guaranteed income to all regardless of means.

Burns, Eveline, "Where Welfare Falls Short," Public Interest, Fall 1965, no. 1, p. 82-95.
See pages 90-95.

Eckstein, Otto, ed., Studies in the Economics of Income Maintenance (Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1967).
Studies concern presently existing programs of income maintenance.

Hildebrand, George H., Poverty, Income Maintenance, and the Negative Income Tax (Ithaca, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, April 1967). 68 p.

Levitan, Sar A., Cohen, Wilbur J., and Lampman, Robert J., eds., Towards Freedom From Want (Madison, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1968). 243 p.
A series of articles proposing various means of providing financial assistance to the poor.

Nicol, Helen O., "Guaranteed Income Maintenance: a Discussion of Negative Income Tax Plans," Welfare in Review, April 1968, vol. 4, p. 1-10.
The negative income tax proposals of Robert J. Lampman, Edward E. Schwartz, Robert Theobald and Milton Friedman are discussed.

Nicol, Helen O., "Guaranteed Income Maintenance: Another Look at the Debate," Welfare in Review, June-July 1967, vol. 5, p. 1-13.

Schorr, Alvin L., "Income Maintenance and the Birth Rate," Social Security Bulletin, December 1965, vol. 28, p. 22-30.
"In any consideration of income maintenance programs, one of the first questions raised has to do with the effect of income support on the birth rate."

Schwartz, Edward E., "A Way To End the Means Test," Social Work, July 1964, vol. 9, p. 3-12.
"The purpose of this article is to propose an income maintenance program that would involve neither a means test nor contributions to an earmarked insurance fund and to discuss some of the salient features of this plan."

Tobin, James, "On Improving the Economic Status of the Negro," Daedalus, Fall 1965, p. 878-898.
See pages 891-895.

"A think tank that thinks for the poor," Business Week, June 22, 1968, p. 106-110.
A discussion of the work of the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Research on Poverty, which includes finding out if subsidies to the poor will work.

"Union endorses guaranteed income," Civil Liberties in New York, September 1968, p. 1.
A statement by the New York Civil Liberties Union in favor of the substitution of flat grants or some form of guaranteed annual income for the present welfare system.

U.S. Advisory Council on Public Welfare, "Having the power, we have the duty." Report... (Washington, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1966) 148 p.

U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Economic Policies and Practices: Paper No. 11, Guaranteed Minimum Income Program Used by Governments of Selected Countries (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968). 87 p.

U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Income Maintenance Programs (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968). 2 volumes, 720 p.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Plans and Wage - Employment Guarantees, Bulletin No. 1425-3, June 1965. 108 p.
The traditional collective bargaining approach.

U.S. President, Economic Report of the President; Together With the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisors (Washington, 1966). 306 p.
See pages 114-115.

"The Welfare and Child Health Provisions of the Social Security Amendments of 1967, Legislative History and Summary," Welfare in Review, May-June 1968.
A description of the features of the presently existing Social Security system.

"When the paychecks stop," Monthly Review, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, November 1964, p. 228-233.
Transfer payments are suggested as a means to maintain the income of families whose paychecks have stopped by reason of unemployment, disability, retirement, or death of the family breadwinner.

GUARANTEED INCOME

Cloward, Richard and Frances F. Piven, "A Strategy to End Poverty," Nation, May 2, 1966, vol. 202, p. 510-517.

Farber, Joseph, "The Individual Subsidy Plan," Feedback, January - February 1966, vol. 4, p. 34.
Under this plan a subsidy would be paid to every individual regardless of financial status in an amount necessary for the basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter.

Fromm, Erich, Sane Society (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965). 370 p.
One of the early proposals for a guaranteed income.
See pages 335-338.

"Guaranteed annual income and the Protestant ethic," Christian Century, March 2, 1966, vol. 83, p. 260-262.

Guaranteed Annual Income Newsletter, Chicago, Illinois, Ad Hoc Committee for a Guaranteed Income, 1966, vol. 1, no. 1, June 1966.
"The Guaranteed Annual Income Newsletter (GAIN) is primarily intended for the interested citizen who wishes to learn about a pressing social issue rather than for the specialist. The motivation behind GAIN is a commitment to the concept of a guaranteed income; its main goal is to accelerate the establishment of such a program in this country."
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Chamberlin, William H., "The state swelled and the people shrank," Freeman, May 1966, vol. 16, p. 15-22.
This criticism of the negative income tax argues that it would destroy the incentive to work.
See pages 17-19.

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Green, Christopher, Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem (Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1967). 210 p.

Industrial Relations; A Journal of Economy and Society, Berkeley, California, University of California, Institute of Industrial Relations, published 3 times a year.
The May 1966 issue announces a symposium on the negative income tax for the February 1967 issue.

Henle, Peter, "Negative Income Tax," Monthly Labor Review, April,1966, vol. 89, p. 427.
A review of Robert Theobald's "Guaranteed income: next step in economic evolution?"

"Income tax that pays the poor," Business Week, November 13, 1965, no. 1889, p. 105-106.

Lampman, Robert J., "Approaches to the Reduction of Poverty," American Economic Review, May 1965, vol. 55, p. 521-529.
See also the discussion by George H. Hildebrand and Harry G. Johnson, pages 541-545.

Levitan, Sar A., "Programs in Aid of the Poor," Kalamazoo, Michigan, Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1965. 59 p. (Public Policy Information Bulletin)
See pages 46-47.

"Now: a tax plan that pays people; negative income tax," U.S. News and World Report, February 14, 1966, vol. 60, p. 63.

Reagan, Michael D., "Washington Should Pay Taxes to the Poor," New York Times Magazine, February 20, 1966, section 6, p. 24-25.
Discussion (March 13, 1966, section 6, p. 19).

"When the war is over," New Republic, January 1, 1966, vol. 154, p. 7-8.
An editorial discusses two proposals to help the unskilled and the underemployed - a mass job program and a negative income tax.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Children's Allowances and the Economic Welfare of Children: The Report of a Conference, Citizen's Committee for Children of New York, Inc., 1968. 200 p.
Very useful in presenting the present state of thinking about family allowances and some of the relevant facts bearing on the issue.

Guaranteed Income

January 9, 1969

I am Mrs. Ethel M. Mathews, Chairman of the Welfare Rights Organization, local Emmaus House Chapter, Atlanta, Georgia.

This is our program for 1970. Much has been said and written about inadequacies of our present welfare system as we press toward a guarenteed adequate income. Much can be done to improve the welfare system now. The following should be implemented immediately:

1. Our 1970 program will be to ask the Federal Government to require all states to provide special grants for clothing, household furnishings, and other basic needs to insure that recipients have the minimum standards for health and decency.

2. We will also demand that regulations be changed so that welfare payments can be made to a family when the father is present in the home and unemployed or otherwise so poor that he cannot support his family decently. This will help to keep families together and will give men a new interest in working and improving themselves. In the long run, it will save the state money.

3. Our 1970 program will demand that more poor people be better represented. We are asking that some more blacks be put on the Welfare Board and the Commision Board other than Mr. W. C. Scott, manager of the Atlanta World. We will ask for someone who knows the problems of the poor and who is concerned about the poor other than himself. We do not want people from Buckhead and from the rich section at Peachtree to say that they represent the poor because they do not know what the ghettoes are all about, and they don't know the meaning of poverty.

So this is our program for 1970; more adequate income for the poor, more dignity for the poor, more justice for the poor, and more democracy for all poor people regardless of race, creed, or color.

Bread and justice for all of us,

Mrs. M. Mathews,
WRO President

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 5 February 3, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

Americans worry about their environmental mess, consumers hear new warning

Consumers must get on the warpath about what's happening. And what's happening is not only shrunken paychecks. It's also shrunken air, water, and open space.

That's the message of Sen. Ed Muskie of Maine, who told the Consumer Assembly '69, "we must move now to renovate, rejuvenate and recapture our environment."

The latest sign that consumerism is the biggest political surprise package of the season came last week as some 600 true believers came to Washington for two days of speech-listening, resolution-voting, and viewing-with-alarm.

Muskie gave a low-key political warning to the new occupants of the White House. It was a signal the conservation claque which turned the nation upside down over the Hickel appointment, is now ready to link hands with consumerism's crusaders. It could turn out to be a people's lobby which can overthrow the barons of normalcy.

"Air pollution alert systems have been established in many of our major cities. Emphysema, bronchitis and other chronic respiratory diseases continue to increase in geometric proportions," Muskie warned.

"And our landscape is scarred. Land developers, highway builders, and strip miners have laid waste to the countryside with little or no regard to erosion or siltation control. We abandon our litter and bury and burn our garbage with little or no thought to the environmental effects or the waste resources."

Americans are increasingly resentful and worried about the environmental mess they are surrounded with. The national uproar over the Hickel appointment to the Department of Interior came as a surprise to many politicians, but it was a sign that Americans will demand a quality environment which includes more than clean air and water.

'Tragedies come and go but I always manage to survive.

Money Gap: Why we are in trouble

As our environment deteriorates, here is how Congress is responding with money to cleanse our air and water, and restore some of the balance we have taken from nature. It's not a good record.

Water Pollution Control (in millions, for fiscal years)

	1968	1969	1970	1971
Authorization	$581	$836	$1,010	$1,260
Appropriation	$295.6	$302.8	?	?
The Gap	$285.4	$533.2	?	?

Air Pollution Control (in millions, for fiscal years)

	1968	1969	1970
Authorization	$109	$185	$134.3
Appropriation	$ 80.2	$ 88.7	?
The Gap	$ 28.8	$ 96.3	?

Water and Sewer Grants (in millions, for fiscal years)

	1968	1969	1970
Authorization	$200	$420	$605
Appropriation	$165	$165	?
The Gap	$ 35	$255	?

—Research by Conservation Foundation

GUARANTEED INCOME

There's a better way than paying out pyramiding welfare

Pay people not to work? Why, that's absolutely insane. It goes against the Puritan ethic, against common sense, against everything right and proper.

Yet we now pay out $9.8 billion in federal, state and local welfare payments. The bulk goes to dependent children ($2.9 billion) needy older people ($1.7 billion), aid to the disabled ($655 million), and in outright welfare payments ($437 million)—all for not working.

Most people agree our present welfare system is demeaning and unfair to taxpayers who pay the welfare bill and to those who receive welfare.

The question is: How can we best help the needy, do it fairly, and do it within a decent, dignified framework?

Some of the best brains in America are trying to figure this out. They range from such cautious thinkers as Prof. Milton Friedman, Sen. Goldwater's chief financial adviser, to far-out members of the New Left. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a citadel of the status quo, two years ago conducted a national symposium on guaranteed income which aired the issue exhaustively.

In the parlance of political Washington, "income maintenance" is on the front burner. It's an issue which seems destined to be decided soon as the cost of welfare mushrooms and people search for better alternatives.

Let's agree on one thing and discard a common myth. A good job at a decent rate of pay is the goal of most people. We can debate endlessly how many professional goldbrickers pocket government checks without working. The average person, given a chance to work, will choose a job with a regular paycheck.

Income maintenance ought never be more attractive than regular employment. Every scheme—negative income tax, guaranteed income, or child allowance—envisages regular paycheck jobs as preferable to any substitute welfare or relief program.

A lot of poor people work today at poverty wages. They often work for less than a full year. They work, far below the poverty level (anywhere from $3,000 to $4,000 a year, depending on the locality). A yet visionary $2 an hour federal minimum wage (should it ever pass) amounts to only $4,000 a year, based on a 40-hour week, 52 weeks in a year.

Our present welfare system puts a penalty on a person who does work while on welfare.

A working mother is penalized today for working if she's entitled to $2,000 worth of welfare a year. For every $100 she gets in welfare, she must pay back $100 she earns from working. She can never get ahead.

Among the 8 million on relief, only about 60,000 are able-bodied men. The majority are either too young, too old, too sick or too disabled to be self-supporting.

In most states, notes Congressman William Ryan, **"if a welfare family receives $200 monthly and the mother earns $100 scrubbing floors, the local welfare agency promptly reduces the benefit by $100, leaving the family no better off, and providing no economic incentive for working."**

If anything makes goldbrickers or malingerers, it's the welfare setup we have today where this happens.

Under the guaranteed income idea proposed by Congressman Ryan, only $50 would be deducted up to an agreed upon level. Thus, the person builds an income and is encouraged to find work and secure regular income where this is physically possible.

Most of those on welfare today could not work, even if there were jobs. Out of 8 million on welfare, 3 million are over age 65, blind or disabled; 4 million are dependent children; and 1.26 million are parents with dependent children (160,000 fathers and 1.1 million mothers).

Employment among some of the 1.26 million parents with dependent children might be possible. It would be cruel, however, to cut off these parents from any assistance without providing day care centers or some means to hold their families together.

The Ryan plan would make little dent on New York, but would have a revolutionary impact in poor states like Mississippi. It would lift the income of 80 percent of the nation's poor people and cost little more than one month of

(Continued on page 3)

For the many who are unable to work we must find ways to put a floor of economic security and decency under their lives. Our present welfare system becomes continually more bureaucratic and more costly, yet it fails to provide even a basic income. A family of four should have at least $4,160 a year—yet millions upon millions of Americans scratch out a miserable existence below that minimum level.

New welfare restrictions in the Social Security Amendments of 1967 are cruel and harsh, and they are self-defeating. They impose new difficulties and restrictions upon people who depend on welfare checks to stay alive and to raise their children. These amendments weaken the core of society, the family unit, by forcing fathers to desert their children and mothers to leave them alone at home while they go out to work. They put burdensome financial loads on already fiscally pinched state governments.

The Kerner Commission properly notes:

"Our present system of welfare is designed to save money instead of people, and tragically ends up doing neither. First, it excludes large numbers of persons who are in great need, and who, if provided a decent level of support, might be able to become more productive and self-sufficient. No federal funds are available for millions of men and women who are needy but neither aged, handicapped nor parents of minor children. Second, for those who are included, the system provides assistance well below the minimum necessary for a decent level of existence, and imposes restrictions that encourage dependency on welfare and undermines self-respect."

Congress must move boldly in a whole new approach to the needs of the poor. The most practical approach is through a guaranteed income that will meet the needs of all and eliminate the costly and often tyrannical welfare bureaucracy.

—from UAW President Reuther's report to the 1968 UAW Convention

Welfare reform

A 'guaranteed income' vs. welfare

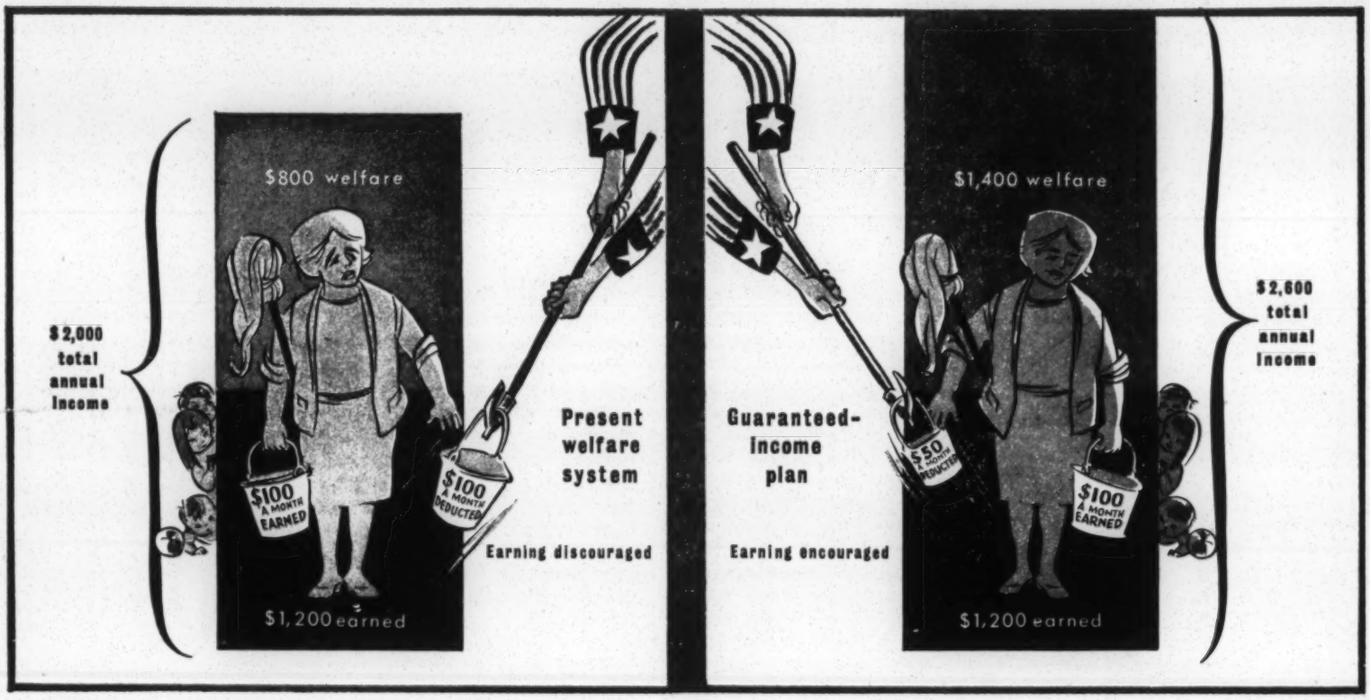

Chart by Christian Science Monitor

Say a destitute mother with three dependent children is entitled to $2,000 a year in welfare. Then, under the present system, $100 is deducted from the monthly welfare check if she goes out and earns $100 that month. Thus, she won't improve her family's income at all until she can earn more than $2,000. Few can. The result: little incentive to work and no financial improvement. On the other hand, under a guaranteed-income plan, the welfare check would be reduced by only $50 for every $100 earned up to a break-even point of $4,000 total yearly income. Result: an incentive to work and a higher standard of living. The federal price tag for such a plan: $4.1 billion more than the cost of the present welfare system. But with demands on that system escalating, the price difference could soon disappear.

(Continued from page 2)

the Vietnam war, or half the cost of the space program for a year. Most important of all, it would halt the flow of the rural poor into congested, beleaguered cities where ill-trained people find no way to fit into the complex job market.

There are roughly 30 million people living below the $3,300 poverty level today. They form 15 percent of our population and 25 percent of all children. We pay out $8 billion in welfare supposedly to help the poor, and we're still in bad shape. For another $4 billion, under the Ryan plan, we could rescue 24 million people from the worst clutches of poverty.

Sylvia Porter, an economist, states that among the 8 million on relief **"only about 60,000 are able-bodied men. The majority are either too young, too old, too sick or too disabled to be self-supporting."**

But with the help of day-care centers or children's allowances, some of the welfare mothers might be put into the stream of gainfully employed citizens. We ought not expect miracles. There are, contrary to some common myths, not millions of loafers on the government dole. The facts prove the contrary.

The price tag for income maintenance plans runs the gamut from $4 billion for Congressman Ryan's version of guaranteed income, to $10 to $26 billion for the negative income tax, and $10 billion for a children's allowance.

Many conservatives today favor some kind of guaranteed income because today's hodge-podge welfare systems are proving more costly year by year. And it does not seem to work. Consequently conservative Prof. Milton Friedman supports a negative income tax. He would pay a flat rate to families to make up the difference between their income and a level which would put them above a poverty level, using a sliding scale as a spur to earn more money.

The pricetag for income maintenance is less than the cost of a month of war or a year of the space program. Most people, given a chance to work, will choose a job with a regular paycheck.

Many scorn any guaranteed income plan. They sincerely feel it would ruin our free enterprise system and make it too easy for people to loaf at the expense of hardworking taxpayers.

It goes against our grain to see people get something for nothing. But packed firmly into our American system of government are many kinds of subsidies (maritime, agricultural, postal, aircraft, and others). The U.S. Treasury recently listed $550 billion worth of tax loopholes (they were called "tax expenditures" in the Treasury report) available for people in all income groups.

There ought to be a way to eliminate every vestige of poverty in this land of affluence. Many conservatives and liberals agree on this goal. The question before the nation is, how can the goal best be reached.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Why is crime on the upswing? Why so many muggings, bank heists, and burglaries? Why? Coddling criminals? The Supreme Court? Tricky lawyers, Easy bail? There's little doubt the entire nation suffers a crime wave of major proportions. Court calendars are congested. Many criminals get off on bail and repeat their criminal acts before they are hailed before a judge. "Law and order" during the last campaign was a code-word for "get the nigger." Crime is rampant among low-income, minority, chronically unemployed in the ghettos. Black Americans are victimized by more crime than any others. What do we do? The President's commission on violence reports, as did the crime commission earlier, that crime is more widespread among youth than others. Our population today is predominately youthful. Black kids and white kids, poor kids and rich—are more apt to hold up a store, steal a bike, or even rob a bank than any person in his thirties or forties. Crime is a price we pay for easy affluence. We neglected our schools, our youth programs, our cities. Now we pay a price, a very heavy price. Teen age kids burst with energy and enthusiasm. They can easily shift from the bugaloo to shoplifting. The frug can turn to bank robbing—on a post-adolescent dare, for some emotional inner torment, or from outright boredom with idleness or too much comfort. The violence commission's report tells what happened to 10,000 boys born in 1945. Of 10,000 boys, 3,475 became juvenile delinquents, committing a total of 10,214 delinquent acts ranging from petty offenses to homicides. Half of these boys were only one-time offenders. More importantly, 629 were chronic offenders (five or more delinquent acts) who accounted for 5,305 crimes, or 52 percent of all offenses committed by the entire group. Their offenses were the more serious ones, including a majority of the homicides. They represented only a small minority (18 percent of the juvenile and 6 per cent of the total group), yet these 627 youths account for the major cost to society from juvenile crimes. . . . **Shirley Chisholm stood up in the back of the Democratic caucus** in the House of Representatives last week and started something—thanks to the Democratic Study Group, which won the right of a monthly party caucus. Shirley is a wispy black sister who deeply resented her placement on the forestries subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee. She stood up and asked for a new committee, and Chairman Wilbur Mills said he will try to fix up something better suited to the militant black lady from Bedford-Styvestant. The fact that this first black woman ever elected to Congress was asked to mess around in the forestries subcommittee was a deep insult to her, her race, and to the democratic system. We hope Mr. Mills rectifies the mistake. . . . **Secretary Hickel dug his political grave a little deeper** by hiring a Chamber of Commerce lobbyist who fought high water quality standards. Mr. Hickel got a good education from the Senate Interior Committee, but we wonder how much education rubbed off on the dirty water lobbyist who took him around Capitol Hill and seems destined to call the shots from inside Interior. Conservation and consumer issues—plus tax reform—are some of the hottest political issues in the country, and they will not disappear with prayer from Billy Graham, nor by decorous fielding of questions at a presidential press conference. . . . **Tax reform got a push forward this past week** as the House Ways and Means Committee announced two months of hearings. We only hope matters won't get worse, instead of better. Insiders say they will fight to get an open rule so amendments can be made on the House floor. Far too many deals get cut behind closed doors in the Ways and Means Committee where conservatives have the upperhand. A flat rate for all high income groups—who can often escape paying any tax whatsoever—seems certain of approval. The Reuss $9 billion tax reform package is a reasonable proposal to end the 10 percent surtax by midsummer. It calls for ending the 7 percent investment credit which big business dearly loves. A cool $3 billion goes down the drain from this bonanza to corporations. Says Reuss: *"Our economy has been over stimulated and we are now in a period of serious inflation, fed in part by the investment tax credit. The credit concentrates inflationary spending power on precisely that portion of the economy that is already most overheated—the capital goods sector."* Mr. Mills please copy.

See Your Congressman: The House of Representatives takes a Lincoln's Birthday recess from Feb. 7 until Feb. 17. Your local congressman may be at home during this time. Talk to him about tax reform, ask him to endorse the Reuss $9 billion tax loophole-plugging bill which can end the 10 percent surtax.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

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THIS WEEK

Guaranteed income: There's a better way than paying out pyramiding welfare

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THE MANPOWER DAILY REPORTER

NEW YORK TIMES
APR 23 1969

NIXON IS WEIGHING FLOOR ON INCOME AS RELIEF REFORM

Congress to Get Alternative Plans to End Inequities in Welfare Systems

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — The Nixon Administration has decided to give welfare reforms a high priority in its domestic programs and is at work on alternative plans to submit to Congress, probably within the next month or so.

One idea that is being considered, along with other basic reforms, is a form of income maintenance that would be a step toward a nationally guaranteed minimum income.

That is why the Nixon budget calls for more money for experimental income maintenance projejcts than did the Johnson budget—more than $9-million, as compared with $4-million.

Administration sources said that the matter was likely to be before Congress for many months and that it was important to move as quickly as possible to determine the economic and social effects of replacing the present welfare system with some form of income maintenance.

'Well-Designed Experiments'

"I want to go ahead, as quickly as possibly, with a series of well-designed income maintenance experiments," said Robert H. Finch, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in a recent departmental memorandum.

Welfare reform has been a matter of priority within the Administration since President Nixon took office, but it has not moved far within the complex decision-making machinery that the President hs set up.

A first-round decision on what White House sources described as "exciting proposals" was to have been made yesterday within the President's Council on Urbn Afairs, but this was postponed. Officials up and down the line have been reluctant to discuss details of the plan or of the intra-Administration debate surrounding it.

One explanation of the postponement, according to a department official, was that further cost estimates were needed and that no decision could be made until these were completed.

The matter was further complicated by the Supreme Court decision yesterday ruling out residence requirement for persons otherwise eligible for public assistance. This promises to put as many as 200,000 more people on the welfare rolls, which now contain about 8.5 million.

The ruling, Mr. Finch said at a news conference, will "modify substantially the proposals we have at the White House" due to the etxra costs and will increase the pressures for instituting national standards into the system.

Both Mr. Finch and President Nixon have favored moving toward a system of national standards. One reason is the need to narrow the gap in payments from state to state. Mississippi, for example, pays an average of $8.50 a month to dependent children, while New York pays $71.50.

The gaps are believed to step up migration of poor families from rural areas to the cities, which are staggering under welfare loads.

Thus, the ruling that persons cannot be required to live in an area for a specified time before drawing welfare could cause even more migration to the cities.

Pressures Increase

Political pressures for making basic changes in the welfare system have increased ever since the new Administration took office. They come from all political persuasions and from all regions of the country.

The Nixon Administration has made it clear that, whatever specific changes it recommends to Congress, the stress will be on more work training and jobs for those able to work, the adoption of Federal standards and the assumption of more of the cost by the Federal Government. However, it has rejected proposals from Governor Rockefeller and others that the Federal Government take over the entire system.

Continued on Page 5

FLOOR ON INCOME
(Continued)

Last week, President Nixon said in his domestic message to Congress:

"Our studies have demonstrated that tinkering with the present welfare system is not enough. We need a complete reappraisal and redirection of programs which have aggravated the troubles they were meant to cure, perpetuating a dismal cycle of dependency from one generation to the next."

The burden for reform so far has been in the hands of an Urban Affairs Council subcommittee headed by Mr. Finch. Among those working with him have been Under Secretary John G. Veneman; Richard P. Nathan, assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget. and John Price, a member of the council staff.

A Working Paper

One of the working papers for the group was the report of a panel headed by Mr. Nathan and appointed by Mr. Nixon before he took office. That report, portions of which have been published in The New York Times, points to the general direction of the proposals now befort the White House.

One of its recommendations has, in fact, already been accepted by Mr. Nixon. That is his request that the Congressional "freeze" on payments to families with dependent children, scheduled to take effect next July 1, be postponed at least another year.

Such a freeze, Mr. Finch said at the time Mr. Nixon's budget was released, "could impose a nearly intolerable fiscal burden on the states," which would have to cover rising costs, estimated at $322-million for the 1970 fiscal year. The amount was included in the Nixon budget.

This indicates the tone of the proposals that have been placed before the White Hous.

The panel's report called for a series of changes in the basic system. Chiefly, the Federal Government would make minimum payments for aid to dependent children, thus putting a Federal floor under the state payments, and would make minimum payments in the same manner for the aged, the blind and the disabled—or put them all under the Social Security system, thus federalizing that aspect of the welfare system.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1969

Why Do the Welfare Rolls Keep Rising?

By JONATHAN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON — President Nixon has asked his top domestic policy experts to explore a deeply perplexing social phenomenon —the explosive increase in the nation's relief rolls in an era of unparalleled economic prosperity.

Unemployment is around its lowest point since the Korean War, the number of poor has dramatically declined in just the last decade, and an immense array of new social programs is furnishing billions to uplift the impoverished.

Yet the number of persons receiving public welfare payments continues to skyrocket. New York City alone has added one half million recipients to its relief rolls since 1966—about double its increase in the preceding two decades. Nationally, the relief rolls are rising almost 10% a year, with no letup in sight, and most of the increase is in a single category—Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

AFDC, which costs the most, $3 billion a year, and has the most recipients, six million, was created in the New Deal as a small-scale help for widows and orphans. Today it is a prime source nationally of financial support for impoverished children, mainly in families where there is no father.

Bafflement All Around

The President's Council of Economic Advisers, urban affairs expert Daniel P. Moynihan, authorities in the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare all are seeking to explain the current welfare "crisis." But in the end Mr. Nixon is likely to remain as baffled as ever. For, surprisingly, despite the staggering stacks of statistics and multiplicity of solutions, no one really knows exactly what's causing it.

For many years, the association between the size of the AFDC rolls and the unemployment rate furnished a simple and logical economic explanation; when unemployment went up, so did the welfare lists. But in the early 1960s unemployment started a more or less steady decline, yet welfare continued to rise. Then in 1966 the increase in the welfare rolls unexpectedly escalated from 250,000 new recipients a year to 800,000, and the flood of poor families to relief has not receded since.

What happened — migration, immorality, maladministration or intended munificence? The welter of welfare statistics supports conflicting conclusions, and simple explanations are suspect because of vast variations in local welfare policies and glaring gaps in the data.

Do fathers desert in order to make their families eligible for AFDC? Most welfare specialists suspect this occurs, but there are no studies to document it or to determine the degree. Clients don't volunteer such information to their caseworkers.

Is the fundamental cause illegitimacy, particularly prevalent among Negro women who constitute a growing proportion of AFDC recipients? But more than one-third of illegitimate births are white, and the overall increase in illegitimacy has not been sudden or sizable enough to account for the welfare explosion.

pansion of the AFDC program. The rolls increased by only one million individuals from 1949 to 1959. But most welfare experts believe the population shift could have created the conditions for the current increase. Hundreds of thousands of Negro poor were crowded into the Northern cities, where welfare has traditionally been liberally dispensed. Southern states, with their low per-capita income, provide minimal welfare grants and employ a variety of stratagems, such as "man in the house" rules, to exclude recipients on dubious legal grounds.

The first generation of rural emigrants may have been too ignorant and frightened to take advantage of relief. But now their children have grown to maturity in the North and are wiser in city ways. In any event, current migration is not causing the AFDC increase. The Northward Negro stream now has slowed to a trickle; some experts say it has stopped. Furthermore, welfare studies in New York, California and Maryland show that most of the poor who apply for aid have been local residents for at least a year. Thus, welfare policy hardly holds the key to redressing the urban-rural imbalance.

Other significant changes occurred. During the 1960s, Federal welfare standards were broadened and states substantially increased their grant payments. The national average AFDC payment for a family of four rose from $113 a month in 1960 to $166 in 1968, and "budget" standards, the theoretical living needs of the poor, also increased. This meant not only more money for those already on the rolls, but aid to many other families previously excluded because they had a little income.

The Negro proportion of poor fatherless families increased, though not their overall number. And the size of these families increased. Poor Negro mothers with lots of kids probably constitute the backbone of AFDC. They can't support their children on the menial jobs available to them, and indeed many are not even in the work force. Thus, some experts argue that the pre-1962 association between unemployment and AFDC was either coincidental or merely masked more fundamental social changes.

In a pioneering effort to explain the current AFDC increase, the Maryland Welfare Department pinpointed two possibilities: Urban renewal and neighborhood anti-poverty activities. The renewal program, it noted, threw displaced Negro slum-dwellers onto the relief rolls in the process of their relocation. The anti-poverty program publicized the availability of welfare and promoted applications by the poor. "When poor people are everywhere encouraged to make use of these resources . . . a surge of response must be expected," the Maryland report stated. It dealt with a period, ending in 1956, when the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity was just getting under way.

Since then the impact of the OEO and other "Great Society" program on public welfare has become manifest in many more cities, and probably increasingly pervasive. New York City's phenomenal AFDC rise can perhaps be best understood as a product of anti-poverty ferment. But no one has devised a means of precise measurement or absolute proof that AFDC would not have increased just as steeply anyway.

The National Welfare Rights Organization, which claims to have 30,000 AFDC mother members, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican, belligerently seeks more money for those already on the rolls. Its strategy is to create conflict and confrontation by "sit-ins" and "marches" on local welfare headquarters. Its publicized successes—usually gaining "special" extra grants for furniture or clothing—probably have attracted more of the poor to public assistance.

The Courts and Commitment

OEO-supported lawyers have won key court decisions extending welfare coverage and limiting the discretion of local agencies in denying aid. The Poor People's March on Washington in 1968 won a commitment from HEW to furnish legal help to recipients whose right to relief was challenged.

Community campaigns to enroll the poor in other Federal programs, such as "Medicaid," have added to the relief rolls as a by-product. Local agitation has forced welfare departments to publicize their grant-making procedures in intelligible form for the first time. Antipoverty agencies also have helped clients battle the welfare bureaucracy, encouraged more applications for aid and produced more liberal local administration. In short, the Great Society enlarged the demand for welfare and also increased its supply.

"My main conclusion is that the increase in the caseload is a good thing. More eligible families are getting assistance, so the system is in this sense working better," sums up one White House welfare specialist.

This judgment is shared by many other Nixon Administration officials, and may be quite correct. But until the precise causes of the AFDC increase are more accurately diagnosed, many Americans—including perhaps the President himself—will continue to regard the consequences with concern and criticism.

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Is the fundamental cause illegitimacy, particularly prevalent among Negro women who constitute a growing proportion of AFDC recipients? But more than one-third of illegitimate births are white, and the overall increase in illegitimacy has not been sudden or sizable enough to account for the welfare explosion.

Is it changing policies on the part of local welfare agencies? The "acceptance rate"—the proportion of applicants who were actually granted relief—rose from 56% in 1960 to 74% in 1968. The "termination rate" of those already on the rolls also steadily declined. Along with these changes, applications for relief rose rapidly. But such statistics simply describe a situation; they don't explain it.

To some welfare specialists, the trends evince official laxness. "In New York City where workers are hired off the street and put on a caseload in two days, you don't blame the applicant. The error is the caseworker's. Failure to investigate—that's the issue," insists one expert. But others take the opposite tack, arguing that liberalized policies are a legitimate political response to the economic needs of the poor. Moreover there is "a vast pool of people in the cities eligible for relief but not getting it," declares Richard Cloward of Columbia University, intellectual high priest of the welfare protest movement.

If slovenly administration is the cause, then diligent enforcement of the existing rules could perhaps stem the rise in the AFDC rolls. No doubt tightening the reins can hold down welfare costs, at least temporarily. A hard-line policy worked here in Washington, where Sen. Robert Byrd, West Virginia Democrat, sponsored a detective-like home investigation effort. While this snooping removed many ineligibles, no one knows how many deserving residents were intimidated from even applying for aid.

If the Cloward "reservoir" theory is valid, then the relief rolls will continue to climb despite an economic upturn or any crackdown. By Federal poverty-line standards, the 9 million poor who now receive public assistance payments constitute less than half those eligible. But each state maintains its own income criteria (often below the Federal level) and imposes other restrictions. It would take an immense Federal effort to accurately determine how many poor should be receiving aid.

Of the $7 billion a year in Federal, state and local welfare outlays, only a pittance is spent to find out why people go on the rolls (or why they get off). And much of this "research" has other objectives—to prove that bigger welfare benefits are essential or to rebut allegations of widespread cheating. Currently, on Congressional orders, HEW is seeking to find out why the New York City rolls are rising so rapidly. But the results won't be available for several months and could be inconclusive anyway. The study is partly psychological and subjective. Among the variables being examined is the possibility that the poor now feel less public "stigma" attached to the receipt of relief.

Causes Are Complex

In the absence of firmer facts, most welfare experts agree a complex of causes underlies the AFDC explosion. Among them: Migration to the cities, the organizing efforts of anti-poverty and welfare rights groups, urban renewal dislocation, Federal expansion of welfare programs, more liberal local administration and court decisions that have lowered legal barriers to welfare aid.

The list is lengthy and there's no consensus. Each specialist has his own favorite emphasis. "The number and percentage of children at risk is increasing. (There are) more broken families, and on the average more children per broken family," insists Alvin Schorr, a child welfare expert. "A most fundamental influence has been the massive migration of poor people into the cities and from the South to the North," declares George Wiley, executive director of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Yet no single factor can account for the staggering AFDC increase in the last decade—from three million to six million recipients.

The big rural exodus of the 1940s and 1950s did not, it's true, immediately produce an ex-

many are not even in the work force. Thus, some experts argue that the pre-1962 association between unemployment and AFDC was either coincidental or merely masked more fundamental social changes.

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Welfare – Gen Jun 21, 1969 Research

Economics

Nixon's big decision on welfare

With an announcement imminent, White House advisers battle over reform. The issue: propping up the present system versus an income guarantee

Within a few weeks President Nixon is expected to send Congress a program to reform the nation's 30-year-old welfare system. What legislators will do with the proposal is unknown, of course. But welfare experts fervently hope that within a few years Congress will end some of the system's worst abuses and send more federal money into strained state and local welfare budgets.

However, it's still too early to know exactly how far the President will go to replace the system that now pays out over $8-billion yearly to nearly 10-million needy Americans. Nixon is being coached on reform by two groups of insiders—each with different ideas on what to do:

- One set of advisers, led by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, head of the White House Urban Affairs Council, and Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, wants the government to embark on an entirely new system that would guarantee a minimum income for all American families.
- The other group is led by Arthur F. Burns, counsellor to the President, who is dead set against income guarantees. Instead he would prop up the current system with national minimum benefit standards.

Arthur Burns would improve and expand present welfare system.

Two paths. The Moynihan-Finch Family Security System (FSS) would use a negative income tax to put a floor under the incomes of poverty families and supplement wages of the working poor. The scheme, estimated to cost at least $2-billion a year, could cut state and local welfare costs by about $600-million. Under it, 14-million Americans would benefit—nearly twice the number of poor in families that now get welfare.

Strong support for this reform is expected late this summer from the Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, a blue-ribbon group of 21 businessmen, academics, and public officials, that was set up last year by President Johnson. The commission, headed by Ben W. Heineman, chairman of Northwest Industries, Inc., reportedly will call for an $8-billion income-support system to benefit everyone officially designated as poor and many of the near-poor as well. The Heineman proposal also would give subsidies to single people and childless couples—not only families—for a total of some 36-million recipients.

Burns' proposal would be financed in part through a separate Administration plan for revenue-sharing with states. If a state failed to set welfare benefits at or above the national minimum, it would forfeit its entire amount of shared revenue.

Families on welfare under the Burns plan would get a least $30 or $40 a month per person; additional day-care centers would be started for welfare children whose parents would enroll in expanded mandatory job-training programs. Federal cost of the Burns plan probably would be under $2-billion, with possibly a $500-million saving for states and cities. Benefits would rise by about $400-million, but the total increase in recipients would be well under 1-million, mostly in the poorer states.

Timing. With the federal budget tighter than ever, both proposals sound ambitious. But neither plan, according to their proponents, could be run through Congress much before fiscal 1972, and by then the money might be available.

In any case, with many of the nation's 22-million poor demanding attention, Nixon's advisers doubt if the President can dally much longer before introducing a program. The present hand-me-down welfare system, which has been studied and scrutinized by scores of critical commissions in recent years, is ripe for a GOP offensive, say Nixon's advisers.

Both schemes would eliminate some of the worst problems of the current system.

States no longer would be free to set benefit levels as low as they want—although they could still set them higher by adding payments on top of the federal minimums. Now, even though Washington pays about 50% of the nation's welfare tab, benefit levels and eligibility rules are set by the states. Payments vary widely but generally are under official poverty levels—with a low of about $8 a month per recipient in Mississippi and highs of $60 or more in states like New York and Massachusetts.

In addition to narrowing differences among states, both plans also would raise benefits for 3-million adults on federal programs for the aged, blind, and disabled.

Split. Beyond these similarities, however, the two plans are wide apart. The biggest difference—and the major philosophical battle at the White House—focuses on the most controversial part of the old welfare system: the poor family, the 6-million people enrolled in programs for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). This group of welfare recipients is growing fastest and causing local officials to turn to Washington for financial help and reforms. Burns wants to strengthen AFDC; Moynihan, Finch, and the Heineman Commission want to dump it.

Daniel P. Moynihan says all should have a guaranteed minimum income.

AFDC, the only federal program that pays money to able-bodied poor, was intended to help the widows and fatherless of the Depression. Now it has become a refuge for poor families that don't fit neatly into any other federally supported welfare category. More than half are black; in 1961, some 40% of the children were fatherless because of divorce, deser-

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tion, or separation, and 20% of the youngsters were illegitimate.

The program is charged with encouraging immorality because it pays benefits to illegitimate children. Critics also blame AFDC for breaking up families, because benefits are not paid when a husband is at home. This rule, say critics, forces men with low-earnings potential, to desert.

Some improvement in AFDC was expected in 1961, when a change in the law allowed children of unemployed fathers to receive benefits. So far, however, only 24 states have adopted the provision with varying definitions of "unemployment" that limit the number of eligible men.

Set rules. For Burns, the solution to AFDC lies in trimming the rolls as fast as possible by bolstering the program. In essence, he would put more money into day-care centers and mandatory job-training programs for AFDC.

Families would continue to work their way off welfare just as now, keeping the first $30 a month they earn. After that, welfare benefits are reduced 67¢ for every extra $1 earned until the entire welfare payment is "taxed" away.

Burns reportedly also would make the program for unemployed fathers mandatory for states. However, it is not clear how much leeway he would allow in state definitions of "unemployed."

The Moynihan approach rejects the idea of patching up AFDC. Instead it would do away with this program entirely, replacing it with the Family Security System. The sole determinants of eligibility and benefits levels would be family size and income—regardless of marital status. Training programs would be expanded; but participation would be voluntary, not mandatory.

Options. Under FSS, states would continue to have their own educational, health, and training services for the poor; but the benefit system would be separate with checks mailed directly to beneficiaries by the Internal Revenue Service or the Social Security Administration. Applicants simply would file for benefits and then submit quarterly income statements, with payments based on income over the previous four quarters. Washington would use a spot check system to catch FSS offenders just as with the present income tax system.

Under FSS, a family of four with no income probably would receive $1,500 a year, although a slightly more expensive plan with a $1,750 minimum is also under discussion. For 18 states, mainly in the South, this would exceed current AFDC standards and probably eliminate local AFDC matching programs. Other states might have to keep AFDC, but at less cost.

Payments under FSS would decline by 50¢ for every $1 the family unit earned on its own. They would cease altogether somewhat below the poverty income line—at $3,000 for a family of four.

This would mean that nearly all poor families would automatically qualify for an income subsidy. A family of four with a father earning $2,000 yearly would get a $500 supplement—50% of the family's FSS income gap. Analysts estimate that some 7-million Americans—70% of them white—now live in families where fathers work full time without earning enough to get out of poverty. A similar fate, they argue, awaits mothers now on AFDC, when they find a place in the job market.

Support. Advocates of FSS are convinced that such people deserve federal help. Says Robert Harris, technical director of the Heineman Commission: "If the government wants to eliminate poverty, it must offer people more than just a low-paying job—it must supplement incomes too."

So far the Burns group has shown little

Ben Heineman urges income support.

inclination to help the working poor, except those on AFDC. But in recent weeks, Burns has hinted he might compromise with an offer of federal money for local assistance programs, which in 15 states offer some help to the working poor. However, FSS advocates don't like this idea. The working poor, they argue, should get income support as a "matter of right," not as a matter of "welfare." They are loathe to set up another federal program with a wide variety of state regulations, benefits and administrative problems.

Advocates of a negative tax don't believe, as the Burns group seemingly does, that a small guaranteed income would make thousands of able-bodied Americans lazy.

James Lyday, project manager of the Office of Economic Opportunity's New Jersey experiment in the negative tax (page 114), says that early payments in the experiment have not produced any perceptible change in work behavior. But, he admits, it's too early to draw any conclusions about how poor Americans would react to a nationwide income support system. **End**

NIXON SPELLS OUT WELFARE PLANS; POLICY UNDER FIRE

NY Times

National Council on Hunger Says End of Food Stamps Would Harm the Poor

8/12/69

CONGRESS GETS DETAILS

Welfare Gen

President Orders a Shift in Poverty Agency's Work—Senator Nelson Critical

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Excerpts from President's message are on Page 18.

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11—President Nixon's $4-billion plan to overhaul the nation's welfare system came under sharp attack today as he sent details of the proposal to Capitol Hill.

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition charged that Mr. Nixon's proposal would reduce purchasing power of the poor in 44 states by cutting off the receipt of Federal food stamps.

John R. Kramer, executive director of the council, said "the arithmetic, and not the rhetoric, of the Nixon system proves" that the Administration's pledge to eliminate hunger had become "a casualty of the war against inflation, with deflated pocketbooks and bellies the inevitable consequence."

Meanwhile, Mr. Nixon, working from the summer White House in San Clemente, Calif., told Congress in a formal message that his welfare plan would transform "a system frozen in failure and frustration into a system that would work and would encourage people to work."

Poverty Office Shift

The President also issued a statement directing the Office of Economic Opportunity to shift from operation of antipoverty programs to development of new approaches to social ills.

One key member of the Senate saw the revision as a retreat from the antipoverty drive. Senator Gaylor Nelson, the Wisconsin Democrat who chairs the Subcommittee on Unemployment, Manpower and Poverty, said in a statement that O.E.O. "apparently is to be an antiseptic laboratory, doing pure research on assorted small pilot projects."

Mr. Nixon's welfare message and poverty agency statement were refinements of his televised address last Friday, in

Continued on Page 18, Column 7

Excerpts From Nixon Message to Congress on Welfare Plan

Special to The New York Times

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif., Aug. 11—Following are excerpts and details of the message on welfare that President Nixon sent to the Congress today:

A measure of the greatness of a powerful nation is the character of the life it creates for those who are powerless to make ends meet.

If we do not find the way to become a working nation that properly cares for the dependent, we shall become a welfare state that undermines the incentive of the working man.

The present welfare system has failed us—it has fostered family breakup, has provided very little help in many states and has even deepened dependency by all too often making it more attractive to go on welfare than to go to work.

I propose a new approach that will make it more attractive to go to work than to go on welfare, and will establish a nationwide minimum payment to dependent families with children.

[1]

The Operation of the New Approach

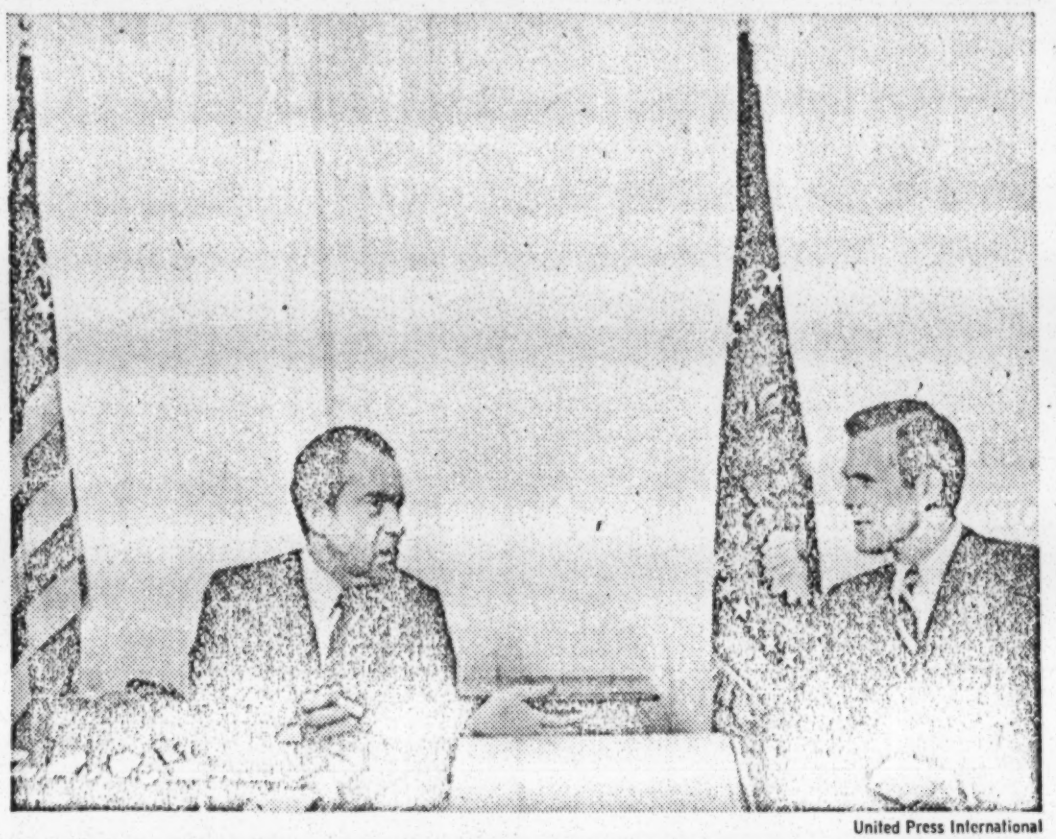
We would assure an income foundation throughout every section of America for all parents who cannot adequately support themselves and their children. For a family of four with less than $1,000 income, this payment would be $1,600 a year; for a family of four with $2,000 income, this payment would supplement that income by $960 a year.

Under the present welfare system, each state provides "aid to families with dependent children," a program we propose to replace. The Federal Government shares the cost, but each state establishes key eligibility rules and determines how much income support will be provided to poor families.

The result has been an uneven and unequal system. The 1969 benefits average for a family of four is $171 a month across the nation, but individual state averages range from $263 to $39 a month.

A new Federal minimum of $1,600 a year cannot claim to provide comfort to a family of four, but the present low of $468 a year cannot claim to provide even the basic necessities.

The new system would do away with the inequity of very low benefit levels in some states, and of state-by-



United Press International

DISCUSS O.E.O. POLICIES: President Nixon conferring with Donald L. Rumsfeld, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, at the Summer White House in San Clemente, Calif., yesterday. The President has directed the O.E.O. to alter its mission, from the operation of antipoverty programs to the development of new approaches to social ills.

or for the married couple without children, the new system would not apply. Food stamps would continue to be available up to $300 per year per person, according to the plan I outlined last May in my message to the Congress on the food and nutrition needs of the population in poverty. For dependent families there will be an orderly substitution of food stamps by the new direct monetary payments.

[2]

The new approach would end the blatant unfairness of the welfare system.

In over half the states, families headed by unemployed men do not qualify for public assistance. In no state does a family headed by a father working full-time receive help in the current welfare system, no matter how little he earns. As we have seen, this approach to dependence has itself been a cause of dependency. It results in a policy that tends to force the father out of the house.

The new plan rejects a policy that undermines family life. It would end the substantial financial incentives to the desertion. It would extend eligibility to all dependent families with children, without regard to whether the family is headed by a man or a woman.

from welfare to work by cutting benefits too fast and too much as earnings begin. The new system would encourage work by allowing the new worker to retain the first $720 of his yearly earnings without any benefit reduction.

For people already working, but at poverty wages, the present system often encourages nothing but resentment and an incentive to quit and go on relief where that would pay more than work. The new plan on the contrary, would provide a supplement that will help a low-wage worker—struggling to make ends meet—achieve a higher standard of living.

For an employable person who just chooses not to work, neither the present system nor the one we propose would support him, though both would continue to support other dependent members in his family.

However, a welfare mother with pre-school children should not face benefit reductions if she decides to stay home. It is not our intent that mothers of pre-school children must accept work. Those who can work and desire to do so, however, should have the opportunity for jobs and job training and access to day care centers for their children; this will enable them to support themselves after their children are

I believe the vast majority of poor people in the United States prefer to work rather than have the Government support their families. In 1968, 600,000 families left the welfare rolls out of an average caseload of 1,400,000 during the year, showing a considerable turnover, much of it voluntary.

However, there may be some who fail to seek or accept work, even with the strong incentives and training opportunities that will be provided. It would not be fair to those who willingly work, or to all taxpayers, to allow others to choose idleness when opportunity is available. Thus, they must accept training opportunities and jobs when offered, or give up their right to the new payments for themselves. No able-bodied person will have a "free-ride" in a nation that provides opportunity for training and work.

[4]

The bridge from welfare to work should be buttressed by training and child care programs. For many, the incentives to work in this plan would be all that is necessary. However, there are other barriers to employment.

I propose that funds be provided for expanded training and job development programs so that an additional 150,000 welfare recipients

nation. This transformation of the welfare system will set in motion forces that will lessen dependency rather than perpetuate and enlarge it.

A more productive population adds to real economic growth without inflation. The initial investment is needed now to stop the momentum of work-to-welfare and to start a new momentum in the opposite direction.

The costs of welfare benefits for families with dependent children have been rising alarmingly the past several years, increasing from $1-billion in 1960 to an estimated $3.3-billion in 1969, of which $1.8-billion is paid by the Federal Government, and $1.5-billion is paid by the states. Based on current population and income data, the proopsals I am making today will increase Federal costs during the first year by an estimated $4-billion, which includes $600-million for job training and child care centers.

The "start-up costs" of lifting many people out of dependency will ultimately cost the taxpayer far less than the chronic costs — in dollars and in national values—of creating a permanent under-class in America.

From Welfare to Work

Since this administration took office, members of the Urban Affairs Council, including officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Labor, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Bureau of the Budget, and other key advisers, have been working to develop a coherent, fresh approach to welfare, manpower training and revenue sharing.

I have outlined our conclusions about an important component of this approach in this message: the Secretary of H.E.W. will transmit to the Congress the proposed legislation after the summer recess.

I urge the Congress to begin its study of these proposals promptly so that laws be enacted and funds authorized to begin the new system as soon as possible. Sound budgetary policy must be maintained in order to put this plan into effect—especially the portion supplementing the wages of the working poor.

With the establishment of the new approach, the Office of Economic Opportunity will concentrate on the important task of finding new ways of opening economic opportunity for those who are able to work. Rather than focusing on income support activities, it must find means of providing opportunities for individuals to contribute to the full extent of their capabilities, and of developing and improving those capabilities.

This would be the effect of the transformation of welfare into "workfare," a new work-rewarding system.

Firsts for the Nation

For the first time, all dependent families with children in America, regardless of where they live, would be assured of minimum standard payments based upon uniform and single eligibility standards.

For the first time, the more than two million families who make up the "working poor" would be helped toward self-sufficiency and away from future welfare dependency.

For the first time, training and work opportunity with effective incentives would be given millions of families who would otherwise be locked into a welfare system for generations.

For the first time, the Federal Government would make a strong contribution toward relieving the financial burden of welfare payments from state governments.

For the first time, every dependent family in America would be encouraged to stay together, free from economic pressure to split apart.

These are far-reaching effects. They cannot be purchased cheaply, or by piecemeal efforts. This total reform looks in a new direction; it requires new thinking, a new spirit and a fresh dedication to reverse the downhill course of welfare. In its first year, more than half the families participating in the program will have one member working or training.

We have it in our power to raise the standard of living and the realizable hopes of millions of our fellow citizens. By providing an equal chance at the starting line, we can reinforce the traditional American spirit of self-reliance and self-respect.

Nixon Tells Welfare Aims

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

President, who declared: "We

[illegible] families with dependent children," a program we propose to replace. The Federal Government shares the cost, but each state establishes key eligibility rules and determines how much income support will be provided to poor families.

The result has been an uneven and unequal system. The 1969 benefits average for a family of four is $171 a month across the nation, but individual state averages range from $263 to $39 a month.

A new Federal minimum of $1,600 a year cannot claim to provide comfort to a family of four, but the present low of $468 a year cannot claim to provide even the basic necessities.

The new system would do away with the inequity of very low benefit levels in some states, and of state-by-state variations in eligibility tests, by establishing a federally financed income floor with a national definition of basic eligibility.

The Role of States

States will continue to carry an important responsibility. In 30 states the Federal basic payment will be less than the present levels of combined Federal and state payments. These states will be required to maintain the current level of benefits, but in no case will a state be required to spend more than 90 per cent of its present welfare cost.

The Federal Government will not only provide the "floor," but it will assume 10 per cent of the benefits now being paid by the states as their part of welfare costs.

In 20 states, the new payment would exceed the present average benefit payments, in some cases by a wide margin. In these states, where benefits are lowest and poverty often the most [illegible] the payments will [illegible] substantially. For five years, every state will be required to continue to spend at least half of what they are now spending on welfare, to supplement the Federal base.

For the typical "welfare family" — a mother with dependent children and no outside income—the new system would provide a basic national minimum payment. A mother with three small children would be assured an annual income of at least $1,600.

For the family headed by an employed father or working mother, the same basic benefits would be received, but $60 per month of earnings would be "disregarded" in order to make up the costs of working and provide a strong advantage in holding a job.

The wage earner could also keep 50 per cent of his benefits as his earnings rise above that $60 per month. A family of four, in which the father earns $2,000 in a year, would receive payments of $960, for a total income of $2,960.

For the aged, the blind and the disabled, the present system varies benefit levels from $40 per month for an aged person in one state to $145 per month for the blind in another. The new system would establish a minimum payment of $65 per month for all three of these adult categories, with the Federal Government contributing the first $50 and sharing in payments above that amount.

This will raise the share of the financial burden borne by the Federal Government for payments to these adults who cannot support themselves, and should pave the way for benefit increases in many states.

For the single adult who is not handicapped or aged, The new approach would end the blatant unfairness of the welfare system.

In over half the states, families headed by unemployed men do not qualify for public assistance. In no state does a family headed by a father working full-time receive help in the current welfare system, no matter how little he earns. As we have seen, this approach to dependence has itself been a cause of dependency. It results in a policy that tends to force the father out of the house.

The new plan rejects a policy that undermines family life. It would end the substantial financial incentives to the desertion. It would extend eligibility to all dependent families with children, without regard to whether the family is headed by a man or a woman.

The effects of these changes upon human behavior would be increased will to work, the survival of more marriages, the greater stability of families. We are determined to stop passing the cycle of dependency from generation to generation.

The most glaring inequity in the old welfare system is the exclusion of families who are working to pull themselves out of poverty. Families headed by a non-worker often receive more from welfare than families headed by a husband working full-time at very low wages. This has been rightly resented by the working poor, for the rewards are just the opposite of what they should be.

[3]

The new plan would create a much stronger incentive to work.

For people now on the welfare rolls, the present system discourages the move work. The new plan on the contrary, would provide a supplement that will help a low-wage worker—struggling to make ends meet—achieve a higher standard of living.

For an employable person who just chooses not to work, neither the present system nor the one we propose would support him, though both would continue to support other dependent members in his family.

However, a welfare mother with pre-school children should not face benefit reductions if she decides to stay home. It is not our intent that mothers of pre-school children must accept work. Those who can work and desire to do so, however, should have the opportunity for jobs and job training and access to day care centers for their children; this will enable them to support themselves after their children are grown.

A family with a member who gets a job would be permitted to retain all of the first $60 monthly income, amounting to $720 per year for a regular worker, with no reduction of Federal payments. The incentive work in this provision is obvious. But there is another practical reason: going to work costs money.

Expenses such as clothes, transportation, personal care, Social Security taxes and loss of income from odd jobs amount to substantial costs for the average family. Since a family does not begin to add to its net income until it surpasses the cost of working, in fairness this amount should not be subtracted from the new payment.

After the first $720 of income, the rest of the earnings will result in a systematic reduction in payments.

Proposed Welfare Shifts

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — If adopted by Congress, President Nixon's welfare reform proposals would work as follows on three key groups among the nation's poor:

UNEMPLOYED FAMILIES

Present Program

A typical case under the program of families with dependent children involves Federal and state support of an unemployed mother and three children. Such a family now gets a monthly check ranging from an average of $38.05 in Mississippi to $249.75 in New York. Of those amounts, the Federal share differs according to how much the state contributes, but in no case is it higher than $128 a month.

Nixon Proposal

Would set a national standard payment of $1,600 a year to every unemployed family of four—a figure that amounts to $133.33 a month. States would be expected to continue supplementing the Federal payment, adding onto it at least 50 per cent but no more than 90 per cent of what the state now contributes. In Mississippi, a monthly payment could jump from $38.05 to as much as $139.63. In New York, despite the changes, the monthly payment would remain about the same.

WORKING POOR

Present Program

There is no provision to supply welfare aid to a family in which someone holds a job. This is true even though many such families have incomes far below the $3,300 amount regarded as poverty level.

Nixon Proposal

The working poor would also be guaranteed a basic annual income of $1,600. The first $720 a year of their earnings would be disregarded, so that a family now receiving paychecks totaling $720 a year would have an annual income of $2,320. For every dollar earned above $720, the $1,600 Federal grant would be reduced by 50 cents. A family with $2,000 annual earnings would receive $960 in Federal funds, for instance. If the family earned $3,000, it would get $460 from the Government. A family earning $3,920 a year would no longer be eligible for relief support.

BLIND AND DISABLED

Present Program

The combined Federal-state system of support for the aged, blind and permanently disabled works on a formula under which the Federal share per month to an individual is $31 of the first $37 in benefits, plus as much as 65 per cent of the remaining amount set by the state as a standard. In no case is the Federal share more than $75 a month and, in practice, individuals get as little as $40 in one state under aid to the aged and as much as $145 in another state under aid to the blind.

Nixon Proposal

Would set a minimum national standard of $65 a month for the aged, blind or disabled in all states. The Federal Government would provide the first $50 and half of the $15 additional. It would also contribute one-fourth of any amount above $65.

provided. It would not be fair to those who willingly work, or to all taxpayers, to allow others to choose idleness when opportunity is available. Thus, they must accept training opportunities and jobs when offered, or give up their right to the new payments for themselves. No able-bodied person will have a "free-ride" in a nation that provides opportunity for training and work.

[4]

The bridge from welfare to work should be buttressed by training and child care programs. For many, the incentives to work in this plan would be all that is necessary. However, there are other barriers to employment.

I propose that funds be provided for expanded training and job development programs so that an additional 150,000 welfare recipients can become jobworthy during the first year.

Manpower training is a basic bridge to work for poor people, especially people with limited education, low skills and limited job experience. Manpower training programs can provide this bridge for many of our poor. In the new manpower training proposal to be sent to the Congress this week, the interrelationship with this new approach to welfare will be apparent.

I am also requesting authority, as part of the new system, to provide child care for the 450,000 children of the 150,000 current welfare recipients to be trained.

The child care I propose is more than custodial. This Administration is committed to a new emphasis on child development in the first five years of life. The day care that would be part of this plan would be of a quality that will help in the development of the child and provide for its health and safety, and would break the poverty cycle for this new generation.

The expanded child care program would bring new opportunities along several lines: Opportunities for the further involvement of private enterprise in providing high quality child care service; opportunities for volunteers; and opportunities for training and employment in child care centers of many of the welfare mothers themselves.

I am requesting a total of $600-million additional to fund these expanded training programs and child care centers.

[5]

The new system will lessen welfare red tape and provide administrative cost savings. To cut out the costly investigations so bitterly resented as "welfare snooping," the Federal payment will be based upon a certification of income, with spot checks sufficient to prevent abuses.

The program will be administered on an automated basis, using the information and technical experience of the Social Security Administration, but, of course, will be entirely separate from the administration of the Social Security Trust Fund.

The states would be given the option of having the Federal Government handle the payment of the state supplemental benefits on a reimbursable basis, so that they would be spared their present administrative burdens and so a single check could be sent to the recipient. These simplifications willsave money and eliminate indignities; at the same time, welfare fraud will be detected and lawbreakers prosecuted.

[6]

This new departure would require a substantial initial investment, but will yield future returns to the

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With the establishment of the new approach, the Office

fects. They cannot be purchased cheaply, or by piecemeal efforts. This total reform looks in a new direction; it requires new thinking, a new spirit and a fresh dedication to reverse the downhill course of welfare. In its first year, more than half the families participating in the program will have one member working or training.

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Nixon Tells Welfare Aims

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

which he described a retooling of domestic policies.

The President will explain his plans for job training and sharing of Federal tax revenue with states and cities in messages to Congress tomorrow and Wednesday.

Although there was little new in Mr. Nixon's message on welfare today, it confirmed the Administration's plan to eliminate Federal food stamps for welfare families. Instead it called for "an orderly substitution of food stamps by the new direct monetary payments."

$1,600 Income Urged

The Administration contends that poverty families should be guaranteed an annual income of $1,600 and should be funneled into the job market through expanded work training efforts. The purchase of food would come out of the basic relief support, which would be supplemented by the states in most cases.

According to the hunger council, the food stamp cutoff would "pull the rug out from under some 87 per cent of the 6,478,000 welfare poor" currently under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children system.

Mr. Kramer said the current combination of welfare payments and food stamps provided more net income to the majority of relief clients than they could hope to receive under the welfare reform plan in most states. He said the exceptions were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas, plus Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

According to Mr. Kramer, the impact would be even more detrimental on the poor should Congress adopt the more liberal food stamp program urged in May by Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Kramer said he had worked on the statistics all wekend and issued the council's statement without clearing it with its 20 members. But he aded that he spoke for the council, which is headed by Dr. Alfred Haynes of Johns Hopkins University and includes Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Council.

The council was formed last January to focus public attention on hunger and to seek, as its motto states, "to assure every American family an adequate diet."

Mr. Kramer urged the Administration to rethink its posttion on food stamps and to allow families to continue to participate in the stamp program until the welfare system could guarantee an annual income "three or four times as great as proposed."

Otherwise, he said, Mr. Nixon's proposal will "force families to choose between food stamps and Nixonian welfare

Mr. Kramer's statement contrasted with that of the President, who declared: "We have it in our power to raise the standard of living and the realizable hopes of millions of our fellow citizens.

In essence, the President's welfare package would set higher national standards of support for welfare families and for individuals receiving aid to the aged, blind or permanently disabled.

It would add 12.4 million persons to the 10 million now on welfare rolls. The additional people are members of families now disqualified by many states because an unemployed male lives in the home or because a parent has a job in which he can barely eke out a living.

Mr. Nixon proposes to "stop the momentum of work-to-welfare and to start a new momentum in the opposite direction" by linking relief to job training programs. All unemployed welfare parents—except mothers of pre-school children—would be required to enter a work training class or accept a "suitable" job to remain eligible for assistance.

In his message to Congress, Mr. Nixon sought $600-million to develop child care centers to aid working mothers. He said they would care for some 450,000 children.

The plan will end "blatant unfairness" of the present system by setting national standards, he said. At present, welfare aid to a family of four varies from $39 a month in Mississippi to $263 a month in New Jersey.

The President also said his proposal would provide aid to those who fill out forms and would thereby eliminate much of the "red tape" and "welfare snooping" that angers the poor.

Frauds Will Be Curbed

At the same time, he said, "welfare fraud will be detected and lawbreakers prosecuted." The Administration plans to issue monthly relief checks through the Social Security Administration, where computerized procedures and spot checks could quickly detect fraud.

Despite Senator Nelson's assault on the reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity, its director, Donald L. Rumsfeld said the changes would put the full commitment of the President behind the drive to reduce poverty.

Programs developed by the antipoverty agency will be "spun off" to Federal agencies, he said, in the same way the President shifted the Job Corps to the Labor Department and the Head Start program to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The President said: We must become pioneers in reshaping our society, even as we have become pioneers in space. We must show a new willness to take risks for progress a new readiness to try the untried." willingness to take risks for progress, a new readiness to and thereby guarantee their continued poverty."

try the untried."

Aug 18, 1969

1 copy - front + back

Newsweek

NIXON'S NEW DEAL

For more than six months, Richard Nixon bided his time, husbanding his domestic program until even his friends wondered whether he had any to offer, harvesting the rancor of liberal critics who thought they spied a rightward drift in what little motion they could detect. Then last week, in a brisk 35 minutes of national television time, he unlimbered a set of reforms so sweeping that even some of his own Republican Cabinet officers were left gasping for conservative breath, and some of his sternest foes had to hark back to the heyday of Democratic activism for a comparable summons to innovation in social policy.

In a single speech, the President proposed a thorough overhaul of the nation's welfare system that would establish a national minimum level of support for the first time and more than double the number of persons eligible for assistance; he advocated a tax-sharing program in which the Federal government would remit part of its revenue directly to the states and cities; and he called for major revisions of job-training programs that would shift considerable power to local communities and states.

To be sure, Mr. Nixon's proposals reflected the delicate blend of complexion and cosmetics—a careful balance of substance and rhetoric designed to appeal to as many groups as possible—that is his special political style. Here, the Federal government would take over power from the states; there, the states would win new powers from Washington. (This latter shift, the President proclaimed, heralded the dawn of "the New Federalism," a slogan whose capital letters and triple repetition during the speech bore telltale signs that it was perhaps being groomed to succeed the Great Society, the New Frontier and the New Deal.) Mr. Nixon took pains to reassure conservatives that his welfare plan did not contain a "guaranteed income," but nevertheless it seemed to offer just about all the ingredients of that long-standing liberal dream.

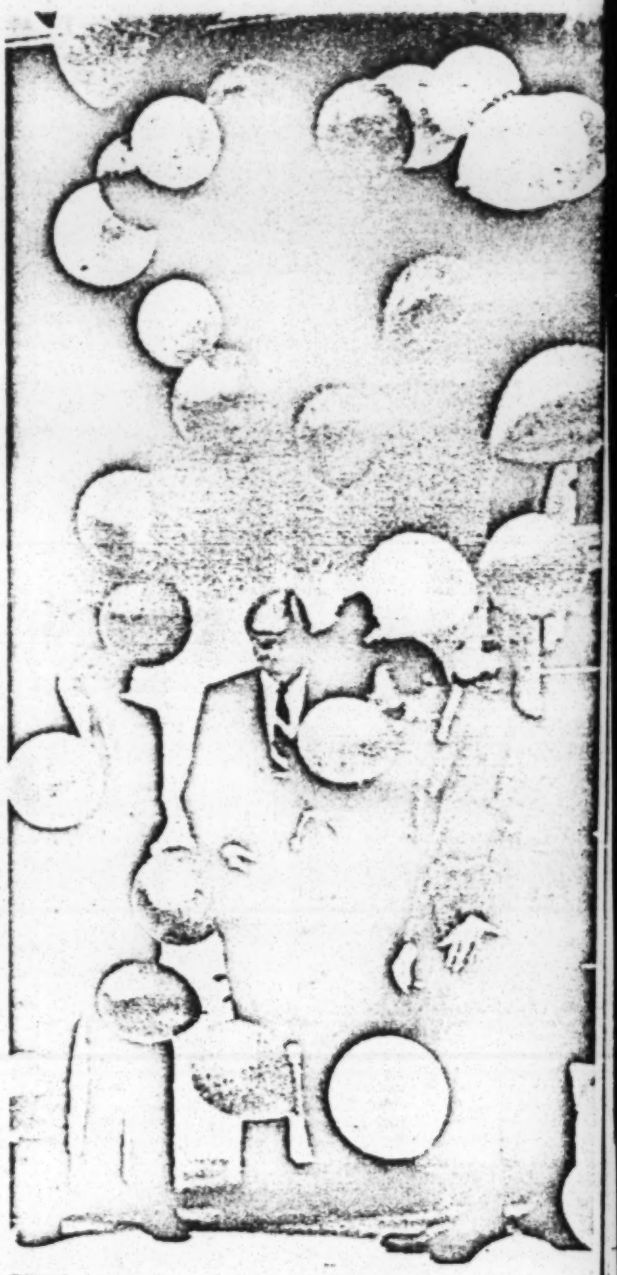
'Great Leap': The President's proposals astonished many liberals by their scope and by the fact that Richard Nixon was their creator. "I'm both amazed and pleased," applauded Walter Heller, John Kennedy's chief economic adviser and a pioneer advocate of Federal welfare minimums. "I'm surprised they moved this far this fast." Some Johnson Administration veterans stared enviously at plans thought too radical in their time. Campaign supporters of Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy spotted causes that their own candidates had championed. "It's the great leap forward," exulted Mr. Nixon's Democrat-in-residence, urban-affairs adviser Daniel P. (Pat) Moynihan, with understandable enthusiasm if slightly unfortunate allusion.

And indeed, it was the finest hour in a much-buffeted six months for Pat Moynihan and HEW Secretary Robert Finch who, with crucial support from Labor chief George Shultz (page 19), devised and defended the key reforms. One other Administration figure glowed with justifiable pride in his role in the affair. Richard Nixon, who overruled the majority of his Cabinet and the Vice President in supporting the welfare plan, confided to a friend his conviction that "Tory men with liberal principles are what has enlarged democracy in this world."

'Failure': Mr. Nixon's liberal principles, shaded with a bit of residual Toryism, were best displayed in his welfare proposals. The present system, he observed, is "a colossal failure," an "antiquated, wheezing, overloaded machine" that "breaks up homes ... often penalizes work ... robs recipients of dignity ... and grows"—at the staggering rate of almost 10 per cent a year. The most clanking cog in the machine is the $2.5 billion program of "Aid to Families With Dependent Children," condemned by liberals because it induces men to leave home (in 26 states its benefits are unavailable to families that include an able-bodied man), and criticized by conservatives because it seems open to wholesale abuses and accounts for nearly two-thirds of the nation's entire welfare caseload, now totaling 9.7 million persons.

AFDC, under the President's plan, would be scrapped altogether and replaced by a "family assistance system" that would guarantee a basic minimum income to all families in all of the 50 states. The rate would be $500 a year for each of the first two family members (whether husband and wife, mother and child, or father and child), plus $300 apiece for each additional child. Thus a family of four with no outside income would receive $1,600 a year.

This would represent a gigantic boon to the poor in states such as Mississippi, which currently pays an annual average of only $468 to a family of four under AFDC, and nineteen other states whose welfare levels fall below the national floor that Mr. Nixon proposed (map). Welfare payments in the 30 states that already offer as much or more than the Nixon plan would remain at their present level, but treasuries in those states would benefit from a Federal pledge that Washington would pay at least 10 per cent more of their total welfare allocation than it does now.

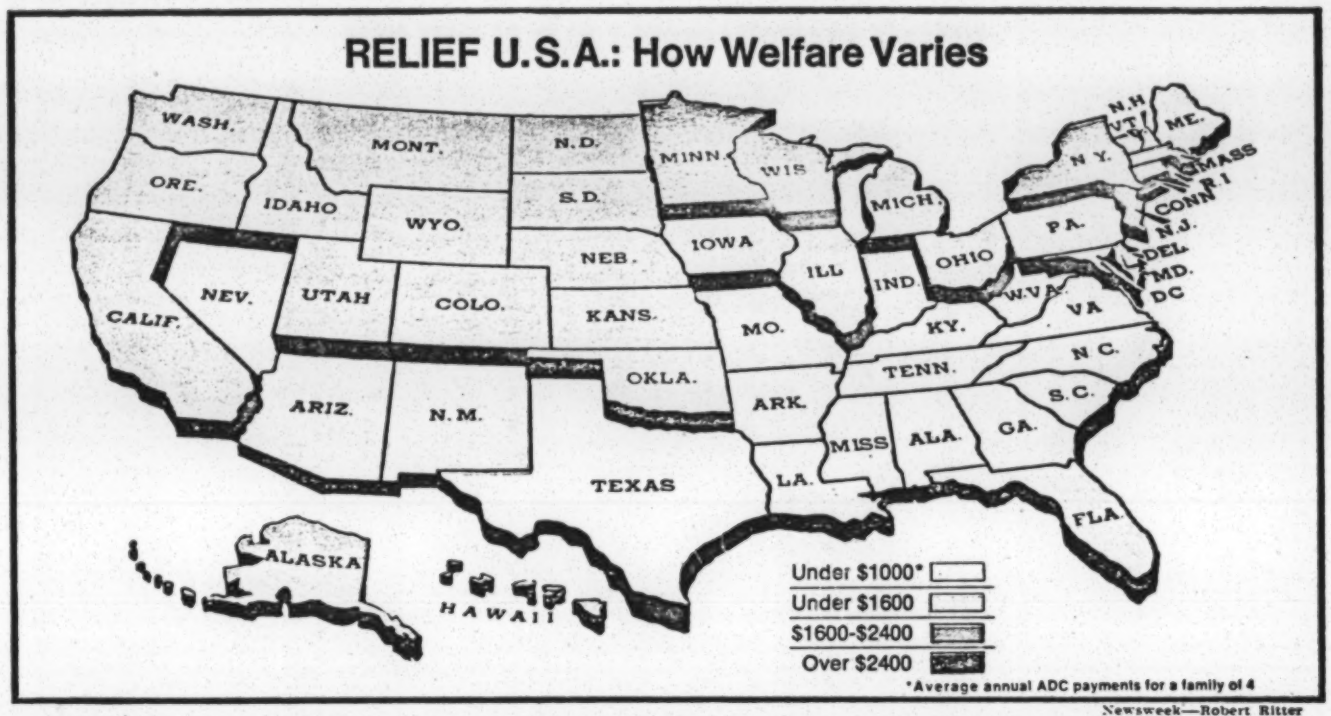


Associated Press

Balloons and breakthroughs

The new system not only would raise benefits in the low-welfare states, but it would also remove administration of relief payments from their often capricious hands, installing it instead in the highly efficient Social Security Administration. "This system," exclaimed one high-placed White House aide in a momentary departure from the rhetoric of the New Federalism, "will no longer expose the poor to random, punitive administration of county, state and local governments."

Another feature was even more important and went far toward explaining how so seemingly radical a plan could win the approval of so thoroughly Republican a President as Mr. Nixon. Each head of a household receiving the new Federal benefits (unless she was a mother with a pre-school child) would have to take a job or enlist in a job-training program, provided a suitable one



Newsweek—Robert Ritter

The Nixon plan would bring twenty states up to minimum payment of $1,600 a year for a family of four

was available. This requirement, in the eyes of Mr. Nixon, for whom the will to work "is part of the American character," absolved his plan from the sin of a "guaranteed income." "A guaranteed income," he said, "would undermine the incentive to work; the family assistance plan that I propose increases the incentive to work."

The most tempting incentive to work—and perhaps the most pioneering provision in the new system—was Mr. Nixon's proposal to allow the "working poor," people with low-paying jobs that do not raise them above the poverty level, to keep part of their welfare in addition to their outside income. For years, critics of the welfare system have complained that it actively discourages the indigent from starting work, because any wages they might earn would simply be subtracted from their welfare checks, leaving them with no net gain. To correct this fault, the new plan would permit a person on welfare to keep $720 a year of outside earnings with no reduction in his welfare. For each dollar earned above $720, his welfare check would be reduced by only 50 cents, until his combined earnings and welfare payments reached $3,920 (for a family of four). Beyond that point he would leave the relief rolls.

Cures: In addition to his welfare plan, Mr. Nixon proposed some drastic cures for the ills of the job-training program ("a terrible tangle of confusion and waste") and the Office of Economic Opportunity ("a confusion of roles and . . . a massive attempt to do everything at once"). OEO would be converted to "a laboratory agency," a proving ground for "new approaches to the solving of social problems." Once a social experiment showed its worth, it would be "spun off" to some other agency.

Job-training projects would be gradually turned over to state and city governments to administer while the Federal government continued to supply the funds. "That way," Mr. Nixon said, "they can better be adapted to specific state and local needs." Skeptics who doubted some states' ability—or willingness—to manage this program noted that the President had left an escape clause: if a state mishandled its training funds, control of its program would revert to Washington. But, Mr. Nixon stressed, "the only way to bring about decentralization is to do it, and this is the place to begin."

An even more promising avenue of decentralization was the plan to return Federal tax dollars to the revenue-starved states, "with a minimum of Federal restrictions on how those dollars are to be used" but with a percentage earmarked for the cities. At first, this rebate would be modest: it would not begin until 1972, and then at the rate of only $1 billion a year. "But the principle will have been established," the President said, "and the amounts will increase as our budgetary situation improves."

Caution: This financial caution ran through Mr. Nixon's entire package. Confronted with a budgetary squeeze which one White House adviser pronounced "just awful," the President clearly tailored his proposals for maximum visual impact with minimum immediate cost. Although the price tag for welfare reform was expected to total about $4 billion in the first year, the program could not begin before January 1971.

And before Congress ever reaches a vote, the reforms are certain to face a stormy passage of controversy and debate. Already several liberal Democrats were complaining that the welfare changes did not go far enough, and even some Republicans from high-welfare states objected that low-welfare states would get a windfall under the plan while the others, where the financial strain of welfare was greatest, would get hardly anything at all. South Dakota Sen. George McGovern raised some awkward questions about the future of the food-stamp program, which seemed to be swallowed up in the family assistance plan. And Rep. Wilbur Mills, all-powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee which screens all revenue legislation, announced he was dead set against Federal revenue-sharing with the states.

Big Week: But the criticism on specifics was outweighed by applause for the program's ambitious reach, and Mr. Nixon was clearly pleased with his week's work. In addition to his landmark social proposals, he had sent Congress a trim mass-transit plan, watched approvingly while the House passed a major tax-reform package (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 11) and conferred with visiting West German Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger on the ticklish problems of East-West relations (page 38). To top it off, the Gallup poll reported that the President's national popularity, which dipped to 58 per cent in mid-July, had soared back to its high of 65 per cent following the moon landing and his round-the-world trip.

As luck would have it, Mr. Nixon's biggest week in office fell just a year after his biggest week out of it: his nomination at the GOP convention in Miami Beach. Two hundred party chieftains and campaign veterans sneaked into the White House Rose Garden for a surprise party complete with a convention-like cascade of balloons from the roof above. Then he flew off for a month's vacation at his oceanside villa in San Clemente, Calif., an old Tory buoyed with satisfaction at having put liberal principles on fresh display.

THE MAN WHO HEALED THE WELFARE PLANNERS' SPLIT

In a Cabinet far more careful than colorful, he is the grayest of the gray. His voice trails off into an inaudible whisper. His platform style is so stiff that aides are coaching him in the use of emphatic gestures, but he still hasn't caught the knack. His political ambitions wouldn't fill the bowl of his favorite briar pipe. But when Richard Nixon's ambitious welfare program was stuck in a no-man's-land between warring Administration factions, it was George Pratt Shultz, once the little-known dean of the University of Chicago's business school and now Mr. Nixon's little-known Secretary of Labor, who rode to the rescue with skillful arguments that won the President's favor and, in the process, revealed Secretary Shultz as a surprisingly powerful new force in the field of domestic policymaking.

From the earliest days of the Nixon Administration, welfare reform was a subject of lively interest—and fierce contention. The President's chief House liberals, HEW Secretary Robert Finch and urban affairs adviser Daniel P. (Pat) Moynihan, devised a plan that would set a national minimum level for relief payments and incorporate a device to induce welfare recipients to take jobs. In most states, any money a person may earn is deducted from his welfare check, and obviously few are tempted to start work when it will bring in no extra income. Under the Finch-Moynihan plan, for every dollar a person earned (up to a certain modest minimum) only 50 cents would be subtracted from his welfare allotment.

The Stick: This approach ran head-on into the strict work ethic championed by the President's powerful counselor, economist Arthur Burns. The Federal government, he argued, has no business paying relief to someone who is able to earn money on his own. The way to induce paupers to take jobs, according to Burns's way of thinking, was not the carrot but the stick, not more welfare money but less.

And there, between these two equal but opposite forces, the Administration's welfare program stuck. Down-in-the-mouth GOP liberals began to despair of any reforms at all this year. Then, in mid-May George Shultz stepped in.

As a longtime labor arbitrator, Shultz perceived that the angry impasse would never be broken without a saving of face all round. Accordingly, he threw his weight into the struggle on the Finch-Moynihan side but deftly tailored his arguments to appeal to the "off the welfare rolls and onto the payrolls" predilections of Richard Nixon and Arthur Burns.

Shultz put together a thick document for the President stating a cool, pragmatic case for Federal aid to the "working poor." He pointed out that when a man on welfare takes a job, he is immediately faced with new expenses—for transportation, clothing and food. "You can't expect him to reach into his pocket for these things," Shultz told NEWSWEEK's Tom Joyce, "if his outside earnings are going to be confiscated." What's more, the present system induces poor people to take jobs in which their income goes unreported. "The rich do essentially the same thing," he noted, "by hiring tax lawyers to figure out tax loopholes. Really they aren't doing anything different from a welfare mother picking up pin money." But, he stressed, there is one difference: a job that can be concealed—part-time domestic work or farm laboring—rarely leads to anything better. By allowing a man to keep part of his welfare while starting out at a low-paying job, Shultz contended, the government can begin to help free the poor from the relief treadmill.

The President was so impressed with Shultz's reasoning that he overruled the conservative qualms of most of the Cabinet and the fiscal anxieties of the Budget Bureau. When Mr. Nixon assembled his Cabinet and chief advisers at Camp David last week for final deliberations on the welfare program, only three Cabinet officers favored the plan: Shultz, Finch and poverty chief Donald Rumsfeld. But after a detailed exposition of the program—complete with graphs, charts and pointers—in the paneled dining room of Laurel Lodge, Richard Nixon demonstrated that while he may take ages to make up his mind, once he has made a decision it is well-nigh unshakable.

"How do you know the program will work?" the President was asked. "I *don't* know," he shot back. "What I *do* know is the present welfare system is a disaster and I'm not going down that road another step." Where would the money come from? "I'll find the money," Mr. Nixon snapped. The dissenters' lone victory: a change in the name of the program from "family security"—too New Dealish—to "family assistance."

Pleased: For Shultz, the victory was the foremost but not the first sign of Presidential favor. Earlier this year, when Mr. Nixon needed an official to review the controversial system of oil import controls, he selected the Labor Secretary. The word went out that Shultz had pleased his boss more than any of the other Cabinet members who were strangers to Mr. Nixon before their appointment, and the President has increasingly tapped Shultz to represent the White House at public gatherings.

On these occasions, Shultz's disinterestedness seems to shine through his painful diffidence, and those who meet him come away comforted by a surpassing sense of credibility. Occasionally, his obliviousness to public relations is a drawback: friends say he could have avoided a great deal of criticism for closing down Job Corps centers last month if he had explained more forcefully that the surgery was necessary to keep the entire program alive. But, as one longtime associate explains: "Shultz is interested in solving problems, not in placating the yelling crowd." The Labor Secretary is one of Washington's prime practitioners of Richard Nixon's inaugural exhortation to "lower our voices." And even if he sometimes follows that advice too literally for his straining audiences, George Shultz's voice is clearly being heard these days in the high places where it counts.

Associated Press

UPI

Moynihan (left) and Finch pushed work incentives . . .

Don Carl Steffen

Associated Press

. . . and mediator Shultz (left) overrode Burns's objections

Aug 18, 1969

WASHINGTON-U.S.A.

Behind Nixon's Welfare Showdown

By Daniel Schorr

WASHINGTON

IN COMING MONTHS and perhaps years, it will be debated whether President Nixon's plan for welfare reform represents a progressive concept wrapped in conservative verbiage or a punitive proposal disguised in do-good garb. Not necessarily conclusive, but highly relevant, is the fact that the President himself considers, with some exhilaration, that he has taken a bold, adventurous step in the course of which, for once, he has overridden his more conservative advisers.

It is instructive, first, to review the welfare program's evolution since May, when I wrote in these pages ("The Politics of Welfare," NL, May 12) of an impasse between the proposal of Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and Daniel P. Moynihan, the President's urban affairs adviser, on the one hand, and the counterproposal of Arthur Burns, the President's economic counselor, on the other. Where the Finch-Moynihan plan urged a uniform Federal standard of assistance to families and incentives to the working poor, Burns favored a system left in the hands of the states, linked to revenue-sharing and stressing a requirement for work or training as a condition for assistance.

For weeks a showdown was avoided while a battle of memorandums proceeded—comments sent to Nixon, distributed to the contestants, countercomments. In this phase, the most significant contribution was the intervention of Secretary of Labor George Shultz with a proposal intended to bridge the philosophical gap between the "guaranteed income" and "work or starve" extremes.

Shultz's recommendation, based on his experience with manpower programs, was a work-or-training requirement, mitigated by exempting not only the handicapped, but also mothers with preschool children. (In the District of Columbia, it is estimated that 80 per cent of welfare mothers have preschool children.) Further, by providing a $30 monthly bonus for those in training, incentive was added to compulsion.

In the Family Security System (later altered to Family Assistance System), meanwhile, the scale of payments for the working poor was drawn so that the first $60 of earnings would be "disregarded"—that is, not deducted from the Federal payment at all—and thereafter 50 per cent of earnings would be deducted. The work requirement thus was retained, but with application to relatively few, and with financial incentives to soften the compulsion.

But the President still vacillated.

Early in June Moynihan, recalling how the Administration's program to combat hunger had been stored away until suddenly pried loose by political necessity, decided that once again the time had come for dramatic pressure. He sent Nixon a memorandum putting the argument in political terms calculated to appeal to the President:

"I am really discouraged about the budget situation in the coming three to five years. I fear you will have nothing like the options I am sure you hoped for. Even more, I fear that the pressure from Congress will be nigh irresistible to use up what extra resources you have on a sort of 10 per cent across-the-board increase in all the Great Society programs each year. This is the natural instinct of the Congress, and it is hard for the President to resist.

"If your extra money goes down that drain, I fear in four years' time you really won't have a single distinctive Nixon program to show for it all. Therefore I am doubly interested in seeing you go up now with a genuinely new, unmistakably Nixon, unmistakably needed program. . . .

"We can afford the Family Security System. Once you have asked for it, you can resist the pressures endlessly to add marginal funds to already doubtful programs. This way, in 1972, we will have a record of solid, unprecedented accomplishment in a vital area of social policy, and not just an explanation as to how complicated it all was."

This, from all accounts, was the turning point. Nixon, apparently accepting the argument that one important new program of his own was politically more valuable than the expansion of previous programs, issued directives to stretch out or reduce existing projects. And he prepared to unfold his new welfare scheme.

The President planned his announcement for the week of July 14—before leaving on his round-the-world trip. But there were further complications, including now the alarm of Cabinet officers and agency heads who felt their programs were being shortchanged in favor of an untried and controversial venture.

The final discussion, therefore, was put off until Nixon's return and was held, with some acrimony, at a full-dress Cabinet session at Camp David, Maryland, on August 6—two days before the already advertised Presidential address on radio and television. At this session, only three Cabinet members spoke out for the welfare plan—Secretaries Finch and Shultz, and Antipoverty Director Donald Rumsfeld. Opposed on financial and economic grounds were Secretary of the Treasury David Kennedy, Budget Director Robert F. Mayo and Paul McCracken, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, was dubious—his was one of the older programs that would suffer. Vice President Spiro T. Agnew was against it.

Nixon had called the Cabinet meeting not for a decision, but simply for a briefing. His mind was already made up. He later told intimates, cheerfully, that had he called for a vote, it would have been eight to four against the plan. When asked who would have been the fourth, in addition to the three Secretaries who had advocated it, he said he thought that Defense Secretary Melvin Laird would have gone along.

IN SEVEN MONTHS in office, it was the first time President Nixon had made a commitment on a major issue in favor of the liberal wing of his Administration against the virtually united opposition of the conservatives. The plan is still, however, not a social reformer's dream, but a piece of social engineering combined with political craftsmanship. In its essence it would deal in different ways with three categories of needy Americans:

1. For the aging and handicapped, it would provide a Federal minimum payment of $65 monthly.

2. For families, it would provide $500 each annually for the first two members, $300 each for children—or $1,600 for a family of four. Able-bodied adults (except mothers with preschool children) would be obliged to accept work or training under penalty of losing their $500 allowance (but not the allowance for their children).

3. For families of the working poor, not now on welfare, there would be supplements to bring them up to the same $1,600 level. And then, as they earned more, there would be no loss of benefits for the first $720 a year, and after that a reduction at the rate of 50 per cent of their earnings. As it would work out, a family of four would have an income of $3,920 before Federal aid ceased.

The plan is being criticized by liberals on two principal grounds. They feel the $1,600 minimum is low, and the work-training provision has an odor of indenture about it.

There are also questions still to be answered—perhaps when the legislative language is written in September. Must a welfare recipient accept any job offered, anywhere? Will the jobs be available, and of what kind? Will there be any recourse for a welfare recipient who is told to rake leaves or to become Mrs. Jones' house servant?

There are other questions. How many states will supplement the bare $1,600 minimum? Is that $1,600 payment to be used as a justification for withdrawing food stamps? And if, as many think, the Administration has underestimated the cost of its venture at $4 billion for the first year, will it be ready to accept a higher expenditure?

Still, despite all these objections and questions, one must not lose sight of some essential advances. This *is* an effort to Federalize the patchwork welfare system. It *would* expand coverage from 10 million to 22 million Americans. It *would* help to erase the invidious line between working Americans and welfare Americans. It *does* contain the implied commitment to income maintenance for Americans in need. And all this from a President elected by the welfare-hating "forgotten" middle-class American.

Wall St Jnl 8-19-69

Haynsworth Nominate
Conflict-of-Interest Cho

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif.—President Nixon, as expected, nominated Federal Appeals Court Judge Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. as an associate justice of the Supreme Court—a choice that isn't popular with Senate liberals.

In announcing the nomination, the Western White House also sought to put to rest a freshly revived conflict-of-interest charge originally leveled at the South Carolina judge in 1963 in connection with a court review of a National Labor Relations Board ruling.

Mr. Haynsworth, chief judge of the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, would replace Abe Fortas, who resigned from the High Court under fire in May. Judge Haynsworth, along with new Chief Justice Warren Burger, presumably would help move the Court away from the liberal course its majority has pursued in recent years.

White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler said President Nixon feels Judge Haynsworth has "demonstrated judicial temperament, balance, impartiality, and fairness, and he is a man who at the early age of 56 is an emotionally qualified jurist, scholar and intellect."

Liberal Opposition Seen

Judge Haynsworth may face stronger opposition from liberals in the Senate than did Chief Justice Burger, who enjoyed relatively speedy confirmation as President Nixon's first Supreme Court nominee. This time, specific objections to Mr. Haynsworth have come from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Jewish Congress and the Americans for Democratic Action. All are unhappy about Judge Haynsworth's opinions in several civil-rights cases before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

With Congress in recess, sentiment among Senate liberals hasn't jelled on whether to let the appointment go through after a round of hostile speeches, or whether to organize a determined fight against the nomination. In a statement, liberal GOP Sen. Javits of New York said he'll wait until the Senate recon-

C&O, B&O Roads See Rolling Stock Outlays At $134 Million in 1969

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

CLEVELAND — The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad expect to spend $134 million this year for new freight cars and locomotives, Gregory S. DeVine, president and chief executive of the affiliated railroads, said.

Repeal of the 7% investment tax credit might hamper spending at such levels in the future, he added. He noted the two railroads have spent more than $500 million for equipment in the four-year period beginning in 1966.

Mr. DeVine said the proposal in current tax legislation to permit railroads to amortize the cost of new equipment over a seven-year period would be far less helpful than the investment credit.

In 1969, the two roads plan to buy 8,500 freight cars and 100 diesel locomotives.

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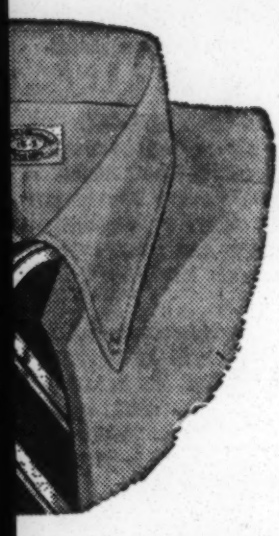
Delivery of the new locomotives will be completed in October by General Motors' Electro-Motive division and General Electric Corp., Mr. DeVine said. The C&O will receive 56 of the new engines; 44 are for the B&O.



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Labor Letter

A Special News Report on People And Their Jobs in Offices, Fields and Factories

LABOR TURNS increasingly disenchanted with the Nixon Administration.

As the President's domestic program unfolds, it lengthens the list of issues on which the AFL-CIO and the White House disagree. The Federation will lobby hard against Nixon proposals to Congress on welfare reform, manpower training, job safety, unemployment insurance. Generally, labor wants strong Federal controls and standards, while the White House places heavy reliance on state action. "Nixon has done very little in a positive way," complains AFL-CIO boss Meany.

Economic policies stir the greatest concern. The Federation worries that high interest rates increase daily the "danger of recession." The AFL-CIO urges the White House and Congress to move quickly to roll back interest rates. Labor chieftains watch glumly as the unemployment rate inches up to 3.6% from 3.3% earlier this year and prices continue to climb, wiping out some of their gains at the bargaining table.

Labor Secretary Shultz escapes blame. "He's a fine gentleman" who's "doing reasonably well," says Meany.

* * *

NIXON'S PLAN for compulsory training of welfare recipients faces uncharted problems.

Manpower experts have little experience in moving those on welfare rolls onto payrolls through job-training. The Work Incentive Program, set up last fall by the Labor Department, already has enrolled 90,000 persons. But the first trainees won't be ready for jobs until October. Though Federal officials are pleased with progress so far, they concede they are dealing largely with the most highly motivated relief recipients.

Under Nixon's proposals, state employment agencies probably will be responsible for determining which relief rollers must accept training or lose their benefits. Another likely employment office task: Deciding whether "suitable" work exists. Washington planners worry that the state employment agencies' performance is "very spotty from place to place." Many agencies have been charged with discriminating against minorities.

* * *

AUTO INDUSTRY will watch American Motors bargaining for clues to labor's mood.

Negotiators for GM, Ford and Chrysler, who'll tangle with the United Auto Workers next year, hope this fall's talks at AMC will shed light on the union's 1970 plans. Company officials know money will be the big issue. But they're in the dark on other key items, uncertain how much control top leaders will exert over locals. Also unknown is the possible im-

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The AMC bargaining will focus on union efforts to recover wage and pension concessions granted in 1968, when the company was still plagued by financial woes. Reuther talks more about leisure time for workers; the union may attempt to broaden the limits on overtime and lengthen vacations at AMC. The company will resist costly demands, arguing that it's barely in the black and remains the poorest profit-maker in the industry.

UAW veep Pat Greathouse, in charge of the AMC talks, is one of three top candidates to succeed Reuther.

* * *

LABOR AND TAXES: The AFL-CIO, unhappy with parts of the House-passed tax reform bill, will seek changes in the Senate. It urges Senators to provide "more substantive relief" for middle-income families, strengthen the minimum-tax provisions and "more effectively close the capital gains loophole."

* * *

AIRLINES' PACT to provide financial aid when any member is struck will be reviewed by the Civil Aeronautics Board. In March, a CAB examiner ruled the agreement among seven major carriers isn't "adverse to the public interest." But unions contend it worsens labor relations.

* * *

DISAPPEARING ACT: A House appropriations panel quietly kills a Nixon Administration request for an additional $2.3 million to provide closer scrutiny of union financial affairs. Gloats a labor man who lobbied against the funds for a beefed-up staff of Federal investigators: "The money just disappeared."

* * *

A MAJOR SETBACK is suffered by the State, County and Municipal Employes Union in representation elections among 137,000 New York State employes. The union won bargaining rights for only 7,000 workers; the Civil Service Employes Association captured the rest. "We really got clobbered," concedes a union official.

* * *

PERSONNEL PEOPLE prove harder to find in some areas, especially the East.

The shortage of hiring-firing specialists with one to three year's experience is "critical," says Brentwood Associates, a Newark, N.J., placement firm. It struggles to find one candidate for openings that would have attracted at least seven applicants three years ago. Handy Associates, a New York consultant, estimates demand for top personnel executives is up 30% since 1967. In Atlanta, a lack of staff forces an employment agency to close temporarily one of its two offices.

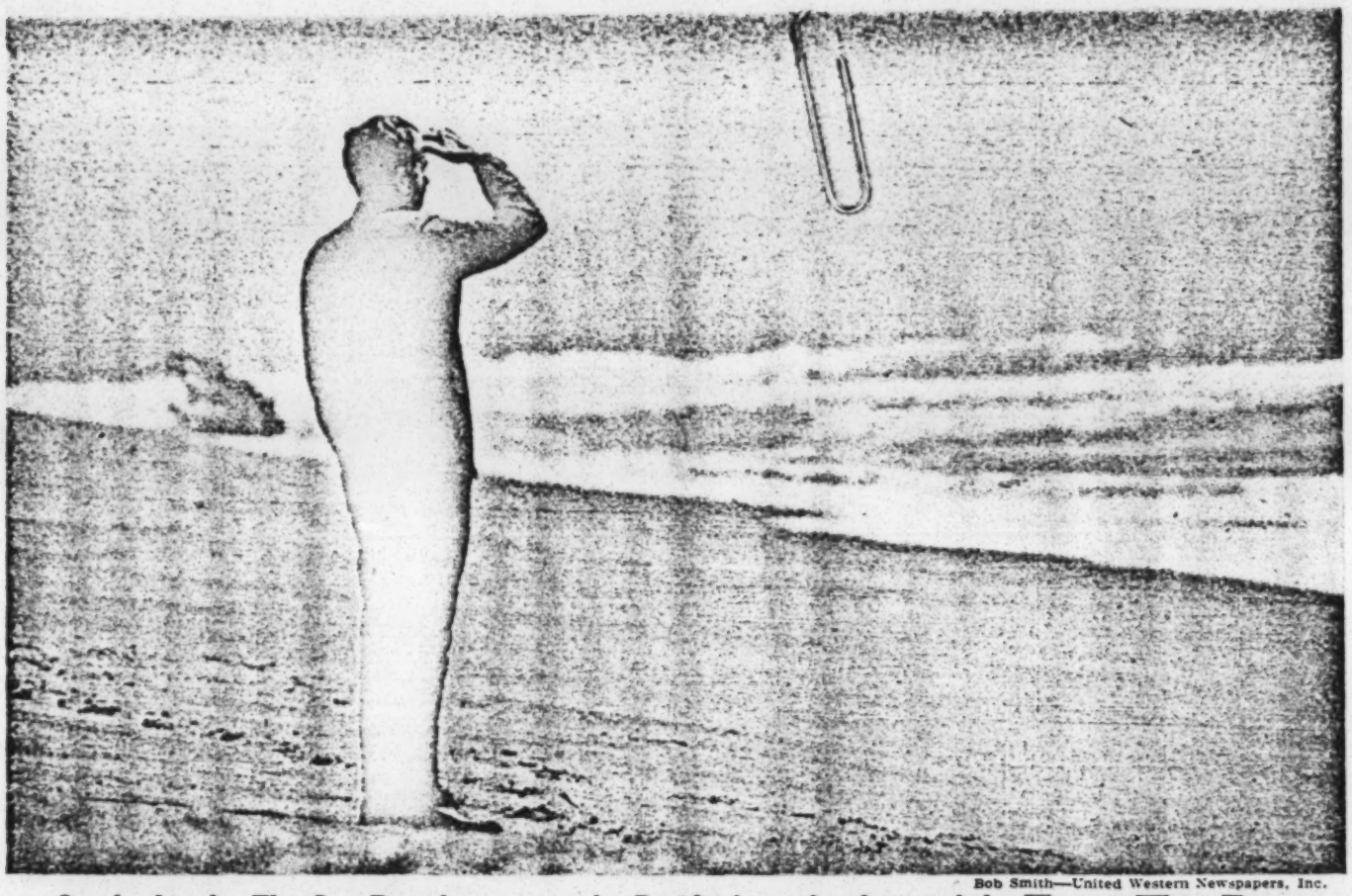
Executive recruiters blame part of the shortage on personnel management's lack of appeal to the ambitious. "A personnel man rarely becomes president of a company," notes a recruiter. One solution to the shortage: More smaller firms turn to Philadelphia-based R. J. Carroll Associates, which supplies part-time specialists who run personnel programs for a flat weekly rate.

Not all firms feel a personnel-specialist pinch. "Of all our problems," says a Coca-Cola official, "I'd have to rank this as one of the least threatening."

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: A dedicated young couple, both members of the United Papermakers Union, showed up for picket line duty in Erving, Mass., at 6 o'clock one recent morning—just 10½ hours after getting married. . . . The Labor Department reports that enrolment in the nation's major manpower programs hit a record 536,000 persons at the end of June.

Aug 25, 1969



Bob Smith—United Western Newspapers, Inc.

On the beach: The Sun President scouts the Pacific from the shores of the Western White House

ALIVE AND WELL IN CALIFORNIA

Fellow citizens! God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!
—James A. Garfield

God reigned on last week, but the government at Washington was actually at San Clemente, Calif.—and, whether or not as a direct result, the man who accomplished the Great Leap Sideways seemed happier in his work than he had ever been. Richard Nixon had packed his golf clubs, his swim trunks, his yellow pads and his Administration and taken the lot along on his vacation on a palmy promontory farther distant from his capital than kings and czars, let alone past Presidents, used to transport their courts. And there, in the sometimes crystalline air of his native California, the President occupied his new Western White House, promulgated the sun kingdom and settled in to enjoy it while it lasted.

His days were sunny indeed. His standing as President was burnished by the afterglow of the Apollo moon voyage, his subsequent world tour and now his imaginative new domestic program—the last an offering that had transformed his and his Administration's image overnight from one of drift to one of bold direction. His Gallup popularity rating, after a brief dip, had bounded back to 65 per cent—matching the high for his seven months in office. There was little on his docket more strenuous than dispatching his welfare, job-training and revenue-sharing messages by remote control to Congress and toasting the Apollo crewmen in champagne at a Rotarian's dream of a banquet in Los Angeles (page 20B). So sure-footed did he feel on the sands of San Clemente that he laid aside his normal diffidence as a minority President and took Congress sharply to task for "taxing less and spending more" in the midst of a perilous inflation.

Flurry: Not even the news that Communist forces had breached the lull in Vietnam with a 100-target offensive (page 33) ruffled the waters around Cotton's Point. "I wouldn't say a little flurry was the end of the lull," said a determinedly optimistic Secretary of State William Rogers with only the earliest communiqués only partially in hand. When subsequent reports made the "flurry" look considerably bigger than it first had seemed, Rogers left the talking to Presidential press secretary Ron Ziegler, who was noncommittal about the enemy attacks ("We're watching them very carefully") but firm on the point that Mr. Nixon still plans to reach a decision late this month on the possibility of withdrawing more U.S. troops. And the betting at San Clemente was that the President would try his best to sit out both the burst of fighting and the hawkish home-front pressures it might generate and go ahead with his second troop withdrawal—this one involving possibly 50,000 men (in addition to the 25,000 he began bringing home in June).

The main domestic business was to send Congress the three interlocking messages detailing the New Federalist work-and-welfare package Mr. Nixon had outlined in broad strokes on national television the week before (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 18). The highlights:

- Message No. 1 covered the President's $4 billion battery of proposals to transform "a [welfare] system frozen in failure and frustration into a system that would work and would encourage people to work." He proposed doing this chiefly by setting a minimum amount for welfare payments ($1,600 a year for a family of four), by requiring able-bodied relief recipients to take jobs or job training and by letting them keep part of their welfare money if they are working at poverty wages. The details, of course, were open to lively debate (page 18)—but few critics quarreled with Mr. Nixon's central judgment ("The present welfare system has failed us") or with his major announced objective: to "stop the momentum of work-to-welfare and . . . start a new momentum in the opposite direction."
- Message No. 2 proposed making sense of the bewildering tangle of 30 separate and overlapping Federal job-training programs by consolidating their administration and gradually turning them over to the states. The object, said Mr. Nixon, would be to "knit together all the appropriate services in one readily available system," so that ultimately a job seeker could go to a single state employment office and be placed in the appropriate program rather than try to sort them out himself. The President suggested a pay schedule for trainees which, by 1973, would come to 50 per cent of the state's prevailing wage, plus $15 a week for

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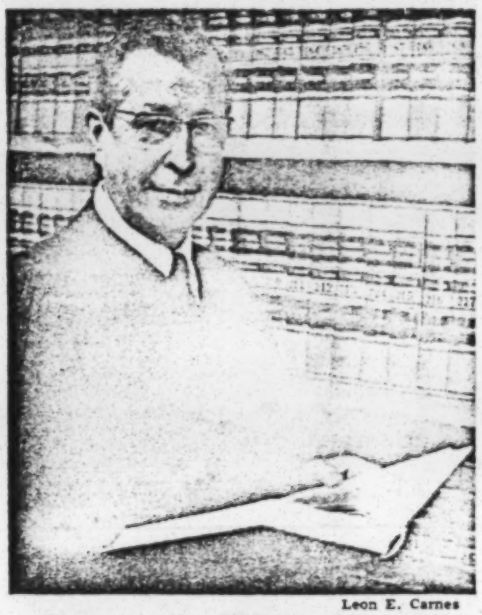


Leon E. Carnes

Haynsworth: Waiting for word

each dependent up to six, plus $30 incentive and expense money for welfare recipients—and a bonus of two weeks' pay for those who graduate. He also urged a computerized job bank to match trainees with job openings. The total cost: $3.5 billion a year—with an automatic 10 per cent jump in times of high unemployment.

▪ Message No. 3 outlined a modest beginning on revenue-sharing with state and local governments, starting with $500 million the first year but rising to $5 billion by fiscal 1976 and growing by roughly $500 million more a year thereafter. The money would be doled out with absolutely no strings attached—not even the normal ban on using Federal funds to support segregated programs. The starting payments would be small to the point of irrelevance, but Mr. Nixon's aim was far higher. "This proposal," he wrote Congress, "marks a turning point in Federal-state relations, the beginning of decentralization of governmental power, the restoration of a rightful balance between the state capitals and the national capital."

All Set: One piece of business went conspicuously untransacted—naming a successor to the U.S. Supreme Court seat lately vacated by Abe Fortas. The President himself promised on his arrival in San Clemente that he would announce his man during the week, and word quickly spread through Washington that it would be U.S. Circuit Judge Clement Furman Haynsworth, 56, a moderate-to-conservative South Carolinian who had been the odds-on favorite for weeks (NEWSWEEK, July 28). Even Minority Leader Ev Dirksen confidently predicted his appointment, and the judge himself waited in his chambers in Greenville, S.C., with a stack of thumbnail biographies and check lists of his most important judicial decisions freshly mimeographed for his big day.

It didn't come. Mr. Nixon, for reasons of his own, hesitated over the announcement, and the delay gave Haynsworth's opposition time to form. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the American Jewish Congress and liberal Republican Sen. Jacob Javits of New York all decried his mixed (though not immoderate) civil-rights record. (The attacks, Haynsworth protested, were based on positions he took in the 1950s, "when none of us was thinking or writing as we are today.") And critics raked up a conflict-of-interest complaint lodged against him by the Textile Workers Union in a 1963 case—an allegation Haynsworth insisted had been investigated by the Justice Department at the time and thrown out as false. Washington still expected Haynsworth to be nominated this week. But the old certainty now was edged by the memory of how Mr. Nixon hemmed and hawed over nominating Dr. John Knowles, an outspoken liberal, for Assistant HEW Secretary—and gave the doctor's conservative opposition time to abort the appointment.

Yet nothing seemed to mar the Sun President's fun—not even a teasing invitation from a peace group to the Nixons to "bring their sand buckets" and join an all-day sand-castle build-in just down the beach from Cotton's Point. Washington was 2,300 miles distant, God reigned, and the government at San Clemente was really living.

WELFARE:

Second Thoughts

The welfare-reform proposals President Nixon sent to Congress last week were boldly conceived and expertly packaged—but would they sell? The week's omens were mixed. Practically everyone—liberals and conservatives alike—seemed pleased with Mr. Nixon's imaginative main thrusts: setting a national-minimum amount for welfare checks, building in dollar incentives for the poor to work and to keep their families together, streamlining and humanizing the dole by letting the U.S. Social Security Administration take over payments from state and local welfare bureaucracies. Yet the future of the package was clouded by a gathering quarrel over the specifics—and the quarreling, ironically enough, came mainly from liberal reformers who had themselves long advocated the sort of welfare revolution the President was proposing.

Their chief complaints:

▪ *The $1,600 minimum annual payment proposed by Mr. Nixon for a family of four is not nearly enough.* The Nixon plan's architects figure that the program will ultimately cost $4 billion a year as it is—an estimate that most competent observers regard as exceedingly conservative. They point out, moreover, that $1,600 is only a minimum—that the 30 states which now pay more will be required (with Federal help) to continue doing so. But that seemed cold comfort

(Continued on Page 20)

THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE PACIFIC

Secretary of State William Rogers came out to walk a grassy slope with the President and report on his 100,000-mile Asian journey. The National Security Council materialized intact to talk high policy atop a bluff commanding the blue-green Pacific. Spiro Agnew was there, and the Pentagon's Mel Laird, and Attorney General John Mitchell. So was the entire topside White House staff, and Bebe Rebozo, and all the Nixons down to the First Dog of the Land, King Timahoe. "We're sort of taking a Western tilt," beamed Richard Nixon, an old Californian who had decided in the first year of his Presidency that you can too go home again—and, sure enough, it looked as if his entire Administration had magically slid across the continent from Washington to the sun-bathed, surf-washed village of San Clemente.

Somehow, *mirabile dictu,* it got there in working order. The President as recently as June figured that—while he was in residence at his new summer hacienda on Cotton's Point—he could deposit the rest of the government 35 miles up the coast at Newport Beach and commute by helicopter. But some monumental security problems there—and the risks of flying the President back and forth daily—made the Secret Service nervous. So Mr. Nixon simply ordered his "Western White House" operation moved to a neighboring Coast Guard LORAN station, three minutes by golf-cart from his own oceanside digs. It took some doing; construction crews had 28 working days to bulldoze beaches, pave a helicopter

Dennis Brack—Black Star

The Nixons: Taking the air

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
nta, Ga., 30302, Tuesday Evening, September 2, 1969 56 Pages — 3 Sections **

Governors Divid ed On Nixon Progra ms

Govt - State

Maddox Calls Welfare Plan Just Peanuts

9-2-69

By CHARLES POU
~~Atlanta Journal~~ Political Editor

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. Even with the offer of two great negotiable commodities—money and peace — President Richard Nixon Tuesday had run into trouble finding universal takers here high in the Rockies where the nation's governors are holding their annual meeting.

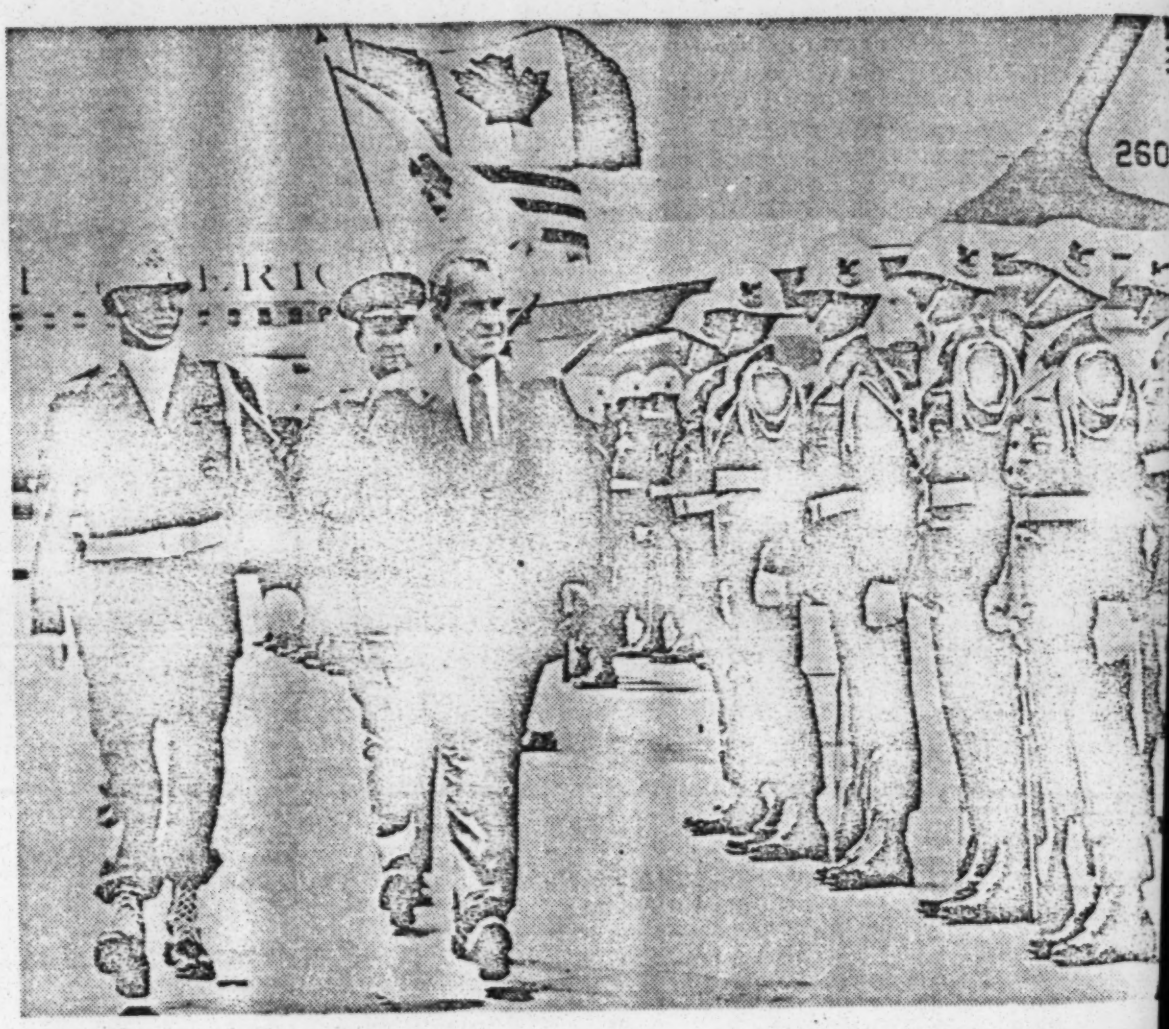
With the governors, who like Nixon's general notion of the federal government sharing the tax wealth with local governments, it appeared to be more division on the technicalities of who is to get how much money and how.

But Nixon, who declared Monday night that he has "an effective strategy for peace" to be carried out in the '70s, was greeted outside the plush Broadmoor Hotel here by a crowd of youthful protesters who wanted to know "How, how, how?" They then went into the traditional chant, heard from youth across the land.

" Ho, Ho Chi Minh,
"NLF is going to win."

ON THE revenue - sharing part of his plan to help the nation's ailing cities, Nixon, speaking to the governors at their traditional black-tie state dinner, took up where his chief lieutenants had left off in buttonholing governors for backing of the President's "New Federalism" plan. Nixon called the program, which starts with a guaranteed income of $1,600 for family of four, "an adventure in human advancement."

Gov. Lester Maddox called the $500 million starter proposed by the Nixon administration "peanuts" and indicated he might become interested in helping get the revenue-sharing proposition through Congress only if that figure were doubled. The Georgia governor also expressed his usual fears of more "centralization of government" in Washington and



PRESIDENT NIXON REVIEWS TROOPS ON ARRIVAL AT COLORADO SPRINGS FOR GOVE
Chief Executive Also Tours NORAD Defense Operation at Nearby Cheyenne M

Governors Divided On Nixon Planning

Continued from Page 1A

of the wrong kind of poor people enjoying the welfare life even more.

AS HAPPENED two years ago when the governors talked about what to do on Vietnam in an unusual shipboard meeting in the Atlantic, Nixon's peace proposals were not very specific. He said:

"The new strategy for the '70s also requires a strategy for peace. And I pledge to you tonight that we will have an effective strategy for peace.

"This means maintaining defense forces strong enough to keep the peace, while not allowing wasteful expenditures to drain away resources we need for progress.

"It means limiting our commitments abroad to those we can prudently and realistically keep. It means helping other free nations maintain their own security, but not rushing in to do for them what they can and should do for themselves."

HOST Gov. John Love, a Republican, and expected to succeed Tennessee Gov. Burford Ellington as the new conference chairman, told the President before he left:

"We pledge to give you complete support to the program that you have initiated."

Love, who came on the scene three years ago as a political nobody, first to win the Colorado governorship and then almost to become chairman of the conference, generally is viewed as the most likely Republican to attain the largly honorary title. He would be a compromise choice to halt Republican in-fighting. New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller probably could get the conference chairmanship job, but doesn't want it because he'll be busy campaigning for re-

EXACT FARE IS $6 FOR BUS DRIVER

NEW YORK (AP) — The exact-fare system aimed at ending holdups on the city's 4,285 buses went into effect, but two robbers, not realizing the handicaps, robbed a driver anyway.

They climbed aboard a Brooklyn bus driven by Norman Simington, 41, and demanded money at gunpoint.

Simington explained that the fares had been deposited by passengers in a strongbox bolted to the floor of the bus and he could not open it.

They took $6 of Simington's own money and fled.

election back home in New York through 1970.

Under rules of the 51-year-old conference, the chair title goes from party to party year to year. Next year is the GOP's time, but the other most likely Republican contender, Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, is still privately viewed as a bad actor in some Republican circles.

GOV. REAGAN came about as close as any governor here to sharing Gov. Maddox's basic suspicion of anything that might raise welfare grants. But there were different viewpoints on the Nixon revenue-sharing plan.

Gov. Rockefeller wants the federal government to pick up the entire welfare tab. There was support for this, especially from populous, industrial states which put more into the U.S. Treasury than they get out.

Vice President Spiro Agnew, housing and urban head George Romney and Dr. Arthur Burns, a chief Nixon fiscal adviser, are among those here espousing the "New Federalism" project of the President. Burns agreed with Maddox that the initial $500 million revenue-sharing was smallish, but he pointed out the figure would increase annually with natural revenue growth.

Some governors did not like the proposal of discontinuance of "categorical grants" for welfare, while some did. And there was general apprehension by chief excutives from the Far Western states, where the Buffalo still roam and the people are countable, about the feature of the Nixon proposal which would have allocations based partly on population.

President Nixon came here obviously hoping to get the governors solidily behind him before he formally offers the program to Congress.

"The essence of the New Federalism," he said, "is to help regain control of our national destiny by returning a greater share of control to state and local authorities.

"We have proposed the first major reform of welfare in the history of welfare. Some object to these proposals understandably, as seeming to favor one region over another, or because they give the rich states less than the poorer states. . . . We must think in terms of the people and their needs — wherever they are."

NIXON ASKS OVERHAUL OF WELFARE, WITH WORK OR TRAINING REQUIRED; URGES U.S. AID STATES AND CITIES

Welfare-Gen.

ROLLS COULD SOAR

Cost of the Proposals Put at $4-Billion for First Year

8/9/69

Text of President's address is printed on Page 10.

By WALTER RUGABER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8 — President Nixon unveiled today plans for a sweeping overhaul of the welfare system that would more than double the number of Americans eligible for public assistance.

The President, in a 4,700-word speech to a nationwide television audience tonight, proposed a minimum standard of Federal aid for every needy family with children.

Except for disabled adults and mothers with preschool children, the poor would be required to accept "suitable" employment or participate in a government training program to be eligible for relief.

Mr. Nixon estimated Federal costs of the welfare effort, which would not begin before next July 1, at $4-billion for the first full year. He also outlined a $1-billion program to share Federal revenue with the states.

Rolls Could Expand

Administration officials said that the assistance rolls, which now list six million children and four million adults, could expand under the new program to a total of 22.4 million people.

The plan would encourage—in fact, force—people to work. It would allow those with low-paying jobs to continue to receive some support. It would make eligible all poor families, not just those without fathers.

The main features of the plan, which would require Congressional approval, include the following:

¶A family of four with no outside income, whether it lived in New York or Mississippi, or any other state, would receive a minimum Federal payment of $1,600 a year. The states could supplement that amount.

¶The same family could earn as much as $60 a month, or $720 a year, with no loss of benefits. Beyond that, aid would be reduced 50 cents for each dollar earned until the family's wages reached $3,920.

¶Every recipient would have

Nixon Proposes an Overhaul of Welfare

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

to register with a local unemployment office and, if employable, would have to accept a job deemed suitable by the Government, or would have to undergo training.

¶The program would be administered by the Social Security Administration, not the state welfare systems, and in many cases the poor would deal directly with Federal officials.

¶Applicants would simply make declarations of need and begin receiving payments, subject to spot checks such as those on income tax returns. This would eliminate delays for petty and sometimes demeaning investigations.

¶The food stamp program, which the Administration earlier this year proposed to expand greatly, would not be available to participants in the new program. It would be mainly available to single persons and couples without children.

¶In addition to Federal rebates under the revenue-sharing arrangement, state and local governments would see the costs of their welfare efforts reduced by 10 to 50 per cent.

The President's proposals would abolish the biggest welfare category, Aid to Families with dependent Children. The three "adult" programs—Old Age Assitance, Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Partially and Totally Disabled—would remain.

But each of them would have a uniform income floor of $65 a month and Federal matching arrangements under which Washington would pay all of the first $50, half of the next $15, and a fourth of anything additional.

Would Reduce Imbalances

The Administration's plan was aimed at a numebr of widely criticized aspects of public assistance that have grown up picemeal since the New Deal.

Among the obvious points, it would tend to reduce the gross imbalances that, for example permit families of the same size and income to receive $263 a month in New Jersey and $39 a month in Mississippi.

This, as Mr. Nixon said, has helped "to lure thousands more into already overcrowded inner cities, as unprepared for city life as they are for city jobs."

The plan would also encourage—in fact, force—people to work. It would allow those with low-paying jobs to continue to receive some support. It would make eligible all pocr families, not just those without fathers.

Urges More 'Workfare'

Mr. Nixon surrounded his proposals with conservative phraseology. Social experiments over the last 30 years or so, he charged, have produced "a bureaucratic monstrosity, cumbersome, unresponsive and ineffective."

"After a third of a century of power flowing from the people and the states to Washington," the President said, "it is time for a new federalism in which power, funds and responsibility will flow from Washington to the states and to the people."

Some of his phrases recalled his campaign speeches of last fall.

"In the final analysis," he said, "we cannot talk our way out of poverty; we cannot legislate our way out of poverty; but this nation can work its way out of poverty. What America needs now is not more welfare but more 'workfare.'"

White House sources said that the proposed legislation to implement the President's proposals would not be sent to Congress until after its return from its summer recess early next month.

Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, said that a message on the welfare overhaul would be sent to Capitol Hill Monday.

Mr. Nixon said in his speech that he would also propose a reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity to "stress accountability, a clear separation of functions, and a tighter, more effective organization of field operations."

Rumsfeld to See Nixon

He did not disclose the details, but Mr. Ziegler said that Donald L. Rumsfeld, the poverty agency's director, would visit the President at Mr. Nixon's vacation home in California to discuss the changes.

Mr. Ziegler said that a second message would be sent to Congress Tuesday, outlining Mr. Nixon's suggestions on improving the Government's manpower training program and dealing wth the work incentive aspects of the welfare overhaul.

Tonight the President assailed the present manpower effort as a "terrible tangle of confusion and waste," and he promised to organize, decentralize and suit it to business demands.

Specifically, the President said that the Government would offer 150,000 new "training slots" for the heads of families on welfare and would expand day-care centers for young children whose mothers wanted to work.

Finally, Mr. Ziegler said that a message on the revenue sharing plans would be issued on Wednesday.

The immediate Congressional reaction to Mr. Nixon's plans seemed generally favorable. But House and Senate consideration could be quite time-consuming, with liberals pressing for greater assistance levels and conservatives arguing for a narrower effort.

Benefits the States Would Receive

Following, in millions of dollars, are the aid that states would receive from the Federal Government in the form of revenue sharing and the minimum reduction that would be allowed in their present welfare spending with the Federal Government taking over a larger share of the burden:

State	Revenue Sharing	Fiscal Relief Under Welfare Reform	Total Relief	State	Revenue Sharing	Fiscal Relief Under Welfare Reform	Total Relief
Alabama	16.1	11.9	28.0	Montana	3.9	1.4	5.3
Alaska	1.2	1.0	2.2	Nebraska	6.6	3.4	10.0
Arizona	10.1	3.4	13.5	Nevada	2.5	.9	3.4
Arkansas	9.5	6.2	15.7	New Hamp.	3.1	.9	4.0
California	112.5	179.5	292.0	New Jersey	31.1	25.2	56.3
Colorado	11.6	13.0	24.6	New Mexico	5.7	3.2	8.9
Connecticut	12.8	8.8	21.6	New York	117.1	43.9	161.0
Delaware	2.4	1.6	4.0	No. Carolina	24.2	10.4	34.6
Dist. of Col.	3.4	4.1	7.5	No. Dakota	3.5	.4	3.9
Florida	30.8	8.5	39.3	Ohio	41.2	32.0	73.2
Georgia	20.8	12.5	33.3	Oklahoma	12.6	19.3	31.9
Hawaii	4.8	3.3	8.1	Oregon	10.4	6.1	16.5
Idaho	4.0	1.0	5.0	Penna.	53.3	43.2	96.5
Illinois	44.5	49.6	94.1	Rhode Island	4.3	5.2	9.5
Indiana	24.2	5.0	29.2	So. Carolina	12.1	2.2	14.3
Iowa	14.6	7.0	21.6	So. Dakota	3.9	1.2	5.1
Kansas	12.1	6.6	18.7	Tennessee	18.1	8.6	26.7
Kentucky	14.8	10.6	25.4	Texas	47.7	25.1	72.8
Louisiana	20.3	18.9	39.2	Utah	5.7	2.9	8.6
Maine	5.1	2.0	7.1	Vermont	2.4	1.2	3.6
Maryland	18.1	14.4	32.5	Virginia	20.4	4.7	25.1
Mass.	29.6	30.1	59.7	Washington	16.2	13.6	29.8
Michigan	40.8	35.5	76.3	W. Virginia	9.0	4.5	13.5
Minnesota	21.5	9.3	37.8	Wisconsin	24.2	12.4	36.6
Mississippi	12.6	.9	13.5	Wyoming	2.1	.9	3.0
Missouri	20.4	18.3	38.7	Total	1,000.0	735.8	1,735.8

The Effect of Earnings On Aid for Family of 4

Following are figures reflecting the effect of earnings on welfare benefits for a family of four, with benefits ending at the level of $3,920 in earnings:

FAMILY OF FOUR
BENEFIT SCHEDULE

EARNED INCOME	BENEFIT	TOTAL INCOME
0	1600	1600
720	1600	2320
1000	1460	2460
1500	1210	2710
2000	960	2960
2500	710	3210
3000	460	3460
3500	210	3710
3920	—	3029

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Welfare Dilemma

Rising Relief Costs Increase Tax Burdens Yet Squeeze the Poor

As Number on Rolls Climbs, Officials Trim Benefits But Budgets Still Mount

Pressure From the Militants

9/17/70

By RALPH E. WINTER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CLEVELAND — Mrs. Catherine Redrick, who supports herself and her four children on $268 a month in welfare payments, has a new problem.

"I don't know how I can send my kids to school without more money for clothes," she says. The four children "just have tennis shoes to wear, and their other clothes are worn out." Mrs. Redrick is angry because Cuyahoga County, which includes this city, omitted the back-to-school clothing allowance of $24 per child that it paid last year.

But Samuel P. Bauer also has a problem. As the county's acting welfare director, he was aiding 115,000 welfare recipients at the end of the first half, up from 92,000 a year earlier. The county welfare budget has soared to $112.5 million this year from $94.7 million last year. Officials thus omitted the special clothing allowance, which cost a total of $1.5 million last year. They also trimmed some regular monthly cash benefits and diminished spending on home repairs for relief recipients. But even with the cuts, the county had to borrow $3 million to balance its welfare budget.

In Cleveland and across the nation, the welfare squeeze is tightening. Because of the business downturn, a loosening of welfare eligibility requirements and other factors, the nation's welfare rolls have swelled to more than 12 million from 10.3 million a year ago, the Government reports. Federally assisted forms of welfare, including Medicaid, cost the taxpayer more than $12 billion in the fiscal year ended last June 30—double the level four years earlier. In addition, programs paid for by states and localities alone pumped out about $600 million—a 70% rise from 1966—to people ineligible for Federally supported aid.

Increasing Tax Burden

The result is a dilemma. Increasingly, welfare offices try to trim payments. This creates hardships. Yet taxes to support welfare still rise. In Gary, Indiana, for instance, a $92 chunk of the local taxes paid last year by the owner of a $25,000 home and a $4,000 car went to relief, up from $72 only a year earlier, Gary officials say. Because of soaring welfare expenses, Los Angeles and Milwaukee taxpayers are in line for property tax increases. Mainly to pay higher relief costs, some Ohio counties have recently introduced a 0.5% sales tax.

Taxpayers increasingly balk. "There's too many people on welfare who ought to be working," says a hard-hatted construction worker at a Cleveland building site. "It's not the taxpayer's responsibility that they have so many

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Taxpayers increasingly balk. "There's too many people on welfare who ought to be working," says a hard-hatted construction worker at a Cleveland building site. "It's not the taxpayer's responsibility that they have so many kids they can't support them."

The welfare squeeze has put some states, counties and cities in a bind. Though the Federal Government pays about 52.5% of all welfare costs, states and local governments split the remainder in varying proportions, depending on state law.

Trouble for Texas

Welfare spending in Texas is growing so fast it will soon become literally unconstitutional. The state constitution has an $80 million annual limit on welfare payments. Such outlays were budgeted at $75 million in the year ended Aug. 31. But if current levels of compensation are to be maintained, disbursements will climb to $96 million this fiscal year and $123 million next year, officials forecast.

Texas recently had to borrow $13.5 million from a state construction fund reserve to tide over existing welfare programs until the legislature meets early next year. The lawmakers will then consider an emergency appropriation. Even if this is approved, which is far from certain, a state referendum must be held to remove the constitutional welfare payments ceiling.

If Texas can't get the added funds, it plans to cut Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments to an average of only $18 per person monthly from the current $28.21, state officials say. AFDC mainly supports abandoned unmarried and married mothers and their children.

Texas' current monthly payment is already well below the national average of about $46 per AFDC recipient, and cutting it will pose hardships. Yet the number of Texas AFDC recipients soared to 271,000 at the end of the first half from 164,000 a year earlier. Either the pie gets bigger or the slices get smaller, officials say.

Stopgap Measures

Other states are already adopting all kinds of stopgap measures. A few months ago Pennsylvania postponed a showdown on welfare financing by adopting an eight-month budget ending next Feb. 28. The move, in effect, drops the politically sensitive problem onto the laps of the governor and legislature to be elected in November. The $318 million in the eight-month budget roughly equals welfare spending for the full 1970 fiscal year that ended June 30.

The state of Washington has sharply cut certain types of aid. For some recipients the allowed number of state-paid office visits to doctors was cut to one a month from two. The state has also discontinued child day-care payments for families with two healthy adults. (Officials had discovered they were paying child care costs for some low-income married college students.)

Tight budgets are forcing many welfare departments to skimp on staff. San Francisco's 1,400-employe welfare department recently asked for 348 new staff members to cope with the rising caseloads. It got none. Ironically, such skimping sometimes lengthens welfare rolls because overworked employes may tend to grant requests too easily just to keep the lines moving, relief officials say. "It works to the benefit of borderline applicants," a West Coast welfare official admits.

But court rulings have knocked out some economy moves. Federal courts, for instance,

Please Turn to Page 21, Column 1

Welfare Dilemma: A Rapid Climb In Relief Outlays Squeezes Budgets

Continued From First Page

forced Texas to change a policy of paying additional benefits per child for only five children; before the court ruling, the policy gave a mother with nine or 10 children the same payment as a mother with five offspring.

Indeed, court rulings are also lengthening relief rolls. For instance, a recent Supreme Court ruling bars states from requiring that welfare recipients live in a state for a given period of time before qualifying for relief. Also, following court and administrative rulings, states can no longer stop AFDC payments if a mother starts to live with a man. A California court ruled this summer that an alcoholic may be granted welfare solely because he's an alcoholic.

But there are other reasons underlining the growth in welfare rolls and the welfare budget squeeze. The biggest factor: The number of mothers and children receiving AFDC leapt to 7.86 million last March (the latest figure, from 6.48 million a year earlier. Over the past five years, the number of AFDC recipients has increased 80%. The growth reflects continued deterioration of family structure and changing morality, welfare experts say.

Today's high unemployment hurts, too. "When it's Administration policy to have higher unemployment, it's sure to be reflected in higher assistance rolls," asserts Arthur Silverman, deputy director of the Milwaukee County Department of Welfare in Wisconsin. Unemployment among unskilled workers runs nearly double the overall jobless rate. Many unskilled workers don't hold a job long enough to earn unemployment benefits. Others don't get enough unemployment insurance to pay their bills, and still others find the insurance expires before they find a new job. All these categories are likely prospects for welfare.

The recession sometimes aggravates other problems and adds to the relief rolls. Take Robert, a mustached machine operator here in Cleveland who drank too much and drifted from job to job. He and his plump wife, Anne, didn't get along too well in the best of times. But with the business downturn, there's no job for a man with Robert's erratic work record and heavy drinking. After Robert lost his job and couldn't find another, he argued violently with his wife, beat her and left home. Anne filed for divorce, but Robert can't pay alimony or child support. So Anne and the two children joined the welfare rolls. They cost the taxpayer $175 a month plus any medical care that might be needed.

Even though some hard-pressed states and cities are now trying to trim individual payments, these individual outlays have risen steadily over the long term. That $46 average monthly payment per AFDC recipient represents a rise of nearly 50% from five years ago.

As a result of twice-yearly adjustments for cost-of-living increases in Illinois, "monthly grants have been going up like clockwork," says a spokesman for the state's Welfare Department. Largely because of these cost-of-living increases, the Illinois welfare budget for the year that began July 1 climbed 30% from the previous year while the number of recipients is currently 18% higher than a year ago.

Many poor people who were once too proud or too ill-informed to apply for welfare are doing so now. The stigma once attached to "living off the dole" is declining, welfare experts say.

"If Sen. Eastland isn't uncomfortable taking a Government cash payment for his farming, some folks figure they shouldn't be uncomfortable about using welfare services," says a Cook County (Chicago) Welfare Department spokesman. Farms in which the Mississippi Democrat has an interest received Federal subsidies totaling $133,000 in 1968, the latest figure available. Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures show that an AFDC family in the same state receives an average monthly welfare payment of $47.25, or $12.04 a person. Thus, welfare rights groups argue that the recipients have little cause for shame.

The same groups now aggressively seek out the poor and urge them to apply for benefits. While taxpayers increasingly demand smaller welfare budgets, militant welfare rights groups increasingly demand bigger relief payments—sometimes violently. Recently a Washington, D.C., group that wanted more aid smashed welfare office windows before police could break up the crowd.

Welfare Reform

Fight For Welfare Jobs Succeeding

The Public Employee

December, 1970

Welfare reform and how to protect the jobs of AFSCME social workers were discussed at a U.S. Senate hearing by (l. to r.): George A. Wiley, Executive Director, National Welfare Rights Organization; AFSCME President Jerry Wurf; Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) and Sen. Fred Harris (D.-Okla.).

Washington, D.C.

A major break has developed in AFSCME's determined campaign to protect the jobs of thousands of incumbent state and local welfare workers who would be affected by the adoption of the Nixon Administration's Family Assistance Plan.

The Administration, through Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson, has agreed to a proposal to protect the jobs and some benefits of local and state employees who would be transferred to the federal payroll in administration of the plan.

The proposal was one of 10 submitted by Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.) in a late-breaking effort to save the Family Assistance Plan from defeat.

AFSCME President Jerry Wurf said that while the Ribicoff amendments provided some protection for AFSCME members employed in welfare departments, "they are far from adequate."

The union's drive to guarantee that no social service employee would lose his job, collective bargaining rights, or any benefits gained through collective bargaining, or become caught in a squeeze between local, state, and federal agencies in administration of the plan, was continuing as *The Public Employee* went to press.

New Bill Promising

A measure co-sponsored by Sen. George McGovern (D-S. Dak.), Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.), Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.), Sen. Hiram Fong (R-Hawaii), Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md.) and other senators incorporating the AFSCME position would make the Family Assistance Plan more palatable to AFSCME members.

The union's program to secure adequate protection for social service workers under any Federal legislation reached a climax in October when more than 1,200 AFSCME members from eastern and midwestern states took their messages to Capitol Hill. They visited their senators and representatives, as well as federal agencies, to persuade them to include in any Federal measure clauses that would protect the jobs and working conditions of the tens of thousands of experienced social service employees.

They also used their visit to impress upon Congressmen the urgent dangers of reduced client benefits and services that are encompassed in some sections of the bill.

The bill at that time made no provision to continue the employment of thousands of social service employees, nor for the protection of the pension rights, fringe benefits, salary levels and decent conditions of work that had been gained through years of AFSCME collective bargaining.

Wurf, in testifying before the Senate Finance Committee which is considering the bill, noted that AFSCME favored the Family Assistance Plan in principle.

AFSCME, he told the senators, "has sympathy for the major underlying concepts of this legislation," but was seriously concerned with the "continuing but unfulfilled assurances from this Administration that it would provide protection for current employees.

AFL-CIO Supports AFSCME

The AFL-CIO Executive Council joined AFSCME in its campaign to both protect the jobs of social service workers and to increase the base annual income of $1,600 for a family of four that is included in the legislation.

The Family Assistance Plan measure is now linked to the Social Security bill. The Senate Finance Committee has agreed to provide a minimum-income guarantee of $130 a month for all persons over 65, as well as the blind and disabled welfare clients, and $200 a month—or $2,400 a year—for all aged, blind and disabled couples. Some of the funds would come from state welfare programs.

Those who would be eligible for the $1,600 payment could also receive up to $864 in food stamps, plus possible supplemental state payments.

Both AFSCME and the AFL-CIO are fighting to guarantee that all working members of families that would qualify for federal welfare assistance would be paid no less than the highest federal minimum wage for covered employment, or the prevailing wage for a particular job, whichever is greater.

The Ribicoff Amendment has sought a minimum wage payment of $1.60 an hour for all welfare recipients who are placed on jobs, including the public service jobs that the called for in the legislation. Richardson rejected the $1.60 figure, proposing a $1.20 minimum wage instead.

No 'Coolie' Labor

Neither AFSCME nor the rest of organized labor will accept the lower minimum wage proposal on the grounds that it would provide a pool of "coolie" labor for cheap employers to draw upon.

He said the lower minimum wage for the poor would cause a condition of indentured servitude.

Ribicoff also attempted to raise the $1,600 minimum and to eliminate the requirement that women with school-age children be forced to work. Both proposed amendments were rejected by the Administration.

Among the other amendments that Ribicoff proposed and the Administration accepted are those that would:

- State a definite nationwide income goal for the poor.
- Require states to keep their current welfare benefit levels for families with some income. The original bill would have permitted a reduction in benefits.
- Restore the special high-benefit program for families with jobless fathers.
- Earmark $150 million in federal funds for public service jobs for welfare recipients.
- Follow court decisions on obligations to stepchildren, a factor in determining whether a stepchild qualifies for aid.

Welfare Reform

would be involved and currently indications suggest that all the issues cannot be resolved.

The main punitive power of SRS is the withholding of Federal welfare funds, which, of course, can penalize poor people in each of these states. The Administration has proposed in its pending welfare legislation that the HEW department be empowered to bring legal suits to force the states to live up to Federal requirements.

This step would speed the long administrative proceedings that can take six months or more and also would avoid fund withholding in some circumstances.

Despite political difficulties, Mr. Twinen doesn't show any signs of backing off from his campaign to obtain compliance with Federal welfare laws. One of the agency's next concerns is to prevent states from requiring stepparents to contribute to the support of needy children unless state law clearly establishes this requirement for all step-parents.

Various Other States Cited

This campaign to prevent states from selectively making step-parents support children currently on the welfare rolls could affect Nebraska, Vermont, South Dakota, New Jersey and Iowa. In addition, the HEW agency has reported that several other states aren't complying with Federal welfare law.

These include Delaware, which hasn't increased its maximum limits on welfare grants; Tennessee, which by state law requires investigation of the eligibility of adult welfare recipients that, the HEW agency says, must be ended; the District of Columbia, which won't permit a full-time working mother to receive welfare aid even though her job pays her so little that she would otherwise qualify for public assistance, and New York, which maintains a differential in the amount of welfare payments between New York City and upstate jurisdictions on grounds the city has higher living costs.

Nixon Faces Major Conflicts on Welfare And Federal Funds With Several States

1/11/71

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Although the Nixon Administration knocked down, at least temporarily, a politically embarrassing conflict with California over Federal welfare regulations, it faces serious struggles with other states.

The Health, Education and Welfare Department already is embroiled in welfare conflicts, posing possible cutoff of Federal funds, with Arizona, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri and Connecticut.

In addition, HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service is pushing vigorously for compliance by other states with highly detailed and technical welfare requirements that could lead to additional conflicts.

The welfare agency's basic purpose is to force the states to live up to requirements of welfare law, particularly new provisions passed on by Congress in 1967. Its major weapon is the threat of withholding Federal funds from any welfare programs in which states fail to meet Federal requirements. "Fundamentally, what is at stake is a respect for the law," maintains an SRS expert.

In the case of California, a threat by SRS Administrator John W. Twinen to withhold $684 million in Federal funds from the California program of aid to families with dependent children was rescinded abruptly. Late last week, Mr. Twinen officially warned the state that the cutoff would take effect April 1 because California hadn't increased its legally imposed maximums on grants to eligible families to keep pace with cost-of-living increases, as required by the 1967 amendment to Federal welfare law.

Hectic last-minute communications between California's Gov. Reagan and HEW Secretary Richardson led to a lifting of the Federal ban. Gov. Reagan promised to seek review by the state's supreme court of lower court decisions that he claimed were interfering with his ability to raise the maximum set by the legislature on California welfare payments. In return, Mr. Twinen rescinded his April 1 cutoff deadline.

Early Action Is Sought

However, the SRS administrator insisted that he was seeking quick action by California to solve the welfare conflict and that he wouldn't hesitate to reimpose the cutoff if the state didn't make progress within the next few months.

Whatever the outcome of the California conflict, HEW soon will be engaged in another bitter Federal-state fight with Arizona that also promises to produce political embarrassment for the Nixon Administration with its conservative Republican supporters.

The Arizona welfare fight centers on a Federal demand that the state appoint advisory committees for its welfare programs containing at least one-third welfare recipients or representatives. The state has adamantly refused, insisting that Federal welfare law, itself, doesn't contain this requirement. An HEW hearing examiner has recommended that Federal welfare funds, totaling about $35 million, be cut off.

Sen. Goldwater (R., Ariz.) has attacked the HEW action in a Senate speech. He castigated the HEW agency for "callous disregard for Constitutional requirements laid down for agency activities" and argued that a Federal fund withholding would be "cruel, irrational and just plain stupid."

SRS Administrator Twinen is expected to rule Jan. 26 on the Arizona issue and signs point to a Federal-fund withholding effective April 1. However, Mr. Twinen is considering a public hearing, probably in Phoenix, over which he would preside and at which all parties would present their arguments.

Supreme Court May Decide

An Arizona cutoff probably would be quickly appealed by the state to the courts and HEW specialists think the issue could go all the way to the Supreme Court. The heart of the conflict would be the department's authority to issue regulations, such as the advisory committee requirement, based on general language in the Social Security Act for "proper and efficient" administration of welfare programs.

Federal experts say the Arizona test could have far-reaching consequences. If the state upsets the department on the advisory committee requirement, many other states with other objections to detailed HEW welfare regulations could pursue the same course.

If the Federal Government prevailed, the decision would strengthen the HEW agency's hand in forcing states to follow the department's interpretation of welfare law and eliminate the need for increasingly detailed legislation by Congress.

Even before the Arizona battle, Mr. Twinen is likely to order a cutoff of funds on April 1 to Indiana and Nebraska. Neither state has, as yet, adjusted its maximum limits on welfare grants—the issue involved in the California conflict because of state legislative restrictions. Mr. Twinen's ruling is due next Monday and would involve $25 million in welfare funds for Indiana and $8 million for Nebraska. However, before the cutoff date the state legislatures might be able to take action.

Missouri Conflict Differs

A different conflict is brewing with Missouri over its welfare program. Federal officials contend the state isn't living up to a requirement that it cannot reduce spending on welfare Medicaid programs and is failing to provide payments to eligible welfare recipients within 30 days of their application for grants.

It's possible that Congress, itself, may remove the restriction on lowering welfare Medicaid payments by states that the lawmakers passed a few years ago. But the 30-day payment issue, a provision of the HEW department's welfare regulations, can't be compromised.

Federal officials say the problem is particularly troublesome in St. Louis where, they assert, it takes local welfare authorities three to 3½ months to get checks to recipients. The problem also exists in Kansas City, they say.

A hearing on the issue is scheduled Jan. 19 in Missouri. The state's main difficulty is that major administrative changes, including the hiring of more workers, could be required to meet Federal payment deadlines, SRS officials say.

The Federal conflict with Connecticut involves a long list of issues affecting most of the state's welfare programs. These include the state's asserted failure to protect the privacy of recipients from unauthorized welfare investigations. Mr. Twinen is likely to be required to rule on a cutoff to Connecticut sometime this spring; about $99 million in Federal funds would

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Memorial Edition

Jackson-Clay

Roadrunner

January 1971

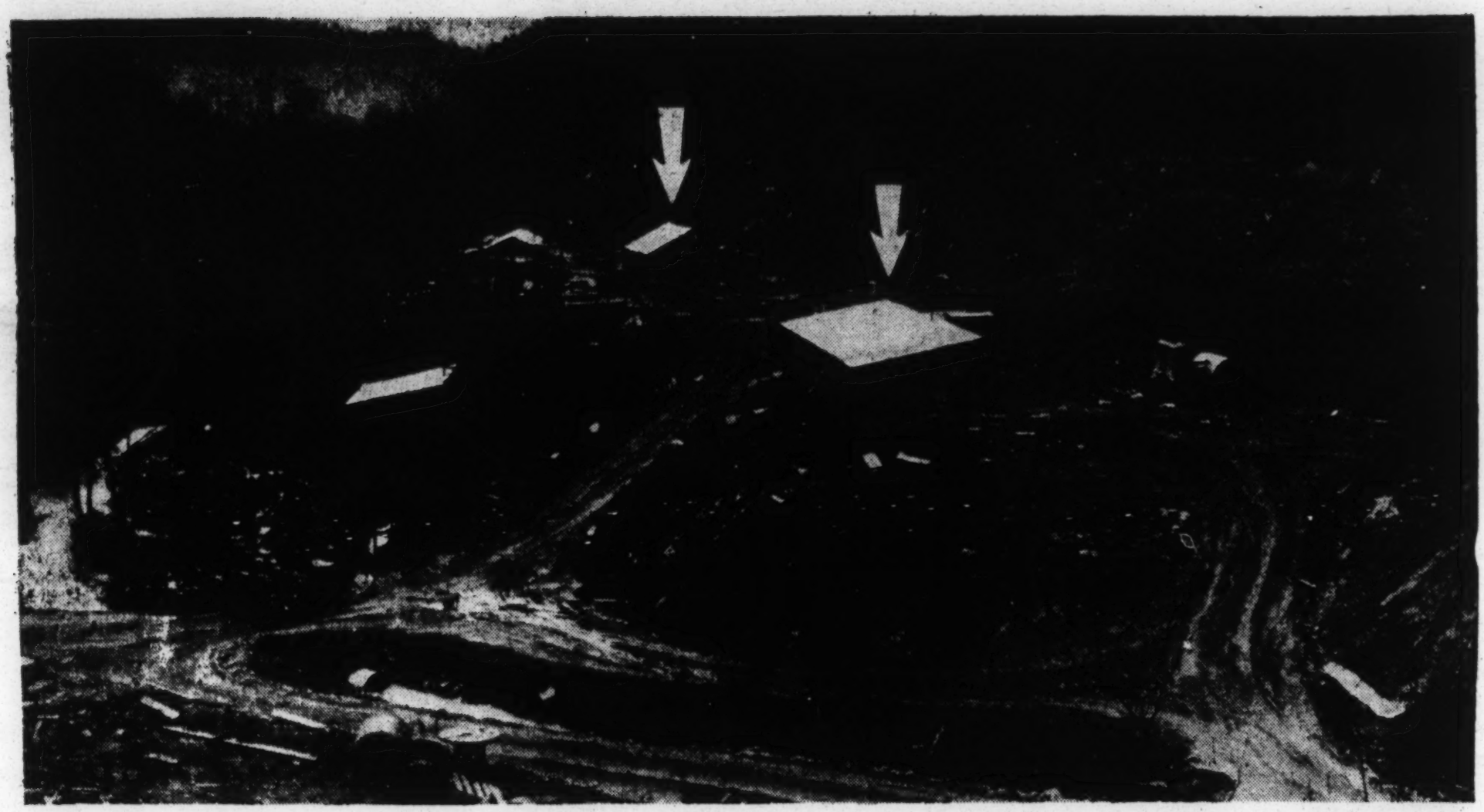


Photo by R. C. Fuller

Leslie County disaster site

MINING SHACKS STAND at the entrances of the Finley Coal Co. mines No. 15, in the foreground, and No. 16, slightly farther back, where 38 miners lost their lives in an explosion a week ago. An investigation, conducted to determine the cause of blast, has uncovered primer cord, an explosive used to detonate other explosive materials, which is prohibited in underground mines.

By Fiem R. Messer
Director Jackson-Clay CAG

The news of the tragic accident in the Finley mine which occurred near Hyden, Kentucky on December 30, 1970, spread quickly across the nation. This grim happening quickly drew words of sympathy from public officials from the president on down. Private indviduals, clubs and civic organizations, locally and in many states across the country, responded with contributions to the families of the 38 men who died in the mine explosion.

We have since learned that these 38 men are listed among approximately 250 other coal miners who died in mining accidents during 1970. Unlike the 38 miners, those who have died in single accidents have gone relatively unnoticed. The difference between the response of the death of 38 and the single accidents of over 200 men who have died in single accidents is illustrative of the lack of response that the rest of the country has traditionally shown toward Appalachian people. The men who died in the Hyden explosion were strong, hard working mountain men who had no other choice for livelihood in their home region. Young men growing up in Appalachia, much as these 38 men, go into the mines and risk the fate of these 38 miners, the likelihood of contracting black-lung or silicosis, or, leaving the region for employment in urban areas where, in late 1970, they were not needed and usually ill-prepared in vocational or educational training.

During the history of coal mining, Appalachian families have lost thousands of breadwinners and suffered untold grief from disabling accidents and black-lung diseases. The only honorable occupation open to a majority of able bodied men in the area is coal mining. Yet, the region has little material benefits to show for either the human suffering or the removal of its natural resources. The most tragic of all tragedies will be to let the memory of these 38 miners die and let things return to a normal status quo. If any permanent improvement and if the sons of the miners who died on December 30, 1970, are to have better opportunities, renewed work for changes and economic development must be made NOW. New job opportunities, new educational programs, public facilities and the recognition of the unique character of Appalachian people and culture must be established now.

It is for these reasons that the Jackson/Clay Community Action Group, Inc. is publishing this special issue of the Roadrunner as a memorial to the miners who died at Hyden. Let us hope that other memorial issues of this or any other paper will never again be necessary.

Why men go to die in the coal mines

The COURIER/COURNAL & TIMES Sunday, January 3, 1971 "The Passing Show" Section F

COMMENT / By JOHN FETTERMAN

SOON NOW, all 38 of the men killed in the explosion Wednesday in a coal mine near Hyden, Ky., will be buried in the cold, rocky, gray soil of the hollows where they lived. All the concerned officials, the scurrying press, the mine officials, the police, will be gone. Then will emerge the true nature of the people who live in the mountains.

Conditioned by the hard land on which they live, the hopeless economy of their region, their deep fundamentalist religion and their penchant for fatalism, they will begin to steel themselves for the next disaster. And they know it is sure to come.

Hurricane Creek in Leslie County, where the men died, will become in time like Hellier, Hot Spot, Premium — and coun[illegible] other remote coalfield communities. For years to come, men on Hurricane Creek will tell of those who "died under the hill." And worried parents then will repeat the litany of the coal country: "I don't want any of my boys to work in the mines."

But many of their boys will work in the mines. The mines offer most of the jobs. In fact, almost all of the jobs that are available unless one has the connections to secure empolyment with the school board or the highway system. Not many do. The black veins of coal, worth much more per ton now than ever before, will be mined, and East Kentucky history shows that no amount of oratory in Hyden, Frankfort or Washington over safety standards is going to stand in the way of the frenzied production of coal.

All of this—the relentless, primitive, inviolate rhythm of events in the coal country—will become apparent. And the people will accept it. They will accept it just as they have accepted all the extraordinary hardships which have beset them since their ancestors came to that wild and rugged land more than a century ago.

But for a few days now, the inevitable will be put aside in the minds of the people. They will weep and pray in their little churches and their ministers—many of them lay preachers—will invoke their simple faith in long, hypnotic, sing-song sermons; sermons delivered with fiery determination, sermons punctuated by shrieks of grief and supplications of the bereaved.

The families, including the visiting kinfolk who have escaped to Chicago, Detroit and Cincinnati, will gather for a few days at the tiny mountainside cemeteries and reflect upon their grim legacy. The graves—there will be 38 new ones now—will be carefully tended and watched for as long as a single family member remains alive. The graves alone will remain unspoiled in a land where destruction of terrain is a way of life. The people have often been promised a better life in a world which is to come after death. And they hope it is true. Already, thousands of them wait in the graves for the fulfillment of resurrection.

Those still living hope with a great fervor, because they know the coal is still there waiting to lure more of them to their deaths—or to mangle and cripple them. The coal is patient with a patience which far outmatched even the amazing enduring patience of the hill people. Black and rich, the coal has lain there in seams up to six feet thick for nearly 300 million years. And there are boilers that must have it.

So men, perhaps with the same names as those who died Wednesday—Bowling, Collins, Hoskins, Sizemore, Couch—will go to wrest the coal from its bed of rock, and will die in the attempt.

John Fetterman, of The Courier-Journal & Times staff, frequently visits and writes about Appalachia.

The COURIER-JOURNAL Thursday Morning, Dec. 31, 1970 "Bodies Recovered after blast" 39 miners feared dead near Hyden

Dust and debris cover bare trees as families wait

By DAVID HAWPE
Courier-Journal Staff Writer

HYDEN, Ky.—The forlorn tragedy of coal mining struck Leslie County yesterday as an explosion killed at least 15 men and left 24 others apparently trapped and feared dead.

State police at the scene gave the figure of 15 dead early last night, but Gov. Louie B. Nunn's office said in Frankfort that 38 men had been killed.

However, Stanley Finley, a co-owner of the Finley Coal Co. mine, said 39 men were underground when the blast erupted, apparently about a half mile from dual mine openings.

The worst coal mine disaster in Kentucky occurred August, 1917, when 62 persons were killed in a gas explosion at the No. 7 mine of West Kentucky Coal Co. near Clay. In 1945, on Christmas Day, 31 men died in an accident at the Straight Creek Mine in neighboring Bell County, 20 miles from Hyden.

Sounded like a tornado

Rescue teams began removing bodies from the driftmouths of the Finley mine on Hurricane Creek about 7:30 p.m. as families of the miners waited nearby.

Everett Bartley, Hazard office supervisor for the Kentucky Department of Mines and Minerals, said the disaster "was an explosion. . . . Either they were shooting the coal in there or it was a blown cable."

The explosion occurred about 12:20 p.m., when the day shift was operating sections on both the left and right of the main shafts.

One man who was standing outside the mine opening when the explosion erupted, said he saw "a bale of smoke and dust as big as a mine hole."

"It blowed it right off through there," the man said, pointing toward the hillside on the opposite face of the hollow. Dust and mine debris coated the bare trees on the incline.

"It was like you might hear a tornado coming," the man concluded.

The Finley mines, designated as No. 15 and No. 16, are interconnecting, and the U.S. Bureau of Mines considers that both were involved in the tragedy. However, the bodies that had been recovered early last night were brought from the No. 15 mine area.

In federal inspections this year, the mines were cited for a variety of mine-safety law violations.

In June a federal inspector found an "imminent danger" because of loose coal and coal dust accumulations and ordered the men taken from No. 15. It resumed operations three days later after deficiencies were corrected.

Before leaving for the site of the tragedy, Gov. Nunn said the federal Bureau of Mines and the state Department of Mines and Minerals were making a full scale investigation. "Every agency of state government is standing by to assist the families in this tragic hour."

Finley was asked if there was any hope that some of the miners might have survived the blast. "I wouldn't think so," he replied.

State police began blocking KY. 80 at its intersection with the mud road which winds down into the pit of Hurricane Creek toward the mine.

Cars lined KY 80 more than one mile in either direction.

Mine mouth road blocked off

Families and friends of the trapped miners walked slowly down the brown strip of Hurricane Creek Road, holding onto each other and talking in low tones. One pregnant woman was supported by three of her friends as she rushed along the sloppy roadway toward the mine, crying, "I have to get there. I have to get there. He's down there."

At the mine site itself, police cordoned off the road to the mine mouth, and bystanders built a bonfire to warm themselves.

Groups of women stood wavering in the firelight, pushing at their eyes with crumpled handkerchiefs.

The mother of one miner trapped 2,500 feet inside the mountain collapsed under the weight of her grief, and had to be placed in the back of a jeep. She moaned and gripped the hand of friends who sat beside here.

At the fire, the wife of one miner cried over and over, "Oh, God. Oh, God. Oh, God." She wavered back and forth and was caught by a young man in a green Army shirt, who snuggled her close to him.

SATURDAY MORNING, JANUARY 2, 1971

Staff Photo by Michael Coers

A MINER who aided in rescue efforts at the Finley Coal Co. mines near Hyden, where 38 men died in a blast, looks toward the black mouth of Finley Mine No. 15, outlined by snow.

Widows of mine victims file for survivor benefits

(Courier-Journal Jan. 5, 1971)

Staff Photo by Ford Reid

THE MOUNTAINSIDE funeral procession for Howard and Holt Couch was one of nine such processions, several of them for multiple services, for victims of last week's mine disaster near Hyden, Ky. Hearings will be held tomorrow to attempt to determine the causes of the tragedy.

By DAVID V. HAWPE
Courier-Journal Staff Writer

MANCHESTER—Widows of the miners who lost their lives in the Hurricane Creek disaster last week walked through light drizzle yesterday, as they approached the ordeal of filing for various kinds of survivor benefits.

The families of 28 victims sat stony-faced in straight-backed chairs at the Manchester VFW Club, and heard William Boleyn bring condolences from President Richard Nixon.

Boleyn, representing the executive office of the President, said Nixon sent, "his very deepest sympathy. I am here at the personal concern of the President."

"No one can bring back your loss, but the President has directed that each of the agencies that can provide help do expedite that help as quickly as possible."

Probable maximum: $19,700

The list of officials on hand was impressive, including Joe Lambert, representing Sen. John Sherman Cooper. From Frankfort came Merritt Deitz, commissioner of economic security; Boots Young, commissioner of labor; Frank Rochelle, Kentucky Program Development Office director, and Lynn Frazier, state Office of Economic Opportunity director.

Although the disaster occurred near Hyden, 35 miles away, most of the victims were from the Manchester area. The last five were to be buried today in Clay County.

The next of kin asked no questions of the speakers, but dispersed quietly for processing at nearby tables. Their benefits could include Social Security, workmen's compensation, Veterans Administration aid and even food stamps if there is a need.

The families also learned that each probably was eligible for a total of $19,700 in workmen's compensation benefits if the husband or breadwinner was killed in the Hurricane Creek disaster last Wednesday. There was no official estimate of how many children and wives were affected, but figures ranged from 150 to 200.

J. Keller Whitaker, director of the state program, said the maximum death benefit is $48 weekly for 400 weeks plus $500 for burial expenses.

After six months of benefits for a widow, the board could give her the remainder in a lump sum, but Whitaker said "the board is rather jealous of turning a widow loose with a lot of money, especially when she has children."

Social Security sent office managers from Hazard, which serves the Leslie County families, and Corbin, which serves the Clay County families.

Donald Robinson, Social Security manager from Corbin, said the families of 28 victims completed their applications for Social Security survivors benefits.

"We were able to get almost all of the documentary evidence we needed, such as birth certificates, marriage licenses and the like," Robinson said.

Regular employment

He said the other 10 families apparently failed to come to the meeting because services for some of the men were held yesterday, or because high water rose over some roads.

Rain pelted into valleys that looked like huge fog pits yesterday, causing most drivers to operate with their lights on. Water burbled in brown paths over low spots in some remote roadways.

Statistics gathered yesterday indicated that there were 10 miners from Leslie County and 28 from Clay County who lost their lives in the explosion at the Finley mines.

The blast left a total of 97 miner children. Only five of the 38 men who died were single.

"Where there is a widow and children, there will be a burial benefit of $255," Robinson said. "There also will be a monthly survivors benefit, with the amount depending upon the deceased average wage over a period of time."

He said the survivors would receive a full benefit check for the month of December, although the men died on Dec. 30.

"The minimum benefit in any case would be about $200 a month," he said. "And the maximum would be near $400."

Robinson said the coal company had cooperated completely with Social Security officials: "They sent in office staff on New Year's Day and worked up all this information on the wages of victims. The mine owner was quoted as saying the men's wages were upwards of $24 a day, and the wage reports that we saw bear out that figure.

"Another thing conspicuous about the wage records was that the employment of these men was regular," Robinson said. "Often in coal mining a man will work a month or two and then be laid off. These men apparently worked regularly."

(Courier-Journal Jan. 2)

Miners' blood again stains U.S. coal

IT IS HARD to be calm and dispassionate when discussing a mine disaster. The impulse is to cry out in bitter anger, to echo the anguish of the women huddled at the mine mouth in yet another re-enactment of this hideously familiar mountain tragedy. Who does not recoil, who can but weep and rage inwardly to see them there again, clutching each other, moaning their pleas into the cold, damp air, their eyes fixed on the black, flame-torn hole in the hillside into which their men went and from which they will not return—not until the grim-faced rescue squads, eyes sick with what they have seen, bring the burned bodies out.

So the graves are dug and the blasted bodies buried, and the crippled lives of the survivors go on. Truly, the blood of miners is on the coal the nation burns and the power it produces, as though a miner shrieks his final agony each time a light comes on. Yet somehow the massive suffering never seems to translate itself into the safety laws and enforcement that might end the slaughter. With each new tragedy indignation rises and the public demands reforms. But interest ebbs and anger dies before the sobs of those left are stilled in the dank hollows of the coal country.

Inspection disclosed dust

Fixing blame will not bring back the 38 miners killed this week in an explosion of Leslie County's Finley Mine. But it might save other lives, and there seems to be blame enough to go around. All signs point to an accumulation of coal dust, apparently ignited by a spark. The one federal inspection of the mine conducted last year found it so dangerous and full of coal dust that it was shut down until corrections were made. Other inspections were required by law, but they were not made, a reflection of the fact that the U.S. Bureau of Mines has neither money nor trained inspectors to do its job.

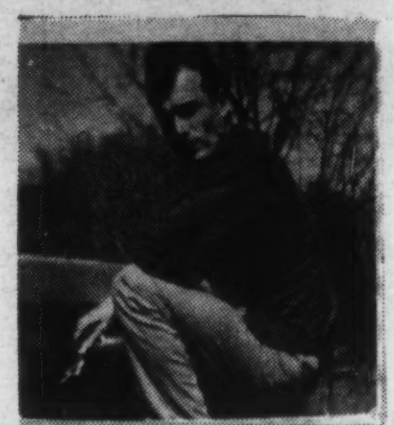
Part of the blame lies squarely with President Nixon. He fired John O'Leary, the only Mines Director in the past 20 years to try to make mines safe. He gave half-hearted support to the new mine-safety bill, but he waited months to name a new director, and then named a man of uncertain background, qualifications and policies, who is handicapped by having too few inspectors to enforce the law.

Nor is there compelling evidence that the administration of Governor Louie Nunn is more concerned than Washington. In 1969 Robert K. Jones of the state Health Department began a study of safety conditions in Kentucky mines. Early in 1970 he submitted to H. N. Kirkpatrick, Commissioner of Mines and Minerals, his report showing that some Kentucky mines contained 67 times as much coal dust as considered safe by federal laws. Many if not most Kentucky miners, said the Jones report, work in dangerous mines, under conditions that violate the 1969 federal safety law.

But somehow the Jones report was not released until two months ago, rather than in the spring, when it might have enabled the legislature to pass supporting enforcement laws. Why it was bottled up so long only Mr. Kirkpatrick and Governor Nunn can explain. Not that explanations, from Frankfort or Washington, will help the endangered men who mine our coal. They and those who wait each day for them to come out of the mines can only hope that some day the lives of the men who dig America's coal will become as valuable and important to their country and its government as the stuff they dig.

Elmer White

Armond Wagers & some of his family



Arnold Wagers

Decker Whitehead, wife & son

Wilbert & Betty Faye Smith

Carl & Ruby Ghent

Walter Bentley & family

Geraldine & James Minton

Denver Young & son

Mr. & Mrs. Lester Harris
and two of their sons

←

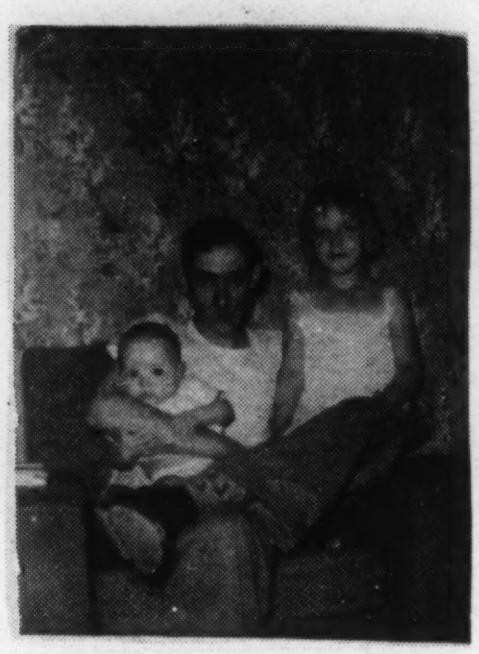
Teddy Bush in center
with parents and brothers

→

Price Henson, daughter Denise, & father-in-law Robert Bowling

Dorothy & Earl Phillips

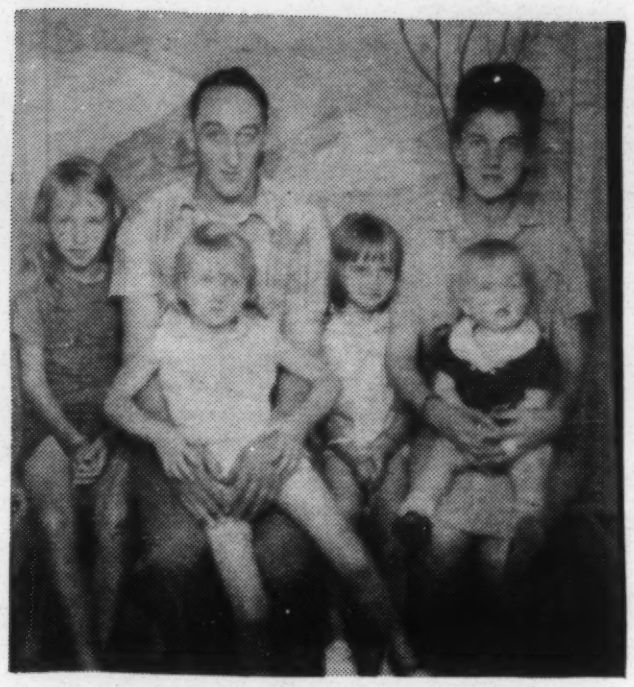
Kermit Hubbard & family



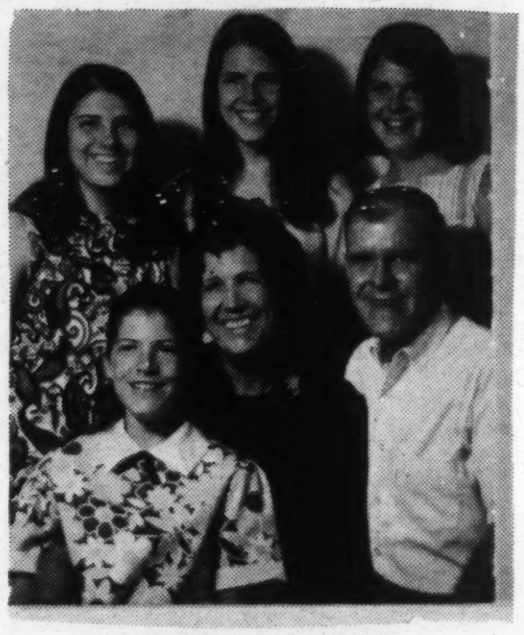
Holt Couch

Alonzo Couch & wife

Howard Couch & family →

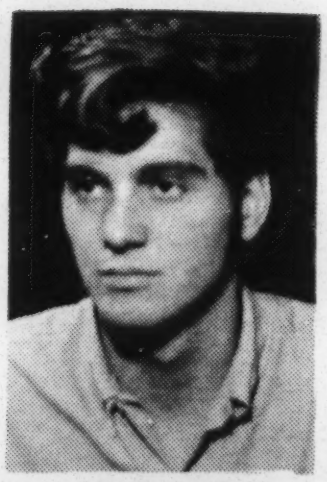


Grover Bowling & family



Jeff Spurlock & family

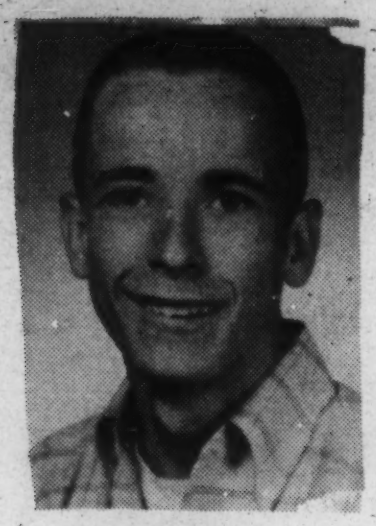
Theo Griffin, wife & daughter



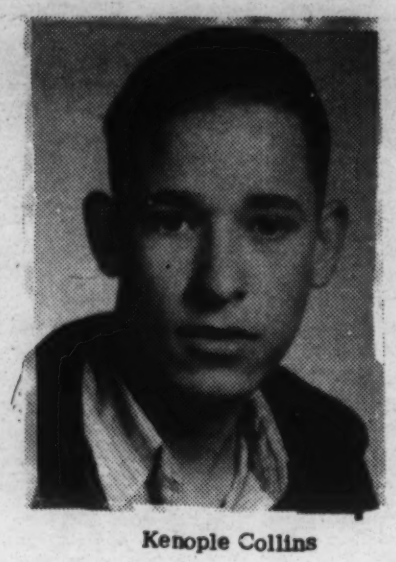
Delbert Henson

Albert Wagers (far left) ←

Arnold Sizemore & daughter →



Fred Collins



Kenople Collins

Lonnie Collins

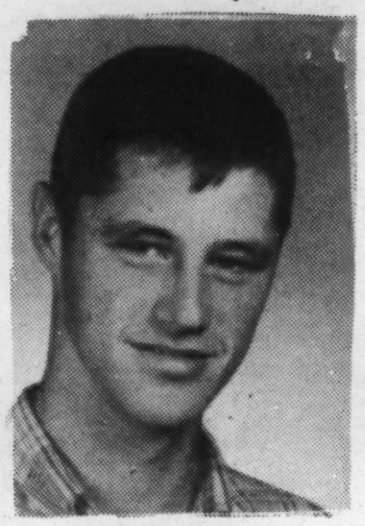
Lawrence Gray

Walter Hibbard

Ben Hoskins

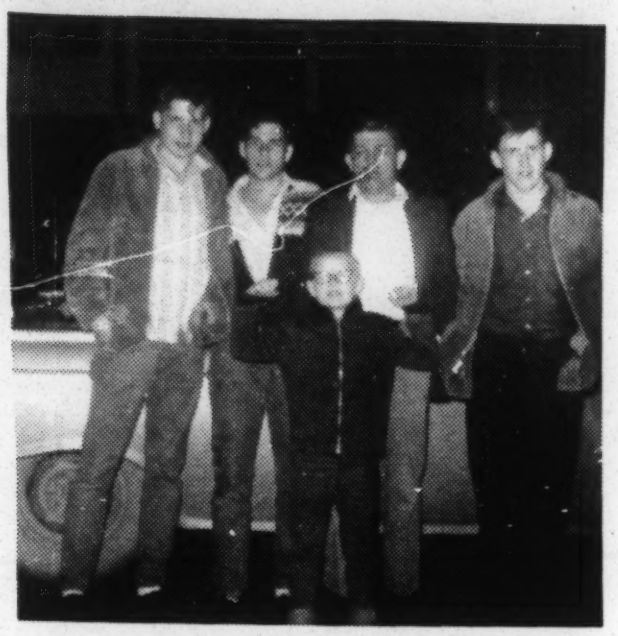
Frank Hoskins

Rufus Jones



Lee Mitchell

Russell Morgan



Stanley Roberts & Sons

Alfred Gibson

Mr. and Mrs. George Holland

Jim Jones & Family

About The Miners

Arnold Wagers

Arnold Wagers was 35 years old. He spent 18 years in the mines, mostly in Clay County. He had worked about 5 years at Finley's. His family includes his wife, Juanita, and children, Gloria Ruth, 14, David Wayne, 7, and twins, Kenneth and Dennis, 3. He lived on Chop Bottom in Clay County. Juanita Wagers said of her husband, "Arnold played the guitar. He had 3 guitars. He also loved to fish. In the summer, it will even be more lonesome." Arnold's brother, Armond was also killed in the accident.

Armond Wagers

Armond Wagers was 40 years old. He was in the mines for the first time when he was 14. He had worked at Finley's for 2 or 3 years. He was born in Clay County on February 5, 1930. He lived on Chop Bottom. His family includes his wife, Elva, and children, Roy, 24, Charles, 21, Brenda, 18, Glenn, 18, Larry, 15, Janet, 12, Wanda, 12, Lonnie, 10, Russell, 8, Kathy, 6, and Chester Lee, 4.

Elmer White

Elmer White was 23 years old. He was born on September 9, 1947. He was born in Clay County and lived on Chop Bottom. He had spent only 4 weeks at Finley's. He leaves his wife, Brenda, and son, Charles Lynn, 5 months. His family also includes 15 brothers and sisters. His wife, Brenda, also lost her father and uncle in the disaster.

Decker Whitehead

Decker Whitehead was 46 years old. His birthdate was July 11, 1924. He was 16 years old when he started working in the mines. He had worked at Finley's for 6 years and was a mine foreman. His family includes his wife, Lula Smith Whitehead, and five children, Maudie, 27, Betty Faye, 25, Mona, 23, Cecil, 22 and Roy, 19. There are also three grandchildren, Melissa, Melina, and Daniel Ray Henson. His son, Cecil was wounded in Vietnam last year and will be getting a medical discharge this month. Mrs. Whitehead said, "We want to thank everyone for all the food and flowers. Also thanks to the Island Creek Church, Rev. John Hornsby, Rev. R. C. Flynn, Rev. Lonnie Thompson, Cincinnati, and Rev. Cecil Hooker." He lived on Island Creek, Clay County

Miner Biographies

(Continued from page 6)

Wilbert Smith

Wilbert Smith was 33 years old. He was born in Clay County on April 10, 1937. He had spent 15 years in the mines, 4 of those years at Finley's. He had also worked in Indianapolis for awhile. He and his wife, Betty Faye had been married 5 years. His parents are Theo and Ruile Smith of Goose Rock. His wife, Betty Faye, also lost her father, Decker Whitehead, in the disaster He lived in Lyttleton Clay County.

Jeff Spurlock

Jeff Spurlock was 41 years old. He had spent 24 years in the mines. He had worked at Finley's for 5 years or more. His family includes his wife, Barbara, and four daughters, Alice Sue, 17 Joan, 15, Kathy, 13 and Debbie, 12. Barbara Spurlock also lost her brother, Theo Griffin, in the mine disaster. His home was on Paces Creek, Clay County, Ky.

Theo Griffin

Theo Griffin was 28 years old. He had only worked in the mines for 4 months. For 9 years he had been employed in Louisville, but he wanted very much to come back home to work. He leaves his wife, Martha and daughter, Sandra Carol, 6 years old. He lived on Paces Creek, Clay County, Kentucky.

Delbert Henson

Delbert Hesnon was 19 years old. He had only worked in the mines since August. He had his best friend, Teddy Bush, who was also killed, started working together. He leaves his parents, Bertha and Estill Henson; 4 sisters, Gracie, Oma, Ellen, and Cornella and 6 brothers, Carl, Thomas, Asher, Charles, Lloyd, Jr., and Sammy. He lived on Elk Creek in Clay County.

Teddy Bush

Teddy Bush was 21 years old. Like Delbert Henson, he worked only 5 months in the mines. His parents are Taylor and Susie Bush. There are also 3 brothers, Jerry, Kenneth and Wayne. He lived on Elk Creek in Clay County.

Billy J. Bowling

Billy J. Bowling was 24 years old. He had worked in the mines since he was 16 years old. He had spent 2 years at Finley's. His wife is Mary Katherine Bowling and children are Deborah Kay, 4, Donna Lynn, 3 on Jan. 18, and David France, 4 months. Billy was born in Clay County and lived on Land Log. His parents are Robert Lee and Dorothy Bowling.

Price Henson

Price Henson was 38 years old. He had spent 19 years in the mines and 12 or 13 of these at Finley's. He was born in Clay County and lived on Patch Branch. His family includes his wife, Litha and children, John, 16, Kelly, 14 Louise, 13, Michael, 9, Ben, 7, Denise, 3, and Tina Lynn, 9 months. Besides her husband, Litha Henson lost her brother, Billy J. Bowling and her brother-in-law, Arnold Sizemore.

Arnold Sizemore

Arnold Sizemore was 34 years old. He had spent 16 years in the mines, most of these at Finley's. His family includes his wife, Bobbie Lee and children, Randy Dwayne, 9, Charles Glenn, 7, and Willa Gail, 2. He lived on Big Creek in Clay County. His parents are Delores and Barrett Sizemore. He was born in Fishtrap, Kentucky. Like Litha Henson, Bobbie Lee Sizemore also lost a brother-in-law, Price Henson, and a brother, Billy J. Bowling.

George Holland

George Holland was 41 years old. He had spent 23 years in the mines. He worked 6 years for Finley's. He and his wife, Alvie, had been married 20 years. He leaves 3 daughters, Helen, 19, Wilma Jean, 17, and Wanda, 13. He was born in Leslie County. Levi Holland is his father. He and his family lived on Elk Creek in Clay County.

Walter Hibbard

Walter Hibbard was born May 3, 1929 to Rufred and Ida Hibbard. He had spent 24 years in the mines. He had been at Finley's for 1 year and was a mine foreman. His wife is Mae Grubb Hibbard. His children are Ronnie, 17, Gary, 14 Sharlene, 11, Wanda Faye, 9, and Peggy Sue, 7. He had lived in Clay County all his life. His wife, Mae, said the following about her husband, "We had a happy life together. My loss is heaven's gain. He was a Christian man that really loved his family." He also leaves 4 sisters and 6 brothers. Mrs. Hibbard also wishes to thank everyone who helped.

Fred Collins

Fred Collins was 18 years old. He had worked in the mines for 3 years. He spent all 3 years at Finley's. He had quit school to help the younger children in the family according to his parents. His family includes: his parents, Dewey and Mae; sisters, Kathy Holland, Carlene Turner, Bethel Gray, Evelynene and Bessielene; and brothers Raymond and Dewey, Jr. Another brother, Kenople, was also killed in the disaster. He made his home on Elk Creek, Clay County.

Kenople Collins

Kenople Collins was 26 years old. He had worked in the mines 8 years, mostly at Finley's. He was born in Clay County and lived on Elk Creek. He leaves his wife, Mildred, and two children, Sherry Anne, 4, and Kenny Wayne, 3. His wife is expecting another baby the 1st of February.

Earl Phillips

Earl Phillips was 45 years old. He had spent 25 years in the mines and had been working at Finley's since 1962. He and his wife, Dorothy, and children lived on Patch Branch, Clay County. His children include, Marietta, 24, Joyce Ann, 23 Patricia, 20, Margaret, 17, Charlotte, 12, Joseph Earl, 10, Deborah Kaye, 9, and Eddie Dean, 7. There are also 4 grandchildren, Rhonda Joyce Gregory, Estill Douglas Gregory, Eddie Wayne Mills and Jimmy Ray Mills. Earl Phillips was a World War II veteran. He served in France and Belgium, was wounded in action and reported missing in action for 2 days.

Russell Morgan

Russell Morgan was 33 years old. He had spent 12 years in the mines, 5 of these at Finley's. He leaves his wife, Mossie and two children, Deobrah, 12 and Darrell, 6. He lived on Elk Creek in Clay County. His family also includes his parent, Laura and Ueal Morgan and 6 brothers and 2 sisters.

Grover Bowling

Grover Bowling was 33 years old. He had worked at Finley's Mines for 7 years. He was born in Clay County and lived in Manchester. His family includes his wife, Barbara, daughter, Denia Lee, 8, and his mother, Ida Bowling.

Carl Ghent

Carl Ghent would have been 32 years old on January 9. He had worked in the mines 17 years and at Finley's for 7 or 8 years. He lived on Billy's Branch in Clay County. His wife is Ruby Ghent and his three children are Veda Ann, 10, Jeffrey Lane, 7, and Tammie Lynne, 3. Carl was born in Clay County, the only son of Lola and John Ghent. He had 6 sisters.

Lawrence Gray

Lawrence Gray was 30 years old on November 29. He had worked in the mines at least 10 years, 2 years at Finley's. His family includes his wife, Nancy and his children, Charlotte, 9, and Wade, 7. Lawrence was born in Clay County. He leaves his parents, Ballard and Ollie Gray and 3 sisters and 3 brothers. He lived on Elk Creek in Clay County.

Stanley Roberts

Stanley Roberts was 44 years old. He was born in Clay County. He had worked in the mines for 25 or 26 years in Clay and Leslie Counties. He had been at Finley's for 2 years. He and his wife, Bonnie, had been married 23 years. They have four sosns; Stanley Wayne, 21, and in the Marines, William Thomas, 19, Delbert, 18 and Randy, 12. He lived on Greasy Branch, Clay County.

Lester Harris

Lester Harris was 35 years old. He was born in Pigeon Roost, Kentucky on March 17, 1935. He had worked in the mines 18 years, mostly in Clay County. He had spent 2 to 3 years at Finley's. His family includes his wife, Edith, and 3 sons, Glenn, 13, Eddie Dean, 10, and Timmy Dwayne, 7. He made his home on Chop Bottom in Clay County. His wife said of her husband, "He always said he wished he had a better education so he wouldn't have to work in the mines. He wanted his boys to get a good education so they wouldn't have to work in the mines."

Kermit Hubbard

Kermit Hubbard was 39 years old. He was born in Clay County. He had spent 23 years working in the mines. He had been at Finley's for 6 or7 months. He'd been hurt several times in mine accidents. He and his family lived in Manchester. His wife is Geneva Hubbard and his children are John Clifford, 15, Joyce Anne, 14, and Jimmy Lee, 11. Geneva Hubbard said of her husband, "He always had time to help other people. He was a Christian man. After he worked all day in the mines, he would come home and always help others."

Miner Biographies

(Continued from page 7)

James Minton

James Minton was 27 years old. He was born on March 12, 1943 in Indiana. He came to Clay County when he was about a year old. He had worked in the mines about three years, and at Finley's for 9 months. He was a veteran having served in the Army for three years. His family includes his wife, Geraldine and his daughter, Sondra, 2 years old. His wife said that James loved music. He played a guitar and sang. He had performed in music groups on many occasions. He lived in Manchester.

Frank Hoskins

Frank Hoskins was 19 years old. He had worked at Kentucky Mountain Coal Company for awhile and at Finley's for 2 months. He was born on Double Creek in Clay County. His parents are Radar and Celia Hoskins. Also one brother David and one sister Margie, survive. His brother, Ben Hoskins, was also killed in the explosion. His wife is Brenda Carol Hoskins and son is John Radar, 9 months. He lived on Elk Creek in Clay County.

Ben Hoskins

Ben Hoskins was 24 years old. He had worked for Finley's for 7 years. He was born in Clay County and lived on Elk Creek. He is survived by his wife and 4 children, Francis, Margie Ann, Willie Trapas, and Shirley. His brother, Frank, was also killed in the disaster.

Albert Wagers

Albert Wagers was 28 years old. He had worked in the mines for 12 years. He had spent 11 years at Finley's. His family includes his wife, Betty Lee and children, Anita, 5, Larry Beve, 4 and Richard, 1. He also leaves his mother, Amanda Henson Wagers; three brothers George, Willie Lee and Cecil; and three sisters, Sally, Geneva, and Sophia. His father, Beve Wagers, was also killed in a mining accident at Finley's on November 25, 1963.

Lee Mitchell

Lee Mitchell was 18 years old. He had worked about 6 months for Finley's. December 30 was the first day back on the job for Lee after being off for several months. He leaves his parents, Robert and Delphia Smith Mitchell, sisters; Bobbie Hoskins, 20, and Mary Ann, 16, and brothers, Billy Ray, 14, Bruce, 11, and Randy 8.

Walter Bentley

Walter Bently-Age 60, born October 10, 1910. Married to: Mrs. Bentley age 64, born May 13, 1906. Children: Ralph 38, Gracie 36, Glenna 34, Shelby Jean 30, Ben 28, Carolyn 26. He'd been working for Finley Company for about four months. He was a native of Leslie County. Mrs. Bentley wishes to thank friends and neighbors for assistance.

Lonnie Collins

Lonnie Collins age 28, was born on December 17, 1942. He was married to Jewel Dean, born 1938, age 32. Children: Larry, 12, step-son Sandy 3 1/2 daughter. Relatives killed in mining accident: Freddy and Kenople Collins. He was a native of Leslie County. His parents are Elsie and Bige Collins

Jim Jones

Jim Jones was 36 years old. His wife is Ruth Jones and his children are Velma, 12, Cordia Lou, 10 and Kathlene, 7. He had worked at Finley's for 3 years and was a Leslie County native.

Holt Couch

Holt Couch: born February 8, 1936, age 34. Married to: Mattie born May 2, 1931 age 39. Children: Judy Gil 16, Kelly Ray 11, Donna Kay 7. Relatives killed in mines: twin brother, Howard. Parents; Will and Elsie Couch.

Howard Couch

Howard Couch was born on February 8, 1936. He was married to Daisy Couch and had four children, Phyllis Jean, 10, Berna Dean, 7, Charlene, 5, and Eva Carol, 2. Howard's twin brother, Holt was also killed in the disaster. He also leaves his parents, Will and Elsie Couch. Mrs. Couch wishes to thank everyone for their assistance.

Alonzo Couch

Alonzo Couch: born September 26, 1934, age 36 Married to: Nettie, age 41 born November 27, 1929. Children: two sons ages 15 and 13 Parents: Coonie and Stella Couch. He worked in the mines for 17 years.

Rufus Jones

Rufus Jones-Age 53, born October 1, 1917; Leslie County. Married to: Betty Gibson Jones, 57, born February 14, 1913. Children: Rufus, Jr. and A. B.; both worked in mines for a time. Rufus now disabled; wife refuses to permit A. B. to return to mines. Relatives killed in accident: brother-in-law, Alfred Gibson

Alfred Gibson

Alfred Gison-was 45 years old. He was born July 8, 1926. He was married to Emily Sizemore Gibson age 59. His family includes eight brothers and four sisters living; mother Nance Ann living; father Archie, deceased; one step-daughter, Lena Ruth Bowling; one son Donnie Ray age 15. Relatives killed in mining accident; brother-in-law, Fufus Jones; several cousins. Born and reared in Leslie County; worked in mines several years.

Denver Young

Denver Young lived on Couch's Branch in Leslie County. He had worked in the mines approximately 6 years. No other information could be found about his family at this time.

Uncertain Winter Awaits Stunned 'Living Victims' Of Hyden Mine Disaster

By CRAIG AMMERMAN

HYDEN, Ky. (AP) — "Some people say we ought to quit going in them mines," said a woman in the automatic laundry. "But I ask you outsiders, just what would we do then?"

The woman's question is not one which answers itself in this southeastern Kentucky outpost of Appalachia near an underground coal mine which exploded Wednesday killing 38 men inside its twin 2,400-foot deep shafts.

Hyden, Ky., does not offer much obvious promise for things that don't involve the coal buried deep under the ground.

There are only 12 phone lines into this community of 600. There are two churches, two restaurants, a couple of grocery stores, a hardware store and several service stations, most of which also sell other goods.

And there are mountains, ones that make any kind of effective travel virtually impossible.

Between the mountains wind long, curvy valleys. Up most of them, lined along treacherous narrow dirt roads, are houses stuck here and there on available flat land. Usually up those hollows one can also find coal mines.

It is such a place where the Finley Coal Co. mine that exploded Wednesday is located.

The people of that particular valley—some 300 of them—took the blow of tragedy in a tradition that belongs to Appalachia and its people.

"It's a thing you come to fear, but you know it will happen ... You must hope it doesn't happen to you," one woman said from her home Thursday as she handed out coffee and homemade biscuits to newsmen who had trudged one and a half miles up the hollow and were exhausted, with still another half-mile to go before reaching the mine.

"There's not much else for a person to do up here except mine coal," she said. "The pay is enough to live on up here, and it's certainly better than taking the government welfare."

The men who worked and died in the Finley mine made $21 a day, about $12 a day below union wages. But not many of the mines in this area are union. A mention of the United Mine Workers brings blank stares.

Mine safety—laws like the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969—do not register either.

"All those inspectors want to do is make somebody happy and close down them mines," said Shelby Hacker, one of the miners working on rescue squads. "How the hell else are we supposed to feed our families, if it ain't cuttin' coal?"

The Finley mine had been cited several times for violation of safety standards, but remained open.

Hacker, 44, an 18-year mining veteran, said there wasn't any real reason to get an education because "it don't take education to cut coal ... and I don't know what else there is for a man to do, unless it's drive a coal truck."

One woman said her son had been through three heart operations and wasn't supposed to do heavy work.

"But he drives a coal truck," she said. "There's not much else he can do to feed us."

But that job, like 60 others that were held by miners at the Finley mine, are not now available for at least some time.

"It'll sure take a long time to get that mine back in working shape," one miner said. "Until then, I guess we try to get us some food stamps."

"It's a terrible thing," said the woman in Hyden's only laundry. "But I guess it happens and there ain't much we can do about it."

The "Jackson-Clay County Roadrunner" is printed for people interested in the social and economic welfare of the citizens of Jackson-Clay County. It's purpose is to inform Jackson-Clay County citizens of the things that are, and the things that could be. It is also meant to show NON-Jackson-Clay countians the problems of Southeastern Kentucky. If you wish to receive the "Roadrunner," send your name and address to

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P. O. Box 106
McKee, Kentucky

or call 287-7168, or to

Jackson-Clay CAG, Inc.
100 Court Street
Manchester, Kentucky

or call 598-5127

Copy Welfare Reform

Policy options for welfare reform

An examination of the differences among poor relief programs and of the choices leading to stability or change in welfare policy

GILBERT Y. STEINER

MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW
March, 1971, Vol 94 No. 3

WELFARE IS A PUBLIC BUSINESS whose liquidation under honorable conditions has been a goal stated by political leaders from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon. "What I am seeking is the abolition of relief altogether," Roosevelt wrote in a November 1934 letter. "I cannot say so out loud yet but I hope to be able to substitute work for relief."[1] Thirty-five years later, explaining his family assistance proposal over nationwide television, President Nixon concluded that "What America needs now is not more welfare but more 'workfare.'"[2] In those intervening 35 years, however, neither work for relief nor work instead of relief nor work-related social insurance displaced the dole. Instead, by 1970, at least 14 million people unable to support themselves and willing to satisfy a means test to prove it benefited from one, or more than one, cash, food, or housing assistance program.

About 11 million additional persons with incomes below the so-called poverty line—roughly $3,700 for a four-person family—were not assisted. Many were employed but could not earn enough to bring their families out of poverty. Some benefited from private charity, some had been and might again be public charges but were temporarily independent, some were only technically in poverty (for example, low-income graduate students). Most of the 11 million, however, probably did without basic needs because of pride, because they did not know they could get help, because they could not meet one or another noneconomic eligibility condition, or because an appropriate program was not operative where they lived.

Cash payments to families with dependent children are budgeted for 1971 at $4.67 billion; veterans' nonservice-connected pensions, $2.27 billion; food stamps, $1.25 billion; public housing, $646 million.[3] The combined budgets for 1971 of just these four relief programs add to nearly $9 billion. That figure will shock some as huge, appall others as puny. In either event, it should invite attention not only to the relief programs, but to policymakers and the relief policymaking process as well.

Crude relief

Public subsidies to the poor have two principal styles or techniques, one crude, one subtle. The crude technique both limits benefits to those who can establish need through disclosure of their income and resources to an administrative official, and also explicitly pinpoints the beneficiaries. The subtle technique spreads benefits across a broad spectrum of the population, subsidizing many without need as well as those in need. Both crude and subtle techniques are compatible with payments either in cash or in kind.

In the subtle class, the leading program is compulsory, contributory social insurance (social security) to provide income for old age, for survivors, for hospital care of the aged, and for disability. Social security provides more cash assistance to poor people than does public assistance; social security also provides cash assistance to a good many people who are not poor, and would not be poor even without these benefits.[4] A different example of subtle relief is the Federal college housing loan program, which has the effect of reducing room rent by $6 to $7 a month for students at publicly supported colleges. While some very poor students are benefited by the program, at least 45 percent of the beneficiaries come from families with incomes above $10,000 a year.[5]

Gilbert Steiner is Director of Governmental Studies at the Brookings Institution. This article is adapted from the forthcoming book, *The State of Welfare*, to be published by Brookings in March 1971. The views expressed are those of the author and are not necessarily those of trustees, officers, or other staff members of Brookings.

Welfare Reform

Search

A REPORT FROM THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Volume 1, Number 2 March - April, 1971

MAR 23 1971

Anti-Inflation Strategy

Brake on price spiral by curbing duration, frequency of unemployment

Manpower training, now oriented primarily toward helping the unemployed and disadvantaged, should be vastly expanded and aimed at skill shortages as a major weapon against inflation.

Charles C. Holt, C. Duncan MacRae, Stuart O. Schweitzer and Ralph E. Smith set forth this proposal in their report, *The Unemployment-Inflation Dilemma: A Manpower Solution.*

"The structure of labor and product markets yields a relationship between the rate of inflation and the rate of unemployment such that aggregate demand policy alone is incapable of attaining full employment and price stability simultaneously," they conclude from their detailed research efforts.

Part of their research traces the postwar history in the United States of the trade-off between inflation and unemployment. The relationships they uncover explain why the low unemployment policies of the mid-1960's led almost inevitably to the high inflation problems of the past year, and why fiscal and monetary policies may reduce either unemployment or inflation, but not both at the same time, to satisfactory and stable conditions.

Their proposed manpower approach emerges from research findings about several aspects of unemployment, including the high rate of turnover in the labor market, the duration of time that people remain unemployed, and the fact that unemployment and job vacancies both can be "too high" as the result of market frictions.

Through theoretical and statistical analysis it appears that a high ratio of job vacancies to unemployment contributes to wage inflation and this is further aggravated when labor shortage bottlenecks occur in the high-skill categories. The wage inflation in turn contributes to and interacts with price inflation.

Some of the primary manpower approaches recommended by the authors are better understood in the context of the nation's existing manpower programs. These are geared almost entirely to helping people at the low end of the job ladder. The Institute researchers argue, first of all, that this aspect of manpower training should be enlarged, and that it would be unacceptable to help workers further up the ladder unless everything possible were done to help those with the greatest economic need.

But they note that programs oriented *only* to the lowest level have a tendency to displace or threaten the security of other workers, especially when jobs are scarce.

One thrust of the recommended solutions is to focus on training to relieve skill shortages. Pulling workers up a grade to fill these middle-level job positions of a technical or even subprofessional nature should unclog the labor market and permit upgrading all along the line.

Another thrust is to devise more effective ways of matching workers and jobs. If the matching is done more quickly, it would cut down unemployment by shortening the long durations of joblessness. If the matching is done with more attention to placing right people in the right jobs, this will cut down on unemployment by reducing the rate at which workers later will quit or be laid off.

By tracing complex labor market adjustments as they relate to inflation and unemployment, the researchers were persuaded that the manpower approach could help solve one of the crucial economic puzzles of the decade and provide a means for reducing *both* unemployment and inflation without setting in motion forces that will have a long-run worsening effect. □

Metropolitan States Proposed

Nation's urban areas would gain from revitalized federal system

As a political-financial solution to the plight of urban areas, Richard P. Burton of the Institute's urban public finance group proposed a constitutional change to permit the creation of Metropolitan States. He testified recently before the Joint Economic Committee about possible advantages of this proposal.

Urban officials widely believe that states have been slighting cities and favoring rural or suburban interests. This has led cities increasingly to try to forge their own direct links with federal funds and programs.

This growing breakdown of normal federal-state-local relations gives rise to the Metropolitan State arrangement as a means of restoring vitality to the three-tiered federal system. Essentially, the plan would give full state rights and powers to new Metropolitan States embracing the major concentrations of urban population, industries and clusters of communities, and leave the present 50 states with their domain over non-metropolitan areas.

Unlike many metropolitan consolidation schemes, Metropolitan States would preserve within them the existing communities and their presumed sensitivity to constituent preferences. Blacks and other minorities who have lately gained political power in central cities or surrounding urban jurisdictions would not be threatened as they are by centralization.

Burton holds that this would give urban areas a constitutionally and fiscally viable form of government. And by strengthening local government, it should check the tendency toward centralism. The author is mindful, of course, that achieving this fairly radical departure would be likely to involve enormous political obstacles. □

welfare reform

15 CENTS

Strikers on Welfare

Workers on Public Aid During Walkouts Draw Increasing Criticism

Critics Say Such Help Leads To Lengthening Disputes; States Complain of Costs

'Strikers Are Taxpayers, Too'

7/14/71

By JAMES P. GANNON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH—One man who is really worried about the threat of a steel walkout Aug. 1 is Edward H. Kalberer. "I just hate to think of it," he says. "It makes me pray for a miracle of no strike."

Mr. Kalberer isn't a steelworker, a steel executive or a mill customer. He is the man in charge of public-welfare programs in Allegheny County, which encompasses this steel-making center. And he is worried that his understaffed, tightly budgeted county welfare agency may be overwhelmed by strikers applying for food stamps, public assistance and other benefits if the United Steelworkers of America calls a steel-industry walkout next month.

To prepare for the possible deluge, the agency is considering setting up temporary welfare offices near the mills or setting up shop in the steelworkers' union halls. It estimates that at least 250 extra staffers would be needed to process aid claims from many of the approximately 59,000 steelworkers in the county. But, because of a budget bind, the agency has little hope of adding so much manpower. It has been sending representatives to USW local union meetings to explain eligibility rules and benefits of public-aid programs, hoping that the union officials may do some screening of members to ease the threatened paperwork jam.

The problems of the Allegheny County welfare agency are only one symptom of a major development that has important implications both for welfare programs and for labor bargaining generally.

Welfare: An Aid to Union Bargainers

Without attracting much attention until recently, American labor unions have developed an increasingly successful technique of using the nation's growing public-aid programs to reduce the economic pinch on striking members. Only now are big employers fully realizing, with alarm, that as a result they face a stronger foe at the bargaining table. Financially strapped state governments are finding more of a different type of welfare client at their public-aid offices: the factory hand who is generally stereotyped as antiwelfare but who may be changing his attitudes as welfare eases the woes of the walkout.

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A considerable controversy is brewing over this trend. Big employers hit hard by recent strikes, such as General Electric and General Motors, are stepping up public attacks on welfare for strikers. Congress and the courts have been considering its merits. The debate, both sides agree, is likely to persist a long time. "This may be the new industrial-relations issue of the 1970s," one GE management man believes.

Although the big controversy is new, the actual practice isn't. For years striking workers have resorted to public-aid programs during long walkouts. But both management and labor officials agree that the liberalization of welfare-eligibility rules, the development of new programs such as food stamps, and especially the unions' growing sophistication in taking advantage of such aid have made welfare for strikers much more significant in labor-management struggles.

A few samples illustrate this increasingly important role.

The GE and GM Strikes

In the 101-day national walkout by a coalition of unions against GE in 1969-1970, strikers collected an estimated $30 million of publicly financed aid, ranging from food stamps to welfare checks to unemployment compensation, according to one AFL-CIO official. In Massachusetts, more than 5,000 of the 20,000 GE strikers went on welfare, collecting more than $2.3 million.

James Compton, assistant to the president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, says there is "no question" that public aid "played a very major role" in the strike against GE. He credits the AFL-CIO's community-services department with a "tremendous effort" to tap all available public benefits. The public benefits, in fact, dwarfed the unions' strike funds; the $30 million in public aid was 10 times larger than the special fund the AFL-CIO collected for the union coalition.

In last year's 10-week walkout at GM by the United Auto Workers Union, strikers collected $12 million to $14 million of federally financed

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Are Workers Antiwelfare? Not When They're on It

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

Workers' attitudes toward welfare may be changing as unions increasingly tap public aid in strikes, many observers believe.

"Once the worker crosses the threshold into the welfare office," his feelings tend to change, says Herbert R. Northrup, who is conducting a major study of the subject. "Once on welfare, you lose your aversion to it," he says. "This means that many people who previously felt that welfare was demeaning now feel that it is their right."

Others agree that the stereotyped antiwelfare views attributed to workers may be incorrect. Leo Perlis, an AFL-CIO official, says that years ago "one of the toughest jobs was to convince our people that it was not a shameful thing" to accept welfare when on strike. "Now there is less reluctance. There is no longer the shame," Mr. Perlis observes.

Welfare officials say that striking workers increasingly adopt the attitude that they are entitled to their "share" of public-aid programs because their taxes support the welfare system.

Strikers on Welfare: Union Use of Public Aid Results in Growing Ire

Continued From First Page

food stamps in October and November, the U.S. Agriculture Department estimates. In Michigan, according to state statistics, 75,000 of the 200,000 GM strikers there were certified eligible for food stamps; 25,600 received welfare under either the program for aid to dependent children or general-assistance plans. The dependent-children payments totaled $4.3 million in the last three months of 1970.

The Westinghouse Strike

In a five-month strike by the United Electrical Workers Union against Westinghouse Electric Corp.'s big plant at Lester, Pa., the welfare caseload in surrounding Delaware County ballooned. When the walkout by 5,700 workers started last August, the county had 367 persons in one category of dependent-children relief for families headed by males; that more than doubled, to 779 persons, by January, when the strike was in its last month. The relief rolls dropped back sharply after the strike ended Jan. 25.

These and similar cases are the subject of the first comprehensive research study of the subject, currently being conducted by Herbert R. Northrup, director of the industrial-research unit at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Northrup, an authority on labor matters, believes that the use of public aid in strikes is "a major problem."

"We feel this is becoming a significant welfare cost and is having an impact on collective bargaining by making strikes longer and settlements higher," Mr. Northrup says. "From a public-policy point of view, we haven't really thought through the question of whether we can live with a system where strikes don't hurt one party seriously. I don't want anybody to starve, but I know collective bargaining can't work unless a strike hurts both sides."

Major employers are becoming more vocal in opposing aid to strikers, particularly since some of the biggest companies have been hit by long, costly walkouts.

Such aid "tends to encourage and prolong strikes," charges George B. Morris Jr., director of labor relations for GM. In a recent speech in New York, Mr. Morris said: "Permitting the trend toward public assistance to strikers to continue is one of the surest ways I know to destroy collective bargaining. Strikes serve the function in collective bargaining of bringing pressure to bear on management and the union to reach a settlement. In order to do this, strikes must pinch both sides."

Virgil B. Day, a GE vice president, charges that public aid in walkouts means "that the government is subsidizing strikes." He adds, "This doesn't help the anti-inflation game plan, and it can't be offset by (governmental) exhortations to negotiate lower settlements."

The Union Viewpoint

Labor leaders don't deny that welfare benefits make surviving a strike easier. But they contend that as taxpayers, union members on strike are as entitled to public aid as other needy people and that life isn't easy for strikers, just because food stamps or welfare checks are available.

Criticism of aid to strikers is "part and parcel of a general attack on the welfare system and on labor unions generally," contends Leo Perlis, director of the AFL-CIO's department of community services. Mr. Perlis has masterminded labor's efforts to tap public programs. Of late, he has been cranking up his defenses. Late last year, during the GM strike, he sent a letter to affiliated unions giving labor leaders suggested ammunition to "answer these attacks."

Some samples: "Taxpayers' dollars are used to feed hungry people in other countries. . . . Tax dollars feed criminals in prison. . . . Tax dollars provide food, clothing, shelter and medical care for enemy prisoners of war. Are fellow Americans engaged in industrial warfare entitled to less?"

Mr. Perlis argues that the only criterion for aid should be need, whether caused by "an act of God, an act of nature, an act of management or an act of labor." Strikers shouldn't receive public-aid benefits if they don't meet the eligibility requirements, he says, but if they qualify, they shouldn't be discriminated against because they are on strike.

Even with public help, "everybody suffers in strikes," asserts James J. Matles, secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical Workers. "It's ridiculous to say they are on easy street" if strikers are receiving food stamps or welfare checks, he says. The idled worker "just piles up a tremendous debt that he has to pay back when he returns to work," he adds.

Community Service Representatives

Partially to aid strikers, the AFL-CIO has developed a nationwide network of 180 full-time "community service representatives" in 140 areas. These union men are designated by the AFL-CIO but are on the payrolls of the local United Fund or Community Chest—organizations in which labor has considerable clout because of its large contributions. These 180 specialists perform a coordinating role in any strike by an AFL-CIO union, helping the local involved to inform strikers about public-aid programs. They also perform many other jobs that aren't related to strikes, such as helping recruit union members for United Fund drives.

The AFL-CIO has geared up its strike-assistance mechanism to swing into action in case there is a walkout today by the Communications Workers of America against American Telephone & Telegraph.

Individual unions also have their own strike-assistance setups. To prepare for the possible steel strike, for instance, the Steelworkers Union has been holding a series of conferences around the country for local union officers. These officers are told of public-aid programs, eligibility rules and application procedures.

Congress, Courts Study Issue

The debate over public aid to strikers is being echoed in Congress and the courts as legislators and jurists consider the issue.

States vary considerably in the availability of public-aid benefits in walkouts. Only two states, New York and Rhode Island, permit strikers to collect unemployment compensation, and both have a waiting period of seven weeks before a striker can start collecting.

Most states permit strikers to go on welfare if they meet the normal eligibility criteria. GE says it found in its long strike that of the 33 states in which it operates, only Texas, Virginia and Wisconsin "showed any disposition to bar strikers from collecting state welfare aid."

Under federal guidelines, food stamps, which permit needy families to greatly expand their grocery-buying power, can't be denied strikers who meet normal income guidelines. For instance, a striker's family of four with no more than $1,500 in savings and less than $30 in current monthly income could obtain free a monthly allotment of $108 of food stamps; if the family had $100 monthly income coming from say, a working wife, then the $108 in stamps would cost $25.

Congressional opponents of giving food stamps to strikers have made several close but unsuccessful attempts to ban the practice. Such an amendment was defeated in the House last December, and only last month an attempt to tack a no-stamps-for-strikers clause onto the Agriculture Department's appropriations bill for the current fiscal year was defeated, 225-172.

Key Court Case

In a key legal case, the Supreme Court recently declined to review a lower court's ruling permitting strikers to receive welfare benefits. International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. had challenged the right of Massachusetts to pay welfare benefits to ITT strikers. But the battle isn't over. ITT is asking the Supreme Court for a rehearing. Significantly, a number of states are joining ITT in asking the court to reconsider. Iowa has filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting ITT and has been followed by at least 10 other states—Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Maine, Mississippi, North Carolina, Utah, Virginia and Wyoming, according to Lorna L. Williams, special assistant attorney general of Iowa.

Michigan is among the states that can attest to the high welfare costs of a big, concentrated strike. Gerald Miller, a budget aide to the governor, says the UAW strike against GM cost the state about $25 million in added public-aid expenses, including unemployment compensation, besides costing another $100 million in lost revenues stemming from declines in collection of income, sales and corporate taxes. The $25 million covers benefits not only to strikers but also to those laid off because of the strike's impact on other employers.

ADVERTISEMENT

Welfare Reform

15 CENTS

WIN—or Lose?

'Work Incentive' Plan For Welfare Recipients Falls Short of Goals

Internal Rifts and Red Tape Thwart Training Program; New Skills, but Few Jobs

Yet the Waiting List Grows

7/26/71

By MARY BRALOVE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CLEVELAND — The agency's ambitious promise is "employment with a future"—and not just any job, but one that will meet a client's "full potential." Furthermore, it says, the job must pay sufficiently to propel the employe into "the mainstream of American life."

Into the mainstream and off the welfare rolls, that is. For this isn't any run-of-the-mill employment agency. It's WIN, acronymic for "work incentive" program. It was established in 1967 by an amendment to the Social Security Act to provide educational and job-training courses for welfare recipients. Its goal: to move these welfare recipients into a situation it calls "workfare."

The WIN center here in Cleveland is one of about 260 centers, primarily supported by federal funds, scattered throughout the country, and some observers say it's better than most others. Unfortunately for its supporters, however, Cleveland's WIN illustrates that the program has a long way to go before its goal is achieved.

"WIN is supposed to give you a hand so you can stand on your own two feet" says Cleveland resident Christine Swope, "but you end up just going down to the employment service and looking for a job."

Mrs. Swope, a welfare recipient, is in a position to know. About a year ago, a welfare caseworker referred her to Cleveland's WIN center. She jumped at the opportunity—having up to that time supported herself and her three-year-old son on a monthly welfare check, a small amount of money from her family and the income from a series of temporary jobs. She enrolled in and successfully completed WIN's eight-month bookkeeping-training course.

"Strangled by Bureaucracy"

Christine Swope's success was ephemeral. WIN was unable to land her a bookkeeping job. It turned out that prospective employers didn't consider the WIN bookkeeping course to be adequate training. Today, still without a marketable skill, Mrs. Swope continues to rely on welfare. "I'm the most disappointed in myself," she says. "I figure they wouldn't have sent me into the program unless I could get a job."

Mrs. Swope isn't the only disappointed person. Here in Cleveland, as in other parts of the country, WIN staffers are disappointed — and discouraged as well. In New York, a WIN staff member complains the program is "strangled by bureaucracy and the economy." In California, critics charge that WIN trains clients for jobs that don't exist.

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Some WIN officials, however, say that too much is expected of the program too soon. "We're talking about changing life styles," says Jewell Howison, an official in Cleveland's WIN. "We don't break the cycle easily. It isn't changed overnight." Emden Schulze, employment service director of the Cleveland program, says, "There's an assumption that everyone's employable. You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink. You're working with unmotivated people. How do you motivate them?"

A Model for Nixon

The current situation is doubly discouraging to the program's supporters, since WIN began as a great hope of liberals and conservatives alike in the battle against skyrocketing welfare costs. It is, in fact, the model for the work-training portion of President Nixon's proposed Family Assistance Plan. (There are differences, however; under the Nixon proposal, all unemployed males, and unemployed female household-heads whose children are six years old or older, will be required to register for work-training. And the emphasis will be shifted to placing these persons in any available job, rather than "employment with a future.")

For the more than 113,000 persons currently enrolled in its training programs, WIN has been presented as a major chance for social and economic betterment. But such chances, at least for the moment, seem slim. Only 20% of WIN's clients have thus far obtained jobs. And the U.S. Senate in the last fiscal year cut back WIN funds by $70 million, or more than 50%, since initial forecasts of 280,000 trainees a year have thus far proven high; only 100,000 welfare recipients will participate in the program this year.

The causes of WIN's problems are varied. In a period of high unemployment, available jobs are few and often aren't in the fields for which WIN clients have been trained. Of equal importance, however, is the fact that WIN administrators are guided by vague aims and argue among themselves over the directions, priorities and emphasis of the program, sources say. Indeed, in some centers, squabbling between local welfare agencies and employment services—which jointly administer WIN—has become sufficiently serious to threaten the program's very existence.

Crumbling Under Pressure

Critics within the program, including WIN administrators, claim that WIN's lofty aims often crumble under the pressures of expediency. "You hear a lot about 'upward mobility,'" says a Southern WIN administrator, "but then you hear a lot about getting the people through training as quickly as possible to get them off welfare."

Other detractors claim that "employment with a future" frequently becomes any available job. "We're supposed to go after a client's highest potential," says one disheartened WIN staffer, "but if he can get a spot pumping gas for $1.60 an hour" that's what he ends up doing.

A major problem is the fact that "employment with a future" means different things to different people. In Cleveland, for example, WIN clients are being trained as nurse's aides. But in Long Beach, Calif., a legal-aide client is seeking admission to the WIN program. She

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WIN—or Lose? 'Work Incentive' Plan Falls Short of Goals

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feels she's stuck in a dead-end job—as a nurse's aide.

In the case of Christine Swope, Cleveland's WIN, unable to find her a bookkeeping job, referred her to a position as a social worker's aide. Mrs. Swope, however, declined, preferring instead to pursue her goal of becoming a bookkeeper through further training.

Mrs. Swope's case isn't much different from others in the annals of Cleveland's WIN center. Since its establishment in 1968, 25% of 2,094 enrollees have dropped out of the program. About 420, or 20% of the total, have been placed in jobs—but half this group no longer holds these jobs; many of these people are back on the welfare rolls.

Nevertheless, the Cleveland WIN's Mr. Schulze claims his center has been "reasonably successful." Mr. Schulze insists, moreover, that "if you judge the program in terms of statistics, no WIN program is going to stand out."

The Cleveland chapter of the National Welfare Rights Organization, a group of welfare recipients who lobby for welfare rights, has become sufficiently disenchanted with WIN that it advises its members not to enter the program. "What for?" asks Minnie Player, the Cleveland chapter's chairman. "To learn how to scrub and cook and clean?"

Avoiding Domestic Work

But Mr. Schulze says, "We try for jobs where there's a possibility of upgrading. We try to avoid jobs like salad-makers, domestics." Cleveland's program, like those of other urban WIN centers, trains women primarily in the secretarial-clerical and hospital-care fields. Men are mostly trained as machine operators and maintenance workers. In all cases, training lasts for no more than two years. But jobs, when they are obtained, generally pay close to minimum wage—by most standards barely enough to support a small family and not nearly enough to support a large one.

Last February, for example, those of Cleveland WIN's women graduates who landed jobs found themselves situated as nurse's aides at $1.60 an hour, laundry operators at $2.12 an hour, cashiers at $1.75 an hour and bank clerks at $2.11 an hour. Some of the program's male graduates filled jobs as stock clerks ($2.75 an hour), hand packagers ($2.50 an hour), assemblers ($2.50 an hour) and tile setters ($3.85 an hour).

That was February. By last April, according to projections compiled by the Ohio Bureau of Employment, even these jobs were no longer in demand. To be sure, the bureau predicted a continuing shortage of doctors, dentists, accountants with degrees and experienced secretaries. But for WIN graduates, the only openings seemed to be in the very areas from which many were trying to escape: nursemaids, cooks, salad girls, general maids and waitresses—often at salaries not much more than their welfare checks.

Dead-End Jobs

A typical refugee from dead-end jobs is Joyce (who declines to give her last name). Before entering Cleveland's WIN program, Joyce held down jobs as a split-shift telephone operator ("After four hours they'd tell you to go to a movie and then come back and work for another four"), a waitress and a barmaid. "At the bar, I was making enough money," she explains, "but it wasn't what I wanted to be."

And so Joyce entered WIN—in the meantime supporting herself and her six-year-old [illegible] welfare check plus a [illegible] rangements. WIN's employment-service teams subsequently guide clients through the programs' so-called components, including orientation and training, and eventually into the job market.

Caught in the Middle

It is the trainees, of course, who are caught in the middle of interagency squabbles. Frustrated by administrative delays and caught in a shrinking job market, they often find themselves being bounced from agency to agency within the program—with few concrete results. Jeanette Washington, Eastern regional director of the National Welfare Rights Organization, explains the feelings of some: "There are the neighbors that say, 'Hey, you've been in a training program—where's your job?' It's a hurting kind of thing that kills, that destroys. It's pride."

WIN, nevertheless, can claim some successes. Most of the trainees who complete its programs receive a high-school diploma or its equivalent; and in some rare instances, WIN has even pushed clients through college. Other trainees have gone on to become registered nurses, draftsmen and, at one project, undertakers.

Success, however, has its price. To place less than 500 people, Cleveland's WIN spent $2.8 million. In California, the placement of some 16,000 WIN graduates cost $56.6 million, and $28.5 million is slated for fiscal 1972.

Is it all worth it? Many observers have their doubts. However, one Louisiana WIN administrator, while admitting the program doesn't always achieve its objectives, claims that WIN achieves some positive results. "Even if (WIN mothers) return to domestic work," the administrator says, "they go back at a higher level."

Texaco Completes World's Deepest Producing Well

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK — Texaco Inc. completed the world's deepest producing well to date, flowing 20 million cubic feet of natural gas a day from 4.36 miles beneath the West Texas desert.

The well, E. Riggs Gas Unit No. 1, was perforated between 21,837 feet and 23,040 feet, becoming the first well to produce below 23,000 feet. It is a development well in the Gomez (Ellenburger) gas field of Pecos County, and is located six miles northwest of Fort Stockton.

It took the record from a well in the same field drilled by Gulf Oil Corp. last year. Gulf's No. 1-7 Fort Stockton Gas Unit, one-half mile northeast of Fort Stockton, produces from between 21,544 feet and 22,825 feet.

It took A. W. Thompson Drilling Co. 146 days to drill the record-setting Texaco well. The 15-mile long Gomez field has more than 70 producing wells below 20,000 feet. Industry sources estimate they cost about $1.5 million each.

Independent operator Ralph Lowe is drilling a wildcat test 11 miles southeast of Gomez that's scheduled to reach 27,000 feet. That would exceed the record of 25,600 feet for a dry hole recently set in South Louisiana by Placid Oil Co. A Lone Star Gas Co. subsidiary, however, plans to drill to 28,000 feet in western Oklahoma.

More than half of the world's specially built deep drilling rigs are operating in West Texas, all drilling for gas. These huge rigs can support and rotate a string of drill pipe weighing up to 750 tons. Geologists estimate that much of the nation's undiscovered natural gas lies between 20,000 and 30,000 feet in depth.

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That was February. By last April, according to projections compiled by the Ohio Bureau of Employment, even these jobs were no longer in demand. To be sure, the bureau predicted a continuing shortage of doctors, dentists, accountants with degrees and experienced secretaries. But for WIN graduates, the only openings seemed to be in the very areas from which many were trying to escape: nursemaids, cooks, salad girls, general maids and waitresses—often at salaries not much more than their welfare checks.

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And so Joyce entered WIN—in the meantime supporting herself and her six-year-old son on a monthly $158 welfare check plus a $60-a-month expense allowance from the program. Through WIN, Joyce hopes to land a job as a secretary. "This is the only way (welfare mothers) can get training," she says.

If Joyce is lucky and lands a job, she will receive certain "incentive" deductions allowing her to supplement her work income with welfare payments. While WIN men are entirely cut from welfare once they're employed, WIN mothers are entitled to deduct the first $30, plus the remaining one-third, of their monthly paychecks, as well as their transportation and day-care expenses; their welfare checks are then reduced by the remaining amount.

But even with incentives, WIN's critics claim that mothers are still forced to stretch their pocketbooks. Corroborating this criticism, Cleveland's local welfare office says very few WIN mothers obtain jobs that allow them to completely sever themselves from the welfare rolls.

Defending the program, however, Ed Robinson, Cleveland's assistant welfare director, says, "The thing is to get more money into the household. . . . It's not to get people completely off welfare."

Critics are even more vociferous about the fact that WIN can sometimes force welfare recipients to participate in its programs. For example, welfare agencies must refer all healthy unemployed fathers and out-of-school males over 16 years old to WIN; and in states where unemployed fathers and youths don't receive public assistance, mothers may be "mandatory referrals." Those who refuse without good cause are crossed off the welfare rolls.

A Coercive Whip?

The fact that WIN possesses this mighty weapon has caused some opponents to derisively dub the program "WIP," for whip. "WIP coerces mothers to leave their homes," asserts Jonathan Weiss, a project director at New York's Center on Social Welfare, Policy and Law. "Mothers themselves should make the decision whether they'd rather work or raise their own children. Middle-class mothers have that choice. Why not welfare mothers?"

In point of fact, however, WIN's defenders say that it seldom uses its cutoff power, since it has many more volunteers than it has places. In California, there are currently 190,000 people waiting to get into WIN projects. Here in Cleveland, there is a waiting list of 750 prospects, some of whom have been waiting since last December. "If you've got something – anything – where they can see they can get a job or training, they'll beat down your doors to get in," explains the Welfare Dept's. Mr. Robinson.

But the doors, in some cases, are rapidly revolving, since WIN's employment-service team can decide a client is ready for employment without any further training. A Cleveland WIN worker, for example, recalls the case of a client with two years of college education who was immediately referred to a job as a general laborer for a steel company. "He was up against it," said the worker. "He had to take the job or be threatened to be cut off welfare."

WIN's employment services have in some instances accused welfare agencies of sabotaging the program by various delays. For example, while welfare agencies reimburse WIN mothers for day-care expenses, such reimbursements have sometimes fallen as much as six to eight weeks behind – compelling some mothers to temporarily leave the program.

Such internecine warfare is particularly damaging, since WIN's administrative structure demands close interagency cooperation. Welfare handles the initial referrals to WIN, as well as the medical check-ups and day-care ar-

of the National Welfare Rights Organization, explains the feelings of some: "There are the neighbors that say, 'Hey, you've been in a training program—where's your job?' It's a hurting kind of thing that kills, that destroys. It's pride."

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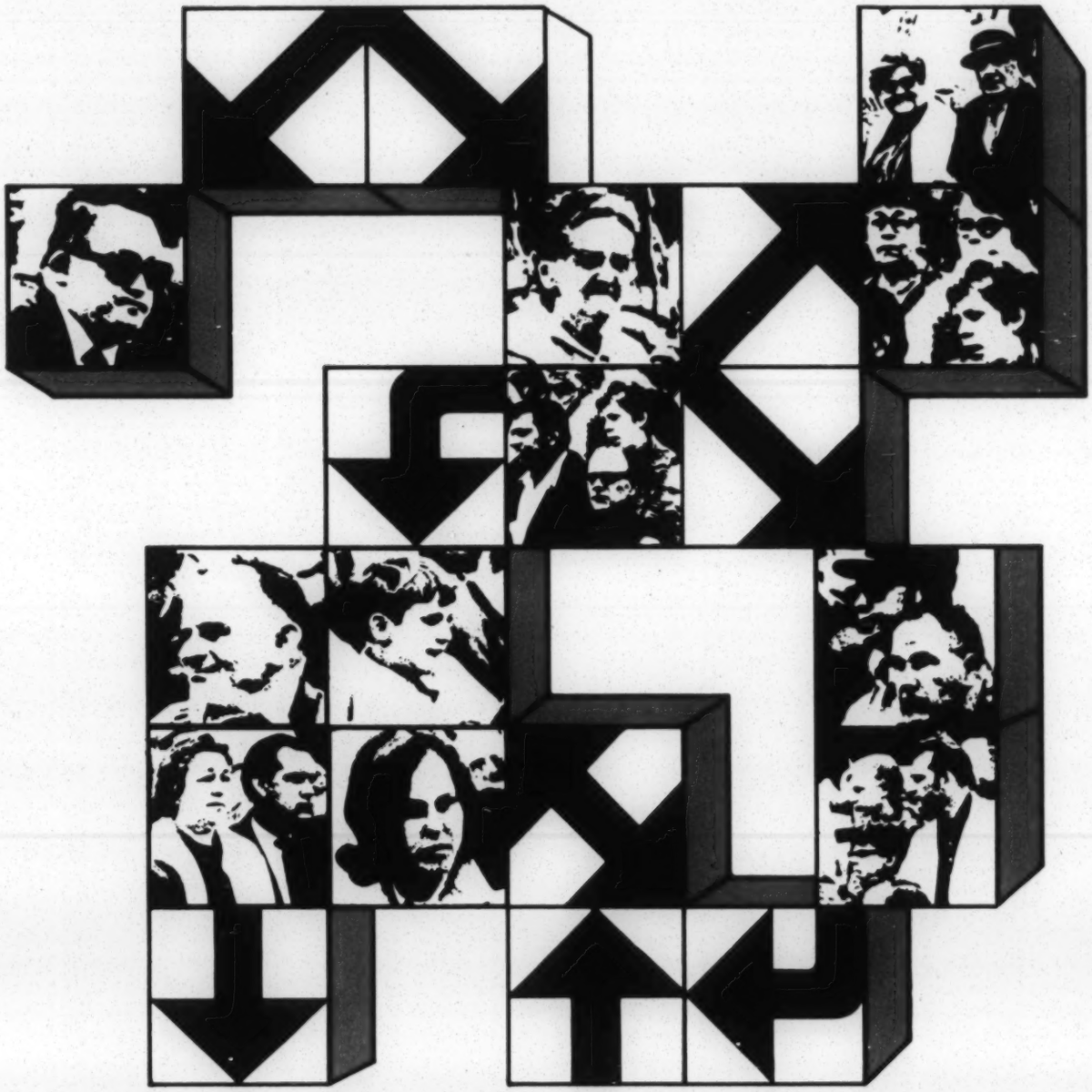
Welfare Reform

Redistributive effects of transfer payments among age and economic status groups



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS
Staff Paper No. 10

Welfare Reform

BACKGROUND ON
CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Conferees, Nixon at Odds On Day Care

By Nick Kotz
Washington Post Staff Writer

On Sept. 9, 1971, the Senate approved legislation that could dramatically change the lives of American children and their mothers. The bill would provide high-quality child day care at no cost for millions of poor children and at partial cost for millions more in the middle class.

If enacted into law, this proposal would fulfill a dream of women's liberationists. It would deeply involve the country in comprehensive early education for its preschool children. It would offer meaning to President Nixon's 1969 commitment "to provide all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development in the first five years of life." It would provide significant practical advantages to about 10 million working women who could drop their young children off at day care centers.

And it would cost billions.

The proposed Child Development Act and a far more modest House-passed bill are now being considered in a House-Senate conference committee, attended by a dozen or so members of Congress.

The conference has made some progress as Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) and Rep. Albert Quie (R-Minn.) worked out a scaled-down compromise measure.

But the conferees have made no progress with President Nixon, who has threatened to veto any child day care plan that goes beyond the administration proposals.

Mondale views day care as a problem in itself. His concept of comprehensive education, health, and nutrition care is designed to accomplish more than provide baby-sitters for working mothers. His emphasis is on "child development."

In contrast, the White House has viewed day care primarily as a way to cut the welfare rolls. The idea is to provide care for children so welfare mothers can be required to work.

The President has endorsed the broader concepts of comprehensive day care, but administration officials insist that limited funds at present must be concentrated entirely on the welfare poor.

Mondale's bill, which passed the Senate, would provide:

- Free day care, with education, nutrition, and health components, to all children from families with less than $6,900 annual income for a family of four. (The $6,900 figure is what the Labor Department says an urban family of four needs to maintain a minimum adequate standard of living.) About six million children under age 6 would be eligible for free day care, and about 12 million more between ages 6 and 14 could receive free after-school care.
- Middle-class children would receive partially subsidized day care, while the wealthy would pay for it.
- The bill authorizes spending $2 billion a year, which would provide high-quality care to only about 2 million children. Far greater spending would be needed in future years to turn the new principle into a reality.

The first $500 million would be allocated to the poorest children in such existing programs as Head Start and $900 million would provide day care for children from families with less than $6,900 income. The other $600 million would provide day care for better-off families who would pay partial or full costs.

The Nixon administration prefers passage of no child development bill now, but would accept one that is geared entirely to its proposed revisions of the welfare laws. In the House-passed welfare bill, free day care is provided to working parents with less than $4,800 income. A welfare mother could get the day care only by taking a job. Families between $4,300 and $6,300 income could take tax deductions for amounts they spent on day care.

Mondale argues that day care is needed not only to free mothers to work, but to meet urgent needs of children, who are now receiving inadqeuate custodial care or no care at all.

"There are about six million pre-school children whose mothers work," says Mondale, "yet there are only 700,000 government-certified day care slots in the whole country. We don't know what happens to many of these children. But we know that hundreds of thousands are 'latch key' children, cared for by nobody. Many are in overcrowded, custodial care that is damaging children.

"In a country in which more and more mothers are working, we better start worrying about what is happening to their children."

Mondale, Quie, and other congressional proponents are strongly opposed to present quality day care programs which serve only the well-to-do and the very poor.

"Some people in the administration" said Quie, "want to run a program only for welfare mothers. You have to have an economic mix. It's just as bad to segregate people by economic level as it is by race, I know that Elliot Richardson (the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare) agrees with us on this."

The Nixon administration gave its philosophical support, if not its financial support, to comprehensive day care after a bruising intramural battle in which Secretary Richardson won out over the Office of Management and Budget.

However, the administration is insistent that aid be limited to families with less than $4,300 income and that priority go to welfare mothers who can be put to work.

"We're talking about a major financial commitment," said a ranking HEW official, "doubling spending on day care from $600 million to $1.2 billion. Some experts doubt that even that much money can be utilized effectively. But even if it could, there is just no more room in the budget.

"With limited dollars, we should concentrate that money on those who are employable, the poorest welfare recipients. If we had our way, it would be spent mostly on children over six, giving them part-time day care after school, until their mothers got off work."

The facts of the case are that there are now 32 million women in the work force and their numbers are growing rapidly. The number of working mothers has increased by 800 per cent in the last 30 years and now exceeds 12 million.

More than one-half of all mothers with children between ages 6 and 17 are working and about one-third of mothers with pre-school children are working.

Many of these women have a real problem. They either have to leave their children alone, with a relative, or pay for day care or a maid they cannot afford. The average woman in the work force earns $4,000 a year, and cannot afford quality day care which costs about $1,600 per child. Few working mothers can afford a maid or baby-sitter at $50 to $80 a week.

This predicament of the working woman has contributed to a formidable coalition backing the Senate bill. Their allies include the women's liberation movement, and civil rights and social action groups concerned about the disadvantaged child.

About 25 national civil rights, religious, education, and labor groups helped push through the Senate bill, and they are now fighting to save its basic principles.

Democrat Mondale and Republican Quie have reached a compromise that Quie and Rep. Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.) will present today to Secretary Richardson.

It provides free day care to children from families with less than $5,250 annual income. Families with higher income would get benefits up to a cutoff point of about $15,000 income. A family with $6,000 would pay $75 per child per year. A family with $7,000 would pay $175, one with $8,000 would pay $412, one with $10,000 would pay $712, one with $12,000 would pay $1,350.

"Quie and I are taking heat from both the left and the right on this compromise," said Mondale. "If the administration tries to shave it further, that will be the end of the negotiations. A bipartisan majority of Congress favors providing day care for more than just the rich and the poor. If that's what the administration is going to insist upon, I guess we are going to have our collision."

If the administration turns down the compromise, Quie predicts that the Democratic Senate and House conferees will merely approve the original Senate bill, which the administration already has said President Nixon will veto.

"I expect that they'll turn it down," said Quie. "I think they'll find it too expensive for them. And they have a legitimate concern about the costs, and about not falsely raising people's expectations."

Several HEW officials said privately that they thought Secretary Richardson has little bargaining room left with the White House, and will reject the compromise plan rather than waging another fight in the administration. These officials said HEW would continue to insist on a plan that provided child care only to families with less than $4,300 annual income.

A White House source familiar with the situation said: "We want to stick at $4,300, but Richardson is calling the shots right now. If he is persuaded there should be a compromise, he will discuss it further with the appropriate people at the White House and the Office of Management and Budget."

WASH. POST
NOV. 1, 1971

Welfare Reform

Federal School Lunch Plan Fails To Help 1.9 Million Poor Pupils

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29—Today, nine months after President Nixon's target date of Thanksgiving, 1970, for extending the school lunch program to reach all needy children, 1.9-million children of the poor get none of its benefits.

But the Department of Agriculture—delegated the responsibility for carrying out the President's mandate—maintains that Mr. Nixon's original goal has technically been met.

Edward J. Hekman, administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service Division of the department, said in an interview that Mr. Nixon's goal was based on a figure of 6.6 million needy children—a figure used frequently by Dr. Jean Mayer, the President's nutrition expert.

Mr. Hekman said that his department had extended the lunch program to that number of needy children by January, 1971—only two months behind schedule. He said that the number now reached was 7.4 million.

A New Time Table

He said that statistics gathered later indicated that instead of 6.6 million, the estimate on which the president's goal was based, there were 9.3 million needy children.

"It would have been physically impossible to reach this new figure by Thanksgiving," he said.

Mr. Hekman said that the Department of Agriculture and the National Advisory Council created by the 1970 amendment of the School Lunch Act had discussed a new timetable.

"I expect the council to set a new target of about three years hence," he said. "The problem is bringing the approximately 20,000 schools not now a part of the program into the picture."

Mr. Hekman estimated that these schools — largely inner city or rural poverty areas—had one million eligible children.

These coupled with the 400,000 eligible but unreached children in schools that already participate in the program, would necessitate a total expenditure of about $570.4-million a year — well above the currently budgeted $389.4-million.

A Moot Question

This is based on Congress's estimate of $100-million for equipment alone and on Mr. Hekman's estimate of a Federal share of 42 cents a lunch for each of the 1.4 million additional children.

But, in view of hold-the-line posture of Mr. Nixon's budget men, it is a moot question whether this goal can be reached.

The amount spent last year for free or reduced-price lunches totaled $356.4-million. The amount budgeted this year exceeds that amount by about $33-million, according to Mr. Hekman.

Special provisions were made by Congress to provide $38-million in the fiscal year 1971 and $33-million in the fiscal year 1972 to put facilities in nonprogram schools.

The Administration cut this amount back to $16.1-million the first year and plans to use only $16-million this year.

"It may not be enough, but it will go a long way," Mr. Hekman said.

The sizable increase in the number of needy children—from 3.8 milion in 1969 to 9.3 million today—is related to state-initiated changes in eligibility guidelines, Mr. Hekman said.

The figure of 6.6 million children results from states using a $3,940 poverty level as a guideline, he said. Now, at least 22 states have raised their poverty-level standard to around $4,350.

Opponents of the department's methods of implementation and budgeting have accused the Administration in recent weeks of using calculated methods to halt the growth of the program.

The more notable critics include Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, and a group of 35 directors of state child nutrition programs.

Guidelines Criticized

Each charged that while not cuttting back in program funds, the Administration had designed Federal reimbursement guidelines that held the state liable for a matching portion above that of last year's, in effect limiting expansion in states faced with financial problems.

Members of Senator McGovern's staff charged that funds in one special section had been released to states only after they had exhausted the two principal sections that provided funds under the lunch program act.

Senator McGovern plans a Congressional hearing on the program Sept. 7. He said that he would ask the Secretary of Agriculture, the director of the Office of Management and Budget and Mr. Hekman to testify.

Groups Committed to Eradicating Hunger

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
American Academy of Pediatrics
American Association of University Women
American Baptist Women
American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
American Friends Service Committee
American Home Economic Association
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
Americans for Democratic Action
American Nurses' Association
American Public Health Association, Inc.
B'nai B'rith Women and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Boy Scouts of America
Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
Church Women United
Council on Social Work Education
The Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc.
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Executive Council of the Episcopal Church
Family Service Association of America
Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.
Hadassah
Heifer Project, Inc.
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union
Lamba Kappa Mu Sorority
Law Students Civil Rights Research Council
Lutheran Church Women
Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.
National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association for Mental Health
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National Association for Retarded Children
National Association of Social Workers
National Association of Women Deans and Counselors
National Board of the Y.W.C.A.
National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children
National Conference of Catholic Charities
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Congress of American Indians
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor Research Fund, Inc.
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches
National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the U.S.
National Council of Jewish Women
National Dairy Council
National Dental Association Women's Auxiliary
National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers
National Health Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
National Urban League
National Welfare Rights Organization
The Nutrition Foundation
Planned Parenthood/World Population
Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality
Sigma Gamma Society
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Conference Educational Fund
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
United Auto Workers
United Auto Workers, Women's Department
United Methodist Church - General Board of Christian Concerns
The United Presbyterian Health, Education and Welfare Association
United Presbyterian Women
United States Catholic Conference - Department of Social Development
United States Youth Council
The Walther League
Women's Advisory Council on Poverty
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Young Men's Christian Association

The groups listed here are some of the more prominent ones on record for fighting hunger. Any school lunch campaign should include their local members.

Hunger Crusader Extraordinary:

"All that is needed for evil to succeed," wrote Edmund Burke, "is for good men to do nothing." Barbara Bode, hunger crusader extraordinary, is a good woman who does something. That something, for Barbara, is a relentless prodding, informing, and organizing citizens' groups throughout the country to get children fed through the National School Lunch Program.

As executive director of The Children's Foundation, based in Washington, she makes it her business to challenge federal and state feeding programs whenever they fail to get kids fed as the law intends. Before coming to The Children's Foundation, Barbara was field director for the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition. Before that she was Community Developer for Prince George's County in Maryland.

In only a year and a half with The Children's Foundation, Barbara has become a recognized authority on child nutrition programs, valued consultant to action groups in every state, and scourge of bungling USDA bureaucrats. **The School Lunch Bag**, which she wrote and The Children's Foundation published last year, has become an indispensible handbook in community action campaigns to make school lunch programs work.

Barbara welcomes inquiries and solicits reports of lunch programs failing to reach all children or discriminating against the poor in any way. She knows the law and she knows how to get compliance. The Children's Foundation is at 1026 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Its telephone number is (202) 296-4451.

On May 3, Barbara presented testimony before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. She documented in such vivid detail the failures, false claims, and maladministration of the National School Lunch Program at federal, state and local levels that shock waves were felt far and wide.

She was one of the first to challenge the USDA's free lunch eligibility figures as grossly underestimated and its participation figures as grossly overestimated. Many months later, on August 29th, USDA finally admitted some of these errors.

Bode's testimony is summarized and excerpted below. The full account is available from the Senate Committee or The Children's Foundation.

Testimony to Senate: Statistical Deceipt

On May 3rd, Ms. Bode told the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Need that the USDA figures were "one of the shabbiest of numbers rackets." Citing USDA's claim in April that 6.8 million needy children were being fed free or reduced price school lunches, Bode said that free lunch participation rates in the District of Columbia alone were inflated by nearly one-sixth or 8,400 by the Department and, in South Carolina last November, by 17,314 more than the number actually reported to Washington by that state. Bode said that the D.C. government and the state of South Carolina "apparently had nothing to do with the deception because the same 'upward adjustment' or inflation was used to increase the paper participation figures for every single state."

"Official Lawlessness" Federal, State, Local

The leadership at the federal level, Bode said, is related to the abuses at the state and local level, intensifying "official lawlessness' in implementing and enforcing the new child nutrition legislation signed by the President nearly one year ago. This happens, she charged, despite the fact that the new legislation was designed to ensure every child from a needy family with at least one nutritious meal each school day. It clearly prohibited any form of harrassment or discrimination in the administration of the program.

In her testimony Bode detailed specific examples of officials breaking the law at all levels of federal, state and local government in administering the free and reduced price lunch program. In direct violation of the law, she claimed, some officials threaten that the "report cards of needy children will be withheld and that children will not be promoted until lunch bills are paid." Other children, again in violation of federal law, are forced to work for their lunches or are harrassed or discriminated against if their parents attempt to apply for that program. Some typical examples cited:

Cache, Oklahoma: One parent writes: "Monday morning all students must come forward with their lunch money. Indian children are called on and if they don't pay, they are dunned in front of classmates . . ."

Dallas, Texas: "A family of ten with an income of well below the eligibility scale is presently faced with a bill of $70 from Stoney Point Grade School. Applications for free lunch were never even sent home by the school."

Corpus Christi, Texas: "A family of five moved from San Antonio . . . They were told that the children could not enroll in school unless the school lunch debt from the previous school was paid first.The school gave in after a law suit was threatened.

Kansas: "In Johnson, a Chicano family of seven with an income of $80 a week was sent a bill for $66.85 recently. In Ulysses, a family of eight with an income of $1,740 last year was sent a bill for $29 in February."

"Funds, not free lunches for hungry children, not detailed plans for implementing the concern," Bode told the Senators seem to be the principal concern of administrators. In their plans of operation, few states even bothered to describe, as the new law requires "as a prerequisite to receipt of federal funds or commodites for the following year," how they planned "to furnish a free and reduced price lunch to every needy child" or "to extend the school lunch program under this act to every school in the state." (P.L. 91-248).

Yet the weak USDA regulations, Bode pointed out, do not even "demand a time table for extending the school lunch programs. No assurance is given that the states will be required to follow their plans. All they have to do is write them." In spite of the humane intent of the Congress, she noted, the USDA telegraphed its regional offices in October to reassure states of "no requirements to force any school into school lunch program, or to force feed children no matter how needy."

Such complacency at the federal level, Bode suggested, only reenforces state and local indifference, as she illustrated with these examples, among others:

Portland, Maine: "One school would be able to nearly double the number of lunches served per day with the addition of a steam table. However, since equipment funds are available only to districts without any school lunch programs . . . the school was unable to purchase the equipment needed to feed more kids."

Indianopolis: Authorities "proudly displayed a $500,000 central kitchen while pleading with the Church Federation to raise $42,000 for heating/cooling units in eight inner-city schools."

Bowler, Wisconsin: "Parents were told not to complain about the school lunch program, because free lunches would not be available anywhere in Wisconsin next year."

Chicago: "In February, the school food director said the school board was serving about 167,000 free meals daily. This figure exceeds the ESEA Title I number for low-income children in the public schools. The director said that consequently federal officials are threatening to charge Chicago with over-claiming."

Pittsburgh: "The school board is subsidizing reduced price lunches for students in six schools in high-income areas while there still are low-income schools without any lunch program. Officials claim they need this partial payment to keep the program in operation."

The USDA practice of overblown participation figures, Bode pointed out, together with its claims of adequate lunch program subsidies, is cruelly contradicted by the well-nigh universal report of financial straits by state and local food directors. Therefore "local officials have worked to discourage needy children from eating—not necessarily from malice but for financial reasons." Two examples cited:

Montgomery County, Md.: "In one of the nation's wealthiest counties, officials refuse even to try to bring any more of the eligible indigent children into the program. School lunch, they say, already is costing the county too much. Recently, they received departmental blessing to use school children as 'scab labor,' bringing down the food preparation costs and depressing the wages of cafeteria workers."

Earle, Arkansas: "Children who receive free or reduced price lunches are bused to other schools for lunch. They are being forced to make the choice between good meals and good education."

Yet discriminatory local administration reaps its cruel harvest too. Some typical reports:

Mobile, Alabama: (Community worker) "Free lunch children in many cases are singled out. Many families are having trouble in obtaining free lunches, and more than a few school principals seem reluctant to institute the free lunch program."

Barbara Bode

Chicago: (Church worker) "Teachers' lunches are available not only to teachers but also to any child who wants to pay the 65¢, 85¢, or $1.00 for the food which is different from the 'Type A' lunch — or a better quality, in larger quantities and fixed fancier."

Springfield, Mass.: (Lawyer) "One principal disciplines his students by excluding them from school lunch. Not to discriminate against those who receive free school lunch he also implements this practice against them."

Canton-Seiling-Longdale, Oklahoma: "Indian students complain that they are given one tablespoon of whatever food is served. When chicken is on the menu, the Indian students get the boney parts, such as neck, back, and wings. Indian students cannot go back for a second helping . . . Indian students are often pushed to the back of the line by the teachers and white students . . . One girl works in the lunch room (cleaning) for lunches for herself and a brother."

Lunch Applications: "Short, Clear, Simple"?

Bode told the senators how many school officials discourage parents from applying for free or reduced price lunches by sending home complex, intimidating application forms. Many ask questions in clear violation of the law, which calls only for "short, clear and simple" self-certification. Even the official prototypes from Northeast and Southeast regional offices, Bode charged, are "neither short nor clear" and simple only in presuming that "low-income parents are simple minded and need to be addressed as children."

For example, in **Minatare, Nebraska:** and **Mobile, Alabama**; she said, "all low-income parents are required to justify their applications on the basis of 'special needs.'" **Richmond, California,** demands that a parent sign away his rights to the protection of the challenge procedure.

Iowa: Ignoring the self-certification provision, the State School lunch director was quoted as saying, three months after school began, "that many of the kids who had applied for free and reduced price lunches were still waiting to be approved and certified while school officials were checking their eligibility."

In **Keokuk, Iowa,** Bode related, needy elementary children had to identify themselves publicly and board a special bus to the only lunch program in the junior and senior high schools. Many families declined that kind of labeling for their children. When a CAP worker complained, her supervisor was warned by school officials either to "call off his dogs" or risk losing CAP funds which "came through the school district." When officials of the Keokuk council of churches sought USDA clarification of policy for Iowa, their inquiry was "mislaid" for weeks by USDA. By the end of last year, less than 30% of those eligible in Iowa were receiving a free or reduced price lunch, Bode noted.

Photos: Paul Conklin

Michigan: A citizens committee in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Bode reported, "tried unsuccessfully for 22 months to get information about the school lunch program from local and state officials," even with aid from a senator and from national organizations. When they "found others in neighboring towns with similar programs, they decided to call a statewide meeting." Local school lunch directors, gathered from across the state, refused them an audience. When the citizens' group then planned a peaceful march to protest the refusal, its leaders received long-distance phone calls from the state capitol and from USDA in Washington, both with pleas to cancel their plans. At last they were acknowledged!

Bode urged the senators to help insure "honest and responsive public officials" who can help us "approach the President's goal of ending hunger in America for all time." By contrast, she claimed, "the Department of Agriculture still is dealing cavalierly with lives of children and with all of us." She ended her testimony with "three urgent requests."

"1. That all Instructions, Notices and Memoranda relating to child nutrition programs be published in the **Federal Register** (as HUD has just begun to do);

"2. That a percentage of the funds appropriated for child nutrition programs be used to fund poor people's groups and community-based coalitions for substantive outreach efforts to truly extend child nutrition programs to all needy children as promised in P.L. 91-248;

"3. That the "standstill" budget for child nutrition programs not be allowed to stand but rather, that it be expanded to fulfill the promise of at least one good meal a day to the 10 million needy children still going hungry in the United States today and to their classmates in the 23,000 schools still without lunch programs."

USDA Response: Harrass the Hunger Fighters

Barbara Bode's testimony before the Senate Select Committee set off quite a few sparks. The June, 1971, issue of the newsletter of The Public Information Center chronicled some of the responses. First of all, USDA responded to her accusation of playing the "cheapest and shabbiest of numbers rackets" by raising its estimates of needy children receiving free and reduced price lunches to 7.1 million.

Richard Lyng, assistant secretary of Agriculture, subsequently admitted that this figure was arrived at by inflating daily participation rates by as much as 16 per cent to allow for what he called an "absentee factor."

Two days after Miss Bode's testimony. Lyng, on a nationally-broadcast radio program titled "All Things Considered," was given full opportunity to dub in responses to Miss Bode's charges without a corresponding opportunity for rebuttal on her part. (This bizarre technique compounded by the radio announcer's statement that Lyng was appearing "with" Miss Bode, led The Children's Foundation to complain to the Federal Communications Commission that the producer of the program, the federally-subsidized National Public Radio, had violated the fairness doctrine.)

Lyng went on to accuse Miss Bode of withholding damaging information from USDA so that she could "make a splash" before a Congressiona committee. He speculated that she was attacking the Nixon Administration "for what must be political reasons" rather than trying to improve administration of the school lunch program.

But nearly all the abuses outlined in Miss Bode's May 3 testimony occurred after her appearance February 15 before the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, and all but the most recently cases were filed as documented complaints with USDA. The agency took four months to answer one complaint letter, and USDA has yet to answer the complaints submitted on February 15.

In fact, a major issue in the anti-hunger fight is the manner in which the Agriculture Department disposes of such complaints. Allegations of gross violations of the law are handled by the Inspector General's office. But what Lyng calls "an administrative type of complaint, (where) there is not much likelihood of a criminal charge or of a gross violation of law," is bounced back to a USDA Regional Office, where it is handled "administratively."

In practical terms, this means that USDA officials check out complaints with the same local officials who have been accused of causing the problem. That way, no one of any importance is offended, and communities are not troubled with the presence of federal investigators who might uncover embarrassing violations of the law.

"To file a complaint with the Department of Agriculture means to be shuttled from one department to another, to another and **finally**, a complaint written by a private citizen ends up with a kind of self-investigation by a local school itself," says Miss Bode.

State and local officials are, if anything, even less responsive than Washington bureaucrats. When Paul Matthias, director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, documented the scandalously low level of participation in free and reduced price lunch programs last April, a state education official replied, "Mr. Matthias comes out with a statement like this every six months or so. Participation in the program is never going to be perfect."

These incidents of callous injustices toward poor people are inseparable from USDA's larger policy of keeping down the school lunch budget. State school lunch plans reviewed by Miss Bode and Jean Fairfax of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund showed "without exception, an obsession with money—though not necessarily for free and reduced price lunches." Some strongly urged reduction in the rising prices of "full cost" lunches because the programs are losing paying students. Specifics change from state to state, but the need for increased budgets and planning remain constant. In California, Wilson Riles, the state superintendent of education, claims that his state ran up a deficit in its school lunch budget precisely because it took the school lunch laws too seriously.

"It is ironic to note the vast difference between the state directors' estimates of financial need—if they were to fully follow the law—and the Department's official position," says Miss Bode. "Rather than concentrate on implementing the will of Congress, the Department of Agriculture has chosen to blur the issue with inflated participation rates, maladministered regulations, delayed instructions and a destructive commitment to an inadequate budget."

—Alexander Harper

The Welfare Reform Impasse

Who Speaks for 7 Million Children?

By Nick Kotz

"Perhaps we cannot prevent this from being a world in which children are tortured," wrote French philosopher Albert Camus, "but we can reduce the number of tortured children. If we do not do this, who will do this?"Who in Washington represents the vital interest of 7-1/2 million poor American children whose daily bread depends on welfare payments under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program?

As 535 members of Congress, a President, a vast executive branch, and hundreds of special interest lobbyists compete for power here, it is hard to find anyone whose primary concern is to reduce the numbers of tortured, dependent children.

The debate over welfare reform has centered on a variety of issues: the cost of welfare to taxpayers, the effects of a guaranteed annual income on the work ethic, the consequences to society of deserting fathers and mothers who bear children out of wedlock and rear them at public expense.

These are legitimate issues of public concern. It is a matter of dispute as to who is most to blame for the helpless economic dependency of these children. One can blame parents, pernicious racial discrimination, and malfunctioning economic, social and educational systems, as well as government at all levels. But the fact remains that 7-1/2 million children now subsist on welfare payments far below the amount needed for adequate diet, shelter and clothing. And surely the children are not to blame.

* * *

How have the movers and shakers dealt with the interests and desperate needs of these children?

* The Nixon administration: President Nixon's welfare proposal boldly breaks new ground by advocating uniform federally administered welfare with a federally-paid floor of $2,400 a year for a family of four, and payments for the "working poor."

Yet the Nixon administration bill, which has now passed the House, would permit states actually to cut present benefits to 80 per cent of the children now on welfare. And the bill would permit states to wipe out $2-1/2 billion in food stamp benefits, which now make the difference whether millions of children eat or don't eat.

Although he previously called welfare reform his "number one domestic priority," the President picked out welfare and revenue sharing as the programs he would defer as part of his package of economic measures.

* The House of Representatives: The bill was developed entirely in closed sessions of the House Ways and Means Committee. The motto of chairman Wilbur Mills is "to make it hard to get on welfare and easy to get off."

Until a few weeks before House floor action, not a single representative, aside from the Black Caucus, pushed a rival bill, that would have offered more generous benefits, or at least protected the present ones.

The Committee for Adequate Welfare Reform Now had trouble finding a "Northern liberal" willing to introduce its plan for paying the welfare poor at least the government-defined minimum poverty level income, now $3,960.

* * *

In the final days before the House vote, the Black Caucus of 12 congressmen with a few white allies sought vainly to open up the bill for improvement. The Caucus favored the National Welfare Rights Organization plan of $6,500, but would have been grateful merely to pass a bill in which no welfare recipient lost present benefits or legal rights.

*The Senate: In the initial Senate Finance Committee hearings, only Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) questioned administration officials about the loss of rights and benefits by welfare recipients. The other liberals on the committee—Senators Fred Harris (D-Okla), Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), and Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) usually were absent or silent. Nelson's initial questioning ignored the needs of children, and concentrated entirely on the job rights of state welfare department employees.

Only Ribicoff has introduced a rival bill, and only one Senator, Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), has joined him as a co-sponsor. The Ribicoff bill would guarantee that no recipient lost present benefits or rights, provide for an initial minimum payment of $2,800, and increase this payment over four years to provide a newly-defined minimum adequate income.

*The business-lobbyists: The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, not unexpectedly, vigorously opposes income supplements to the working poor on grounds these payments would undermine the work force available for poverty-salary jobs.

*The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights: This coalition of organized labor, religious, civic, and civil rights groups has in the past lobbied effectively to pass civil rights laws and to defeat the Supreme Court nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell.

On the welfare issue, the Leadership conference has been splintered and impotent. The AFL-CIO first blocked the coalition from fighting for a more generous bill on the House floor. Then, labor lobbied actively for the administration bill. Now labor has broken away from the coalition's new position and lowered its sights on what the poor children should receive in public aid.

Philanthropic and civil rights groups in the coalition also have failed to distinguish themselves as battlers for little children.

Clarence Mitchell, the legislative representative for the NAACP, bowed to labor's wishes in the House welfare fight and indicates he will work closely with labor in the Senate.

John Gardner and his Common Cause, and the Urban Coalition took official "paper positions" for higher benefits, but did not lobby vigorously for them in the House. The League of Women Voters also favored more generous welfare but then refused to fight in the House and is now reevaluating its position. In fact, all three groups supported the administration bill in the final House vote.

Organized labor, Clarence Mitchell, Common Cause, the Urban Coalition, and the League of Women Voters all cite reasons of "strategy and tactics" for their actions and inactions.

* * *

These groups and newspapers including The Washington Post argued that the House was not receptive to a more generous bill, and the Senate should be the battleground. Such practical political judgments must be made and can be defended. But the new Senate battleground is one in which the modest Ribicoff alternative has exactly one other sponsor.

The much-touted "lib-lab" lobby also has a whole series of conflicts of personalities and special interests that keep it from pushing adequate welfare for children. No one wants to offend organized labor, which provides the political muscle for all liberal legislative fights.

The Urban Coalition and John Gardner at Common Cause are said to worry about offending the business portions of their constituencies and are not enthusiastic about welfare. And organized labor has other fish to fry, as it deals with Wilbur Mills about minimum wage and health insurance, issues of prime importance to the unions.

The only strong, consistent voices for the children have come from Welfare Rights and from the National Council of Churches and other church groups. Their ideas generally are dismissed as impractical. The personal style of George Wiley and his angry welfare mothers offends Washington, including the Leadership Conference professionals who consider themselves sophisticates in the Washington power process.

The militant style once was considered courageous when blood was spilled and martyrs were made in the South to win theoretical civil rights. But now the question is how much those rights are worth when 7-1/2 million children may be denied the bare necessities to start out in life.

The liberal congressmen and lobbyists say they are facing the practical realities of Washington. The next reality is getting a bill past a hostile, largely reactionary Senate Finance Committee. So maybe this committee isn't a good place to fight for children. Wait 'til the bill gets to the House floor, is their stated new practical remedy. Beyond the Senate lies a House-Senate conference and more realities. Wilbur Mills usually dominates these conferences, and he will be surrounded almost entirely by allies whose preoccupation is with "welfare chislers."

Unfortunately, the practical political realities of Washington, as they are now understood here, do not come to grips with the moral imperatives that are part of the most basic founding principles of this nation.

Adequate Income

What the School Lunch Campaign is really all about is Inadequate Income. As insane, as barbaric, as unbelievable as it may seem, this wealthiest of nations tolerates poverty, unemployment, and hunger among a sizable portion of its people. If left unchecked, these could become epidemic; even now, none of us is left untouched by their effects. Rising taxes, crime, drugs, deteriorating cities, bankruptcy, breakdown of vital services, all touch and taint our lives.

It is not enough any more to demand welfare reform because we think the poor deserve better. It has become an absolute imperative—for all of us. By fighting for adequate income for the poor, we save ourselves—no matter how 'comfortable.' Because no one can really be too comfortable these days—as long as the epidemic runs rampant.

We are reprinting on this page an article by Nick Kotz, staff writer for the Washington Post; it appeared in that paper on August 26. He begins it with a quotation from Albert Camus that should have special meaning for all of us—it explains why we have a School Lunch Campaign as well as a campaign for adequate welfare reform.

If, after you study both the article and the facing chart, you would like additional information or to enlist in the campaign, please write to either or both of the following: National Welfare Rights Organization, 1419 H Street NW, Washington, D.C. 2005 and Campaign for Adequate Welfare Reform Now, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

As the various welfare reform bills are due for consideration soon by the Senate Finance Committee, you might want to register your opinion with its members—particularly if your Senator serves on it. Its members are:

Russell B. Long **Chairman**	La.
Clinton P. Anderson	N.M.
Herman E. Talmadge	Ga.
Vance Hartke	Ind.
J. W. Fulbright	Ark.
Abraham Ribicoff	Conn.
Fred R. Harris	Okla.
Harry F. Byrd, Jr.	Va.
Gaylord Nelson	Wis.
Wallace F. Bennett	Utah
Carl T. Curtis	Neb.
Jack Miller	Iowa
Len B. Jordan	Idaho
Paul J. Fannin	Ariz.
Clifford P. Hansen	Wyo.
Robert P. Griffin	Mich.

Welfare Reform

THE BROOKINGS Bulletin

Volume 8, Number 1: Winter 1971

Can Welfare Be Reformed?

OVER THE PAST THIRTY-FIVE YEARS one prescription after another has been tried in order to reach a goal stated by both Democratic and Republican Presidents —the honorable liquidation of public welfare programs in favor of productive work. But by 1970 the number of people who were unable to support themselves and willing to prove it, and who were benefiting from one or more cash, food, or housing assistance programs, had grown to 14 million. Perhaps another 11 million with incomes below the poverty line were, for one or another reason, not participating. But more than sympathy, advice, or surplus food, relief clients need cash and a commitment to make dependency an honorable condition. These are among Gilbert Y. Steiner's conclusions in *The State of Welfare*, a new study of the politics of public relief.

Public subsidies to the poor have two principal styles or techniques, one subtle, the other crude. The subtle techniques spread benefits across a wide spectrum of the population, without regard to need. Social security is an example. Crude programs pinpoint beneficiaries and limit benefits to those who can establish need through a means test. The four crude programs considered in Steiner's study are aid to families with dependent children (AFDC), veterans' nonservice-connected cash pensions, food stamps, and public housing. The combined budgets for these four programs in 1971 total nearly $9 billion. None, however, is available solely on the basis of need; applicants must all meet some other set of criteria.

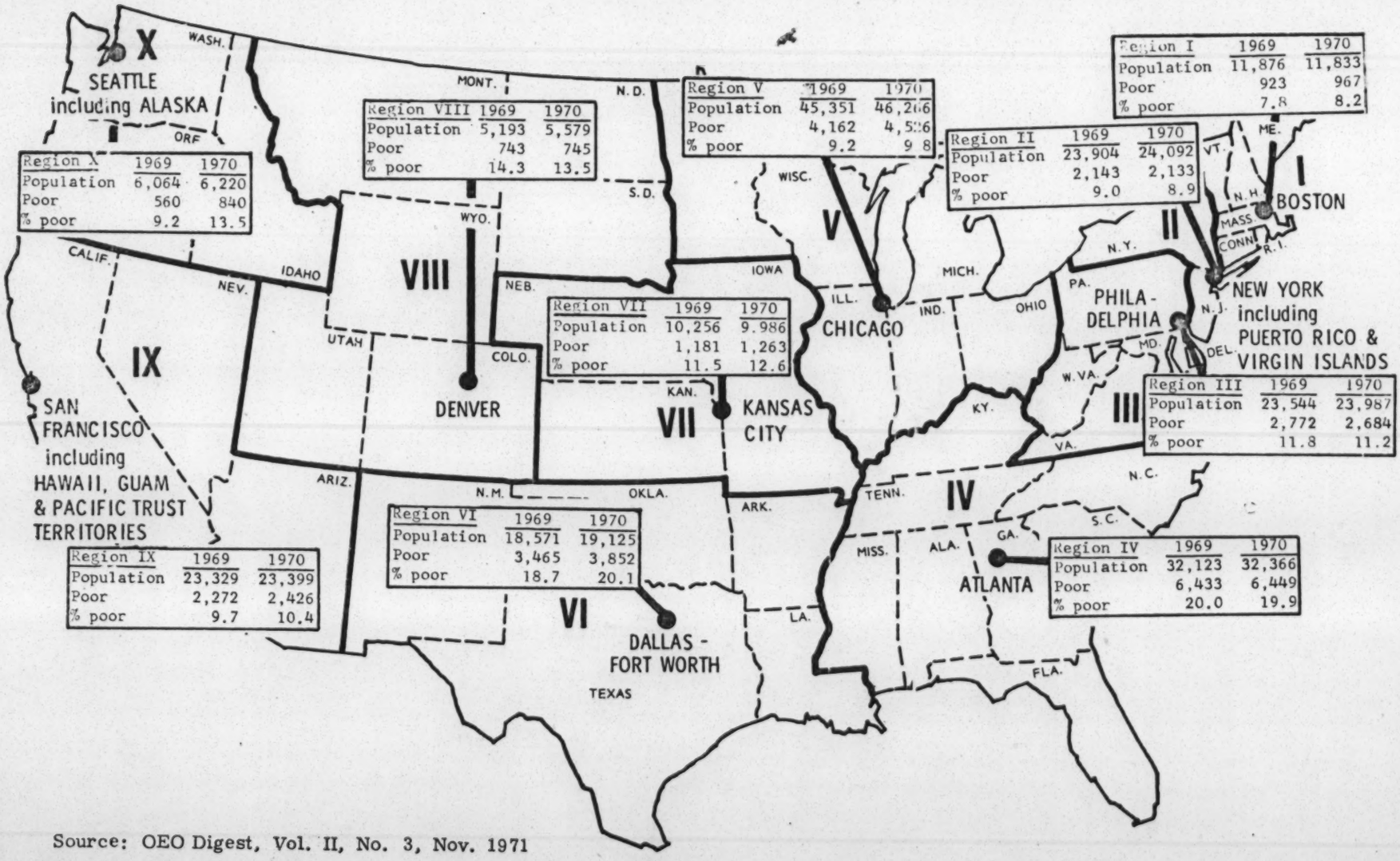
The State of Welfare, by Gilbert Y. Steiner. Published March 1971, 346 pages, $7.50 cloth, $3.50 paperbound.

This competitive relief apparatus grew out of decisions made at various times for very different reasons rather than from any concern to establish a concerted national welfare policy. Accidents of history and failure systematically to reconsider programs have resulted in a hodgepodge of inconsistencies and inequities in public relief. For example, since veterans' pensions and AFDC benefits must be furnished promptly to all eligible applicants, why should eligible applicants for food stamps and public housing have to wait for benefits until a stamp program is established in their area or until a housing vacancy occurs?

The failure of past policies is nowhere better illustrated than in the decade of tinkering that went on after 1960 in what many consider to be the heart of the "welfare problem"—the program of aid to dependent children. The public welfare amendments of

Welfare Reform

1969-1970 POVERTY POPULATIONS IN THE TEN OEO REGIONS
(Thousands of Persons)



Region X	1969	1970
Population	6,064	6,220
Poor	560	840
% poor	9.2	13.5

Region VIII	1969	1970
Population	5,193	5,579
Poor	743	745
% poor	14.3	13.5

Region V	1969	1970
Population	45,351	46,266
Poor	4,162	4,526
% poor	9.2	9.8

Region I	1969	1970
Population	11,876	11,833
Poor	923	967
% poor	7.8	8.2

Region II	1969	1970
Population	23,904	24,092
Poor	2,143	2,133
% poor	9.0	8.9

Region VII	1969	1970
Population	10,256	9.986
Poor	1,181	1,263
% poor	11.5	12.6

Region III	1969	1970
Population	23,544	23,987
Poor	2,772	2,684
% poor	11.8	11.2

Region VI	1969	1970
Population	18,571	19,125
Poor	3,465	3,852
% poor	18.7	20.1

Region IX	1969	1970
Population	23,329	23,399
Poor	2,272	2,426
% poor	9.7	10.4

Region IV	1969	1970
Population	32,123	32,366
Poor	6,433	6,449
% poor	20.0	19.9

Source: OEO Digest, Vol. II, No. 3, Nov. 1971

Welfare Paper

Atl. Const. 1/11/72

Welfare Rolls Up---Errors, Too

A flood of new welfare applicants in Georgia has resulted in many incorrect payments, but the state's errors are still lower than the national average, according to the State Department of Family and Children Services.

"These incorrect payments reflect the fact that the welfare system has been almost overwhelmed by the tremendous changes that have occurred within it over the past four years," said a statement from Welfare Director Jim Parham's office.

The national average for ineligibles in the programs for the aged, blind and disabled was 4.9 per cent, while the figure for Georgia was 3.9 per cent, the department said.

There was a national average of 5.6 per cent — compared with 4.2 per cent in Georgia—for ineligibles for aid to families with dependent children (AFDC).

The welfare statement further said, "In Georgia the AFDC rolls tripled from January 1967 to January 1971. Handling this flood of new applicants and acting on them within the required 30-day time limit has severely strained the system."

It was reported that during the 1970 calendar year Georgia's welfare eligibility workers handled 125,916 new applications, did 269,801 recertifications and handled 240,537 food-benefit certifications.

"Caseloads have been so heavy," the welfare department said, "that work must often be done hurriedly to meet time requirements. The department's request for funds to hire additional eligibility workers to lower caseloads was turned down last year. . . .

"In such a large, complicated system errors are bound to occur. Inexperienced workers make errors in applying the regulations. Clients, many of whom are illiterate or poorly educated, give the wrong information, usually by mistake and occasionally by design."

Welfare Reform
sup p2 & 3

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C.
by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 12, No. 1 January 3, 1972

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

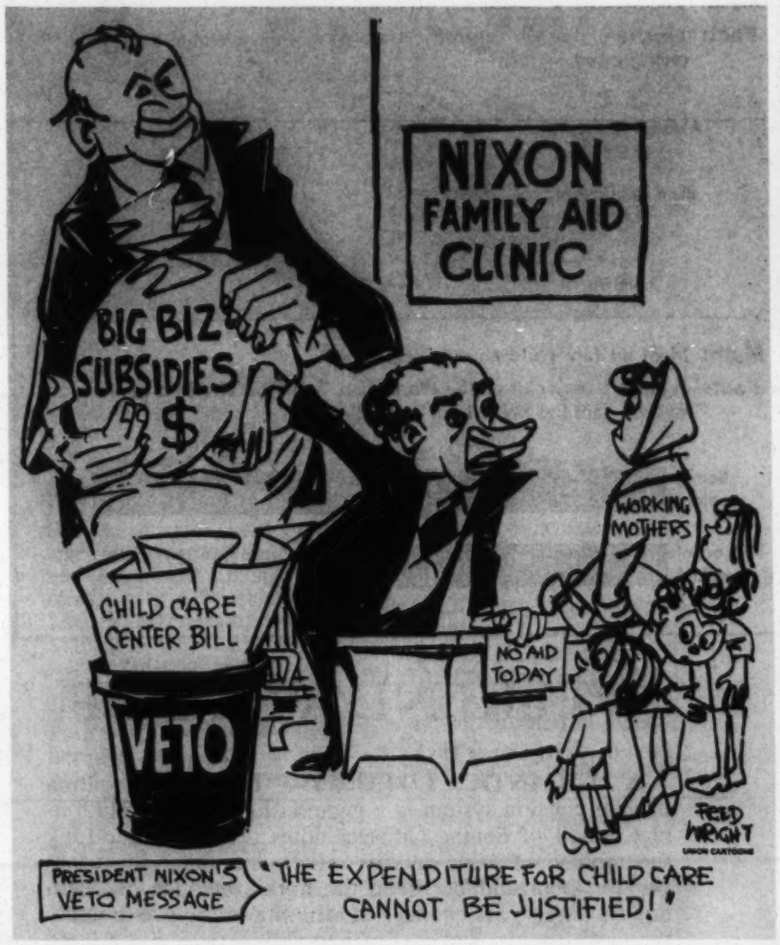
WEEKEND WRAPUP

1972 IS THE YEAR which will decide if Richard Nixon is a one-term President. During 1971, Mr. Nixon took some Democratic tools and turned them to his own political advantage, and to the nation's. But whether he has his heart in it all, we'll see this year. Will his economic controls (trickle-down with some neat cosmetics to fool the public) and search for peace (a weekly summit) work or won't they? Only time can tell. The unfairness of the wage freeze has been slightly mitigated by Congress, but the holdup on the aerospace contracts is another indication that Big Business is in the saddle and working people have to take it on the chin. The inflationary pressures are not coming from the sectors of the economy where organized labor is strong, but the myth persists that workers are affluent and greedy. Even housing costs are not to be blamed on construction labor—since most of the inflationary bulge comes from soaring land costs, rising interest rates, and little of the housing construction today is covered by building trades contracts.

ESCALATION OF THE WAR in Indo-China is a bad sign for any hope that U.S. troops will get out—completely. The romantic notion that a residual group of 50,000 U.S. troops should stay indefinitely is certainly a way to condemn our prisoners of war to the agony of indefinite imprisonment—and many of the POW families are painfully wising up to what is being done to their loved ones. The destruction which U.S. bombs do on Indo-China is sowing bitterness which generations will take to undo.

THE PAST YEAR will be remembered by working mothers as the year they got a slap in the face from the President, whose veto of the child care bill meant that more women work long hours at low pay and continue to pay for child care out of their pitiful earnings, while men can deduct everything imaginable as a business expense. The press did little to publicize the child care fight, a presidential veto does not get as much space as a Florida summit meeting—but the word is slowly moving out to the hinterland, and it's bound to be an issue in this year's election.

ONE WORTHWHILE THING the Nixon administration did was to push for welfare reform. There are big differences in the various proposals pending. The Nixon plan would actually reduce income for many needy people trapped in big northern cities, but it would help the southern poor. However, the Nixon people have taken to giving the issue some visibility—witness the "Welfare Myths vs. Facts" booklet which is the basis for the New York Times chart on page 2 of this week's issue. But the Republican and Democratic conservatives are still balking at even the crumbs offered by the Nixon plan—thus the political impasse in Congress, which with some luck we may break during 1972.



JOHN EDELMAN proudly walked the halls of Congress as "a labor lobbyist" and he did as much as anybody to establish the broad spectrum of interests which has generally characterized the labor lobby in Washington. As Harry Conn of Press Associates recalls, even his legislative opponents listened with a certain awe at John Edelman's elegant brand of social concern. He called as few weeks ago to check out some facts for his autobiography, and we hope he managed to finish it before his death last week.

(Continued on page 2)

Welfare Reform

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 12, No. 3 January 17, 1972

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

Setback given bosses in bid for union vote

DETROIT—Anti-union employers emboldened by the pro-business attitude of the Nixon Administration have received a setback because of the action taken by the National Labor Relations Board against the Timken Co. plants in Bucyrus, O., UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse said last week.

The board set aside a representation election at the Bucyrus plants, which the UAW lost by 44 votes out of 1,021 cast, on the ground that the company had threatened the workers with layoffs if they voted for the union.

Greathouse, the UAW's organizing director, in commenting on the board's unanimous decision, said: "The NLRB, under the leadership of its Nixon-appointed chairman, Edward B. Miller, has allowed companies wide lattitude in making threats against workers during union organizing campaigns.

"But these threats by Timken were so blatant and so raw that even Chairman Miller could not tolerate them. We are pleased to note that the NLRB's recent bias against organized workers still stops short of complete unfairness."

A date for the second election ordered by the board has not yet been set.

During the organizing drive among the Timken-Bucyrus workers last summer, a Timken official told a "captive audience" of workers that the work force at Timken's unionized plants had been reduced by 1,576 through layoffs and attrition, but that the level of employment at the non-union Bucyrus plants had remained unchanged.

"This did not happen accidentally," the company official told the workers. "It was the result of specific plans . . . to provide job security for you."

The UAW charged Timken with "the implication that layoffs would have resulted in the Bucyrus plants had the employees been organized . . ."

The NLRB agreed with this assessment, and with the finding of its regional director that the company "interfered with the employees' freedom of choice in the election . . . by implanting the fear of loss of employment" if they voted for the union.

The UAW was notified recently of the board's action ordering a new election, Greathouse said.

Subsidies run to $308 per U.S. citizen

A congressional report said last week that direct and indirect government subsidies cost the American taxpayer "at least" $63 billion a year—and no one knows what he gets for the money.

The total figure, added up in a study by the staff of the House-Senate Economic Committee, amounts to more than $308 for every man, woman and child in America and is about one-fourth of all the federal government spends each year.

But the committee defines "subsidy" broadly to include not only direct federal payments to people—such as payments to farmers to retire fertile acres—but indirect payments such as tax deductions to people who own their own homes and whose real estate taxes are deductible.

"The system of federal subsidies seems to be somewhat out of control in the sense that it continues to grow despite the fact that we know so little about it," the study said.

Unlike direct federal appropriations, which get scrutinized by the administration which seeks them and the Congress which approves them, the study noted, subsidies, once enacted tend to linger forever—even when the purpose for which they were created no longer exists.

"This mammoth subsidy represents a mindless means of spending taxpayers' money," said Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., chairman of the committee.

"There is virtually no analysis of economic benefits and little analysis of the cost of these programs. Neither Congress nor the Executive Branch determine if alternative programs can do a better job. There is no effort to see if the marketplace would be a more efficient way to achieve the goals. There is no evidence collected to analyze each subsidy program in relation to the costs and benefits of other pressing needs."

The study said outright cash subsidies amount to $10 billion to $13 billion a year, tax subsidies amount to $38 billion, federally subsidized loans to $4 to $5 billion and "benefit-in-kind" subsidies—such as the subsidized postal system or public housing—amount to $10 billion.

Sometimes, the study said, subsidies work at cross purposes. Farmers get government payments or aid to make arid land useful through irrigation and to take land out of production.

The study broke the subsidies down into these broad areas:

Agriculture, $5 billion; food subsidies for the poor or for schoolchildren, $2.5 billion; medical care, including tax deductions for some medical expenses, $9 billion; higher education, $3.5 billion; manpower programs, including job training, $2.5 billion; international trade, $1 billion; housing, $8 billion; natural resources, including the oil depletion allowance to spur oil exploration, $3 billion; transportation, $1 billion, and commerce and economic development, $20 billion.

The study ran to 221 pages and is only the first of 40 detailed studies to be produced by the committee this year.

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Why they can give order number

OCA Union News 1/72 Welfare Reform

The Facts Refute Myths About Welfare Recipients

Fewer than 1 percent of the persons on welfare rolls in the U.S. are able-bodied males, and most of them — about 80 percent — would work if they could find a job. About half of them are enrolled in work training programs.

That fact is but one of nine brought out in a pamphlet issued recently by the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The pamphlet, entitled "Welfare Myths vs. Facts," was published for the purpose of exploding some of the myths about people receiving public assistance.

Not only do those myths make the victims of poverty look bad, but they also malign those social workers who are trying to make the present welfare system work, John D. Twiname, administrator of the HEW Social and Rehabilitation Service, explains.

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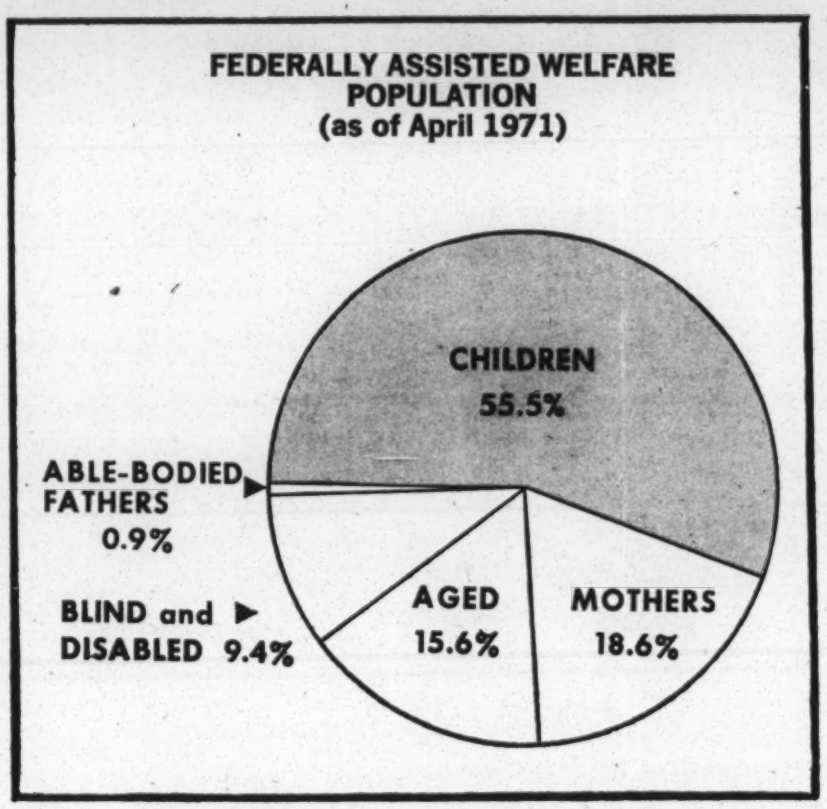
Following are the nine myths about welfare and the facts which are substantiated by official statistics compiled by the government:

Myth: Welfare families are loaded with kids — and have more just to get more money.

Fact: The typical welfare family has a mother and three children. The birth rate for welfare families, like the birth rate for the general population, is dropping. Studies show that the majority of welfare children were conceived or born before the family applied for assistance. Also, the typical payment for an additional child is $35 a month, hardly enough to cover the cost of rearing an additional child. Some states impose maximum payment limits; usually a 4- to 5-person family gets no additional money for another child.

Myth: Most welfare families are black.

Fact: The largest racial group among welfare families—49 percent — is white. Blacks represent about 46 percent. Most of the remaining 5 percent are American Indians, Orientals, and other racial minorities. Latin-American families cut across racial lines; 14.4 percent of AFDC families are of Latin birth or ancestry: Mexican, Cuban, Venezuelan, etc.



Families headed by females account for most of those on welfare—black or white. Studies have shown that such families are less able to survive economically than those with both parents present, regardless of race.

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Myth: Why work when you can live it up on welfare?

Fact: The average payment to a welfare family of four with no other income varies among states, from a low of $60 per month in Mississippi to a high of $375 per month in Alaska.

In all but four states, welfare payments have been below the established poverty level of $331 per month, or $3,972 per year, for a family of four.

Myth: Welfare's just a dole, a money handout.

Fact: Money is necessary to a family lacking subsistence, but it usually takes more than just cash to help the typical welfare family get on its feet and back into the mainstream of our society. Welfare families also receive one or more social services such as health care advice, financial counseling, employment counseling, and services to secure child support, to improve housing conditions and to continue school.

Myth: The welfare rolls are full of able-bodied loafers!

Fact: Less than 1 percent of welfare recipients are able-bodied unemployed males. Most of them—80 percent—want work. About half the men are enrolled in work training programs.

The largest group of working-age adults on welfare are 2.5 million mothers of welfare families, most of whom head families with no able-bodied male present. About 14 percent of these mothers work, and 7 percent are in work training. If day care were available for their children, and if job training and jobs were to be had, it is estimated that another 35 percent would be potential employes. Seventy to 80 percent of welfare mothers consistently report they would work if present barriers to employment are overcome.

Myth: Give them more money and they'll spend it on drink and big cars.

Fact: Most welfare families report that if they received any extra money it would go for essentials. A survey of welfare mothers showed that almost half would spend it primarily for food. Another 28 percent said they would spend any additional money on clothing and shoes. The survey found that 42 percent of mothers bought used clothing or relied on donated clothing to help make ends meet. Seventeen percent of the mothers said their children occasionally stayed home from school because they lacked decent clothes and shoes.

Nearly 10 percent of the mothers in the survey said they would spend extra money on rent for better housing, and 13 percent said they would spend it on a combination of food, clothes and rent.

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Myth: Most welfare children are illegitimate.

Fact: A sizable majority — approximately 68 percent — of the more than 7 million children in welfare families were born in wedlock.

Myth: Once on welfare, always on welfare.

Fact: The average family has been on the rolls for 23 months. The number of long-term cases is relatively small — only 7.3 percent have been on welfare for 10 years or more. Such cases are likely to involve some form of disability. Surveys show that the majority of welfare families are also embarrassed by welfare. Most want to move off the welfare rolls, but it takes the average family about two years to overcome its problems.

Myth: Welfare people are cheats.

Fact: Suspected incidents of fraud or misrepresentation among welfare recipients occur in less than four-tenths of 1 percent of the total welfare caseload in the nation. Cases where fraud is established occur even less frequently. The overwhelming majority of recipients are not wilfully misrepresenting their situations.

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Those are the facts. The next time you hear someone launch a tirade about welfare recipients being cheaters and too lazy to work, or characterizing them as people having illegitimate children merely to collect additional welfare money, lay a few facts on them. Explode those welfare myths!

Montana Voters Turn Down State Sales Tax

Montana voters in November proved that an aroused public can overcome tremendous financial advantage by following two simple steps: (1)

posing the tax spent only $28,000 in its winning effort.

Immediately after the

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1972

Welfare: Separating Myth and Fact

By RICHARD A. SNYDER

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, apparently stung by taxpayer criticism of ever-more-costly welfare programs, has published a booklet in its own defense. Like any piece of propaganda, it may tell us something about its creator. It certainly doesn't contribute much clarity to the confusion surrounding welfare and its dilemmas.

The booklet, "Welfare Myths vs. Facts," has been widely circulated by the department and has served as the basis for a number of newspaper articles. It purports to explode "popular misconceptions" about welfare and welfare recipients.

Such misconceptions "not only malign the victims of poverty but the social workers who labor with dedication to make the present inadequate welfare system work," says John D. Twiname, HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service administrator, in the pamphlet.

While conceding that the current system is indeed inadequate (and putting in a plug for the Nixon welfare reform legislation), the booklet nonetheless argues that the present system is being unfairly criticized by those who suggest, for example, that many welfare recipients are lazy or unethical.

Or, as the HEW frames the proposition:

"Myth: The welfare rolls are full of able-bodied loafers!"

"Fact: Less than 1% of welfare recipients are able-bodied unemployed males."

Are Statistics Accurate?

Even if that statistic is accurate it is deceptive, for it implies that finding jobs for these men would have a negligible effect on welfare. The fact is that there is an average 3.7 persons per family on relief, which means that this percentage, rather than 1%, would move off the rolls if the breadwinner went to work.

But is the figure accurate? Or has HEW been too generous in interpreting who is "able-bodied"? For example, it recently came to light that the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare had entered into a formal plan with HEW's regional office in Philadelphia to permit any physical impairment of either parent—however trivial—to qualify the family for federal and state funds under the federal work incentive program. Those with no more impairment than the need for eyeglasses qualify the family for cash, food stamps and free medical aid.

Emphasis on males alone is also misleading. It ignores the mothers, a huge and largely untapped work force. As Blanche Bernstein of the New School for Social Research in New York City has pointed out, about 25% of the welfare mothers in New York City, for example, have at least a high school education, making them eligible for many jobs advertised. Half of all mothers have only one or two children, making day-care arrangements feasible.

As part of its denial that many welfare recipients are employable, HEW makes the point that mothers and children get most of the money spent for welfare.

This is true in the sense that Mother cashes the check. However, the indirect but actual beneficiary is more often the absent father. If he leaves his family and lives alone he can spend all his wages on himself, a comfortable equivalent of bachelorhood. If he lives with a woman who is not his wife, he is similarly favored in an economic sense, especially if she is on welfare or employed and their incomes are merged. If he makes clandestine visits to his own home, his paycheck and his wife's welfare check in combination give the outwardly separated family a double income.

There are cases, of course, where the mother is widowed, or the father is ill, imprisoned or otherwise incapacitated. But these do not explain why deserted families on welfare increased from 12,000 to 80,000 in New York City within seven years. Responsible sociological opinion, typified by Nathan Glazer of Harvard, points out that there is a cash incentive to break up the family, or not to form it. For example, the unwed mother on welfare and the putative father on wages would lose her income if they marry.

For years welfare apologists prefaced any discussion of relief with references to the "aged, blind and disabled," which made any criticism of welfare seem hard-hearted. Now that these have become a bare quarter of the whole cost, the stress has been on children and mothers, with discreet avoidance of the men whose escape brought about the situation.

Another straw man from the HEW booklet:

"Myth: Give them more money and they'll spend it on drink and big cars."

"Fact: Most welfare families report (in an HEW survey) that if they received any extra money it would go for essentials."

One can hardly imagine a recipient testifying otherwise, at least in any inquiry conducted by the department. Other random surveys, however, have disclosed push-button telephones, stereos, new and expensive furniture in homes receiving public assistance, and other luxuries purchased with public assistance grants. Credit is often readily available to public assistance recipients because merchants have confidence in the flow of funds.

HEW has special difficulty in encouraging good judgment in spending because the current thrust in welfare is to separate the computing of eligibility from the rendering of social services, such as advice on budgeting, family management, child care, homemaking and employment. It is a tenet that the recipient should not be submitted to the "indignity" of having such advice thrust upon him.

"Myth: Once on welfare, always on welfare."

"Fact: The average welfare family has been on the rolls for 23 months. . . . The number of long-term cases is relatively small."

The department's own figures don't wholly confirm its position. By its charts, more than a third of those on welfare have been there three years or more. HEW personnel admit, moreover, that this does not take into account "repeaters" who have been on for varying periods previously.

In fact, "on-again, off-again" welfare is the case with many recipients, as local administrators acknowledge. For these families, welfare becomes the quickest port of call in any emergency. The easy availability diminishes the likelihood that the recipient will be resourceful, take part-time or overtime work to bridge the gap, or solicit help from relatives.

Unto the Third Generation?

The most familiar situation in which welfare has become a way of life is the young unwed mother and her child. And when the child in turn becomes an adolescent and becomes pregnant, a third welfare generation has begun.

According to HEW's pamphlet, 32% of the more than 7 million children in welfare families were born out of wedlock, and these demonstrably constitute much of the caseload that is either on relief on a long-term basis or at recurring intervals.

HEW puts the average length of time a family is on welfare at 23 months, but information in the files of Chairman Wilbur Mills' House Ways and Means Committee establishes the figure at 42 months; this figure would be even greater if welfare rolls weren't growing so fast.

There is an astonishing lack of data in HEW with respect to how long the closed cases had been on welfare (the department says no studies have ever been made in this area), and data on this group is needed for an accurate index. Any figure based on those on relief at any given point in time also obviously doesn't include the prospective remaining period each case will be on the rolls, nor does it include any period present recipients may have been on the rolls prior to that point in time.

A more immediate question involves the 14.5 million on welfare: To what extent are their incomes accurately measured?

Dr. Bernstein and others have pointed out that figures on poverty and low incomes aren't reliable. Many families are prone to report net rather than gross figures and to be inexact about part-time earnings and teenagers' income. Or the wife is frequently the source of information about her husband's income but is ill-informed about it. In other words, many families commendably have income from assorted sources, which brings them slightly above the poverty line, although the statistics provided show they are below it.

This also serves to explain in part why many in rural and small-town America would be shocked to be told that they are in poverty. They live frugally but [illegible]

While conceding that the current system is indeed inadequate (and putting in a plug for the Nixon welfare reform legislation), the booklet nonetheless argues that the present system is being unfairly criticized by those who suggest, for example, that many welfare recipients are lazy or unethical.

Or, as the HEW frames the proposition:

"Myth: The welfare rolls are full of able-bodied loafers!"

"Fact: Less than 1% of welfare recipients are able-bodied unemployed males."

Are Statistics Accurate?

Even if that statistic is accurate it is deceptive, for it implies that finding jobs for these men would have a negligible effect on welfare. The fact is that there is an average 3.7 persons per family on relief, which means that this percentage, rather than 1%, would move off the rolls if the breadwinner went to work.

But is the figure accurate? Or has HEW been too generous in interpreting who is "able-bodied"? For example, it recently came to light that the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare had entered into a formal plan with HEW's regional office in Philadelphia to permit any physical impairment of either parent—however trivial—to qualify the family for federal and state funds under the federal work incentive program. Those with no more impairment than the need for eyeglasses qualify the family for cash, food stamps and free medical aid.

Emphasis on males alone is also misleading. It ignores the mothers, a huge and largely untapped work force. As Blanche Bernstein of the New School for Social Research in New York City has pointed out, about 25% of the welfare mothers in New York City, for example, have at least a high income.

There are cases, of course, where the mother is widowed, or the father is ill, imprisoned or otherwise incapacitated. But these do not explain why deserted families on welfare increased from 12,000 to 80,000 in New York City within seven years. Responsible sociological opinion, typified by Nathan Glazer of Harvard, points out that there is a cash incentive to break up the family, or not to form it. For example, the unwed mother on welfare and the putative father on wages would lose her income if they marry.

For years welfare apologists prefaced any discussion of relief with references to the "aged, blind and disabled," which made any criticism of welfare seem hard-hearted. Now that these have become a bare quarter of the whole cost, the stress has been on children and mothers, with discreet avoidance of the men whose escape brought about the situation.

Another straw man from the HEW booklet:

"Myth: Give them more money and they'll spend it on drink and big cars."

"Fact: Most welfare families report (in an HEW survey) that if they received any extra money it would go for essentials."

One can hardly imagine a recipient testifying otherwise, at least in any inquiry conducted by the department. Other random surveys, however, have disclosed push-button telephones, stereos, new and expensive furniture in homes receiving public assistance, and other luxuries purchased with public assistance grants. Credit is often readily available to public assistance recipients because merchants have confidence in the flow of funds.

HEW has special difficulty in encouraging the case with many recipients, as local administrators acknowledge. For these families, welfare becomes the quickest port of call in any emergency. The easy availability diminishes the likelihood that the recipient will be resourceful, take part-time or overtime work to bridge the gap, or solicit help from relatives.

Unto the Third Generation?

The most familiar situation in which welfare has become a way of life is the young unwed mother and her child. And when the child in turn becomes an adolescent and becomes pregnant, a third welfare generation has begun.

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This also serves to explain in part why many in rural and small-town America would be shocked to be told that they are in poverty. They live frugally but to their own satisfaction on limited resources, or sometimes on help from kin. Census figures are thrown out of kilter by the Amish farmers, for example, who would classify as underprivileged if measured by the absence of radios, TVs or cars, but who manage to earn sufficient income to buy expensive farms for their sons.

Bismarck is reputed to have said that people are happiest if they know little about how their laws and sausages are made. He might have included welfare administration. What is everyone's business has become no one's business except the social scientists', and they haven't given satisfying answers.

Burgeoning Demands

Legislators, at the state level particularly, are becoming frustrated by the burgeoning demands of welfare, which drains educational and other parts of the state budget. And they bear the lament of taxpayers who feel the pinch of welfare and other costs. States, responding to grass-root pressure, cut back on grants. HEW, with its pamphlets, seeks to justify its system.

Welfare is an enormously complex issue, and one that tends to arouse strong emotions in all concerned—from the needy recipient to the taxpayer who foots the bill. Any progress toward a solution of what society can and should do to care for its destitute—a solution that has evaded man since the beginning of history—will be made only through cool rationality.

It is natural that HEW react defensively to criticism and state its case positively. It would be unrealistic to expect it to quote Edward C. Banfield of Harvard, for example, to the effect that current welfare policies encourage idleness, dishonesty and reduced production.

The public has, however, a right to accuracy and objectivity, and HEW propaganda broadsides such as "Welfare Myths vs. Facts" are no help at all.

Mr. Snyder, a Lancaster, Pa., attorney, is a ranking minority member of the Pennsylvania senate's Public Health and Welfare Committee.

Wel. Reform 21/8/72

Prudence and the Poor

W-S-J

One of the trickiest features of the administration's welfare reform proposals is the one that would supply welfare benefits to the "working poor."

Such benefits might serve their intended purpose of encouraging recipients to find jobs and of relieving the resentments the working poor feel towards the non-workers who live almost as well by means of welfare aid. On the other hand, subsidization of the working poor might in practice prove to be really subsidization of penurious employers. If the latter proved to be the case, another extremely costly federal program would have misfired.

It thus is encouraging that the President has agreed with Sen. Ribicoff (D., Conn.) that the working poor provisions of welfare reform be pilot tested before a full-scale welfare reform program is put into effect. Sen. Ribicoff has been a staunch supporter of welfare reform, but his pilot test proposal indicates that he is sensitive to the misgivings that have been expressed by Senate critics of the reform.

It is, of course, possible that welfare reform, even with the pilot testing provision, will have a great deal of difficulty getting through the Senate. And there is no certainty that pilot testing over a limited time would answer all the questions that need to be answered about income maintenance concepts.

But pilot testing deserves far greater use in government than it has had in the past. An auto company management that tooled up to build a radically new car without first building a prototype and running it thousands of miles on the test track would be thought daft, and rightly so. Social programs are more complex than automobiles, involving as they do human motivations and intricate interactions. When they are attempted on a national scale—which is happening more frequently as the federal government expands its role in the so-called "people program" area—a misfire can squander enormous resources.

We are not sure what will come of welfare reform. Certainly there is an urgent need to rationalize the present system of coping with the problems of the needy. But it would be a mistake to assume that matters are so urgent that major changes should be introduced without careful debate and testing.

After the record of the 1960s, one thing should be clear. It is cheaper and safer for everyone if Congress and the administration take the time to examine programs with extreme care before pushing them into law. When they don't, the country often faces a hard and protracted recovery from the lack of prudence.

PEPPE

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REVIEW *and* OUTLOOK

WSJ 2/10/72

The Welfare 'Test'

The Nixon administration and Senator Ribicoff have negotiated a trial run for the part of the administration's welfare reform plan that would make payments to the working poor. Fine. Now, the next step is to figure out how to tell whether the plan passes or fails once the results of the test are in.

Will the plan be a success if it raises the incomes of the working poor? Or will the measure of success be that it costs no more than the estimates? Or to succeed in the test, must the plan demonstrate persuasively that supporting the working poor reduces the number of non-working poor on the welfare rolls? Or will the trial run be a success if it seems merely to reduce the rate of growth in those rolls?

In other words, what is it we want welfare reform to accomplish? We say this at the risk of being tedious, for we have been asking the same question through two years of welfare debates. Yet not only has the question never been answered, it has been all but ignored. Proponents of reform argue the present system is a mess, which is certainly true, but they persistently refuse to recognize that the problems are real, requiring not merely good faith but also hard choices.

No test will make the choices go away. As a matter of fact, enough research has already been done to allow a pretty good guess of what a trial run will show about how low-wage workers will react to supplementary payments: They will stop working as much overtime as they now do.

Where would that result leave us? Apparently the working poor would not react to a guaranteed annual income by dropping out of the labor force, at least in the short run (and it's hard to conceive a test that would tell us anything about the long run). Certainly life would be more nearly fair if low-wage earners did not need to work longer hours than most of us. Yet if they reduce their working hours and thus their income when they receive supplements, the government is going to be rowing upstream trying to raise their incomes and lift them out of poverty.

When such complexities are likely, it's all the more important to have a clear purpose in mind. So far as we are concerned, the problem welfare reform ought to be trying to solve is the creation of a permanent non-working class, cut off not only from the economic system but from the social bonds and attachments that work carries. The specter of such a class has been writ large in the explosive growth of the welfare rolls during the 1960s.

The surface test of whether welfare reform is succeeding, then, is whether it restrains growth in whatever part of the welfare rolls represents non-workers. As it happens, the growth has been pretty well contained in the last year or so as the states reacted to budget pressures. In our minds this makes the pressure for federal-level reform far less acute, though there are still good arguments for cleaning up the inconsistencies and often perverse incentives that result from the present patchwork of federal and state welfare laws.

If there is to be federal reform, though, its design needs to recognize what the states' experience in the last year or so again demonstrates, that there are two basic ways to keep welfare caseloads within some bounds. One is keeping benefit levels low enough so that they do not compete with low-level wages. The other is heavy administrative pressure toward putting recipients to work.

The administration purports to favor strong work rules, and the version of its bill written by the House Ways and Means Committee in fact takes useful steps toward stronger administration. The ardent liberal backers of the bill find neither remedy acceptable, though; they want both high benefits and lenient ("humane") administration. With these differences, it's easy enough to see why none of the backers want to talk much about first principles. Their uneasy coalition could easily be torn asunder by harsh reality.

Bringing talk about first principles out in the open might be the best possible result of the proposed trial run. Further research might not tell us much we don't already know, but the task of deciding in advance what constitutes success and what constitutes failure brings everyone face to face with the questions that need to be asked. It's going to be hard to design a sensible reform plan, after all, so long as those designing it haven't agreed on what they're trying to do.

Welfare Reform

INFLATION HAS SHARP TEETH

Social Security Called Leaky Umbrella

An INSIDE REPORT

By JOHN T. WHEELER

WASHINGTON (AP) — By the millions, America's aged wait each month on faded front porches, at windows commanding the sidewalk or in often dangerous apartment house halls near the mailbox.

It is the day most need no red circle around a calendar to remember. It is the day for the Social Security check, a paying back of money they or their spouses gave through their working lives in trust to the government.

They often wait in fear that through some horrible mistake—and there are few—a computer or the mails will betray them. And that green punch card Treasury check is all that prevents them from sliding into economic chaos.

There are other days they wait for welfare checks or funds from their children.

If it all comes together, if there are no unexpected medical bills or other unforeseen major expenses, then the millions of retired poor and near poor can scrape along somehow for another month with disaster averted.

But Social Security was never meant to make America's elderly financially secure. The name of the sprawling bureaucracy was only a catch phrase dropped into the public relations mill in the mid-1930s. It is a mandatory social insurance program that assures no standard of living or even a living at all. It guarantees only against total loss of income in case of death, disability or retirement of breadwinners.

The present program is under attacks of varying intensity from the White House, congressional liberals and moderates, and lobbyists for the 20.7 million persons over 65, of whom 93 per cent draw Social Security benefits. The intensifying debate spotlights problems and apparent inequities together with fundamental questions about how relevant the Depression-era program is in an America with a trillion-dollar-plus-economy. Among them:

—Social Security was designed intentionally to provide relatively low payouts so as "not to rob the working man of his incentive to save." Yet, in many states, the average Social Security benefit by itself is less than aged persons ing, and you think you have protection. And you open it up, and the rain comes right through."

Born in the Great Depression, the program was envisioned only as providing a cornerstone to build retirement on. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in signing the bill, said: "We can never insure 100 per cent of the population against 100 per cent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and his family against the loss of job and against poverty-ridden old age."

In a separate note, the President noted: "While the amounts provided in the act do not give the amount of insurance and protection which I should like to see, it is a definite beginning."

The average monthly benefit in the early years was $15 a month. Not it is $131.

Today the fundamental concept of Social Security is being attacked, and defended, as seldom before since enactment.

The crucial philosophical issue: Should Social Security continue as an almost wholly payroll tax - supported program or be beefed up with infusions of general revenue funds as happens in West Europe? Should those who have worked their entire adult lives, albeit in relatively low paying jobs, be free of the indignity of welfare since they followed as best they could the American ethnic of hard work and self - reliance?

This year, the payroll tax went up again from a maximum of $450.50 to $468 per year. Under present law, that maximum will climb to $544.50 by 1987. But pending legislation would make even these increases seem small for those in upper pay brackets. A bill sponsored by Rep. Wilbur Mills, the head of the House Ways and Means Committee, would push maximum payroll taxes up 128.5 per cent higher on top salaries. Estimated payouts would soar as well, up to a $1,118.20 monthly maximum for a single retired worker.

But his pending legislation, which is supported by the White House, would do little for those already retired. The men and women talk of the need for increase of from 25 to 50 per cent over a few years to catch up with what is to them an ever more elusive minimum standard of living.

A major increase in Sociel Security payouts almost certainly would mean fundamental changes in the program now financed almost entirely by the payroll tax. Lobbyists for the aged, including the AFL-CIO, talk of tapping the Treasury to boost available plan would cost about $17 billion annually today and is violently opposed by uch groups as the U.S. Chamber of Comfunds by 50 per cent. Such a merce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

"General funds must and will be drawn into the Social Security trust fund," says William Hutton, executive director of the Washington-based National Council of Senior Citizens.

"Now Social Security is no security at all for old people. Under the present system it is a slow walk to poverty as meager savings are eaten up.But it's slow only if an oldster's health holds-.Otherwise it's a dead run to the poor house.

"We're a great natin with a trillion-dollar economy, but we've fallen behind 16 Western industrial nations in Europe on securing the aged-.People are starving in the United States and people are dying needlessly because they can't afford proper food, medicines and long term medical care. How can anyone justify this?"

In Britain, pensions can run about 50 per cent of the average wage. In Sweden, it is roughly 75 per cent. The achievement of a 75 per cent level in the United States would roughly triple present payroll deductions and wipe out the present $9,000 ceiling. Those advocating major improvements say there would be a working man's revolt if such taxes were imposed and losophy" on which Social Security was founded and still operates. They argue the nation's social consciousness has expanded dramatically but unevenly in postwar America to the point that those who live on welfare can live far better than those who worked their entire adult lives and now depend entirely on Social Security

In New York, for instance, a single person 65 years old qualifies for an average of $185 a month and a couple could get $243. In New Jersey, a couple would get about $242 and $6 a month per person for food stamps. As in most states, Social Security recipients who do apply for welfare get no more than those dependent wholly on welfare. The amount of the Social Security check is deducted from the welfare check they would receive if there was no other income.

One argument, that is echoed in many quarters, including the halls of Congress, is that the system is rigged to take advantage of the aged's aversion to welfare and their poliitcal quiessence.

Hutton specifically mentioned food stamps which many of the aged consider the most demeaning of the welfare programs. In interviews they said that as embarrassing as it was to convince local welfare workers of their poverty, showing up in the local supermarkets with food stamps degraded them before friends and neighbors.

Food stamps, under a program to start this year, can mean a saving of nearly 50 per cent for couples with the lowest Social Security incomes and 10 per cent for couples nudging the $222-a-month maximum income set by Washington. The stamps are purchased through welfare at discount. For instance, a couple with $131 income would get $60 worth of stamps for $3.

Welfare, just as Roosevelt envisioned it, is the back-up program for the retired. Under pending legislation given fair chances for enactment, Old Age Assistance, now administered by the states, would be abolished and a $150-month "floor" would be built under the aged. Food stamps also would be abolished.

The problem with Old Age Assistance, many sources agree, is that older Americans feel it is demeaning to go on welfare.

Many conflicts of the multi-program approach may be wiped out when and if the Mills bill finally reaches President Nixon's desk. The measure combines the President's requested welfare reforms with an overhaul of the Social Security system, including an immediate 5 per cent benefit increase. The bill is stalled in the Senate because of opposition to the welfare portions of the measure.

Top payments for those in upper income brackets would jump to $1,215.90 a month per couple by the year 2000 from the present $426.60 a month. Estimates for median payments include jumps of 56 per cent by 1985 and by just over 100 per cent in 1995.

The Mills bill also includes provisions for automatic cost of living increases under certain circumstances. But even the Mills bill would not guarantee all oldsters will cross the poverty line. More than half of single retired persons probably would remain below the line even assuming there is no further inflationary pressure on the dollar.

For broader Social Security reforms, with far less chance of any immediate success have been proposed, notably by Democratic presidential hopefuls Sen. Edmund Muskie and Hubert H. Humphrey. Their plan would bring massive amounts of direct federal budgetary support to Social Security. "It would," said one lobbyist, "give everyone else in the country the same treatment as congressmen and the president now enjoy. Ever hear of a retired congressman on welfare?"

Some of those opposed to further expansion or tinkering with Social Security say there are plenty of private options open to those who seek an adequate income on retirement.

106
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2—'65 Plymouth Sedans
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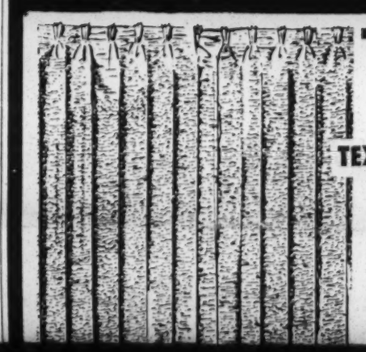

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—Social Security was designed intentionally to provide relatively low payouts so as "not to rob the working man of his incentive to save." Yet, in many states, the average Social Security benefit by itself is less than aged persons get on welfare alone.

—Federal figures show Social Security checks to some 73 per cent of the single elderly leave them below the poverty mark. The majority of couples hover at the same mark. In all, three million to four million aged are below the poverty line and six of 10 persons on welfare are Social Security recipients.

—While the cost of living has risen 281 per cent since the program began, Social Security benefits have jumped 596 per cent. But the eldegly and their lobbyists contend in the past two decades alone the portion of the aged's budget covered by the federal payments has slid from one-half to about one-third.

Welfare rolls are open to many on Social Security but the benefits are passed up by hundreds of thousands, usually because of the stigma welfare carries.

—The White House Conference on the Aging reported that to bring all those over 65 up to a minimum standard of living would cost $55 billion more a year. This would be a 50 per cent increase over present Social Security payments.

Pension plans and annuities for today's retired workers cover but few at the bottom of the economic ladder. And those who are covered have seen inflation take shark-like bites out of their dreams for "the golden years" of retirement.

—Militancy among the aged is up, and in the 1972 presidential year their voices are being heeded. But even the expected 5 per cent increase in benefits will mean only $6.51 a month more to the average old age beneficiary.

—Social Security's newest field, medicare, is credited with prolonging the lives and with easing the last years for hundreds of thousands. But critics contend there are unneeded financial barriers blocking many from meaningful medical insurance.

—Most other Western industrial nations, including Britain and Sweden, dip into federal revenues to bring their elderly a proportionately far better standard of living. The United States depends almost entirely on the payroll tax.

Social Security, American style, was summed up for many retirees by a New Jersey senior citizens' club leader in testimony before a congressional committee. It is, he said, "like a leaking umbrella. You go outside when it is rain-

lives, albeit in relatively low paying jobs, be free of the indignity of welfare since they followed as best they could the American ethnic of hard work and self - reliance?

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But his pending legislation, which is supported by the White House, would do little for those already retired. The proposed 5 per cent increase will mean but little $3.52 a month, to those with the $70.40 minimum benefit. The maximum for single persons is $313.10.

"Not enough," cry pensioners and leaders of increasingly militant organizations representing the aged. These

up.But it's slow only if an oldster's health holds-.Otherwise it's a dead run to the poor house.

"We're a great natin with a trillion-dollar economy, but we've fallen behind 16 Western industrial nations in Europe on securing the aged-.People are starving in the United States and people are dying needlessly because they can't afford proper food, medicines and long term medical care. How can anyone justify this?"

In Britain, pensions can run about 50 per cent of the average wage. In Sweden, it is roughly 75 per cent. The achievement of a 75 per cent level in the United States would roughly triple present payroll deductions and wipe out the present $9,000 ceiling. Those advocating major improvements say there would be a working man's revolt if such taxes were imposed and that only general revenues — which workers would have to help pay but not so visibly — can be made politically palatable.

In testimony before congressional committees, advocates for the aged repeatedly call for scrapping of what they term the "Depression-Era phi-

Sylvia Porter's 9-part series will help you beat the April 15 deadline

Save on taxes

BEGINS TUESDAY FEBRUARY 22

in The Atlanta Journal

You may pay more taxes than you need to if you are filing your federal return the same way you did last year. Financial columnist Sylvia Porter brings you details on the latest IRS rulings and decisions in her 9-part, Save on Taxes series which begins Tuesday in The Atlanta Journal. Learn how you can save on medical expenses, support and alimony, casualty losses and automobile costs. Discover the big breaks for the businessman and how you can get an automatic filing extension. Read and save!

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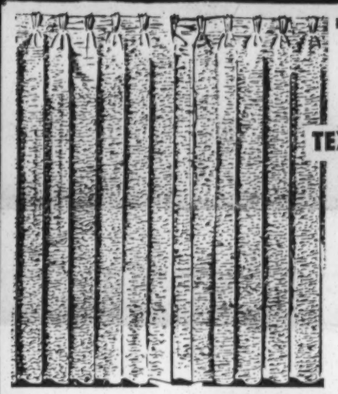

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Welfare Reform

Should Blacks Get Special Social Security Benefits?

OCAW Union News 3/'72

By SYLVIA PORTER

SHOULD the official retirement age for blacks to become eligible for full Social Security-Medicare benefits be lowered from today's 65 to 58?

Should our present Social Security laws be amended to give sharp raises in benefits to black retirees, their widows and their dependents?

Don't sputter! Responsible leaders of the elderly blacks are seriously pressing for moves along these lines — and the issue of a lower Social Security eligibility age for blacks was submitted for debate at the recent White House Conference on Aging.

To my mind, anything even approaching this would be a step toward disaster, would open up hideous traps, would actually endanger our entire Social Security system — and would almost surely be condemned as illegal under our anti-discrimination laws.

Nevertheless, "The average black man doesn't even live long enough to collect his Social Security," argued Dr. Inabel Lindsay, retired dean of the Howard University School of Social Work, at a meeting of elderly blacks in Washington in November. And Dr. Lindsay submitted some startling statistics:

- The mortality rate for black women in the pre-retirement 45-64 age bracket today is approximately twice the rate for white women and the rate is more than 10 percent greater for black men approaching retirement age than for white men.

- The statistical life expectancy for black males today is 60.1 years against 67.5 years for white males. That means the Negro male is likely to be dead a full year before he even qualifies for reduced Social Security retirement benefits and four years before he qualifies for full retirement or for Medicare benefits. Dr. Lindsay's poignant remark has a sombre background indeed.

- As a result of the statistics above, a black man may be required to pay his full share of Social Security-Medicare taxes throughout his working life, but then simply not live long enough to collect 1 cent of the benefits for which his taxes have paid.

According to a recent study by the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare in Washington, only one in three aged blacks collects any benefits at all from the Medicare coverage for which he or she is fully eligible and for which they have paid a full share of taxes. And this is so despite the well-known fact that the blacks among us tend to suffer a far greater share of ill health than whites — particularly the elderly black whose health needs may have been almost totally neglected in earlier years.

Among those blacks who do survive to 65 and beyond, fully half live below the official poverty line of $1,852 for an individual and $2,328 for a couple.

ONE reason for this abysmally high poverty "risk," of course, is the black citizen's generally lower level of education, training and skills. A second is the still rampant discrimination in terms of jobs and pay.

A third, not so obvious explanation for today's poverty crisis among blacks is the fact that when our original Social Security law was passed during the 1930s, blacks were working primarily in two of the key occupations not covered by the law: domestic service and agriculture. It was not until nearly two decades later, that most black workers entered the system.

And a fourth reason why so many blacks receive either minimal or no Social Security benefits is their still pervasive attitude of mistrust toward the system. Many household workers continue to persuade their employers not to report or to pay Social Security taxes on their incomes—and many household employers continue to shamefully cooperate in this tragic deception NOT of the government but of the household worker.

The answer to the acute problem of the poor elderly black is not preferential treatment — as Dr. Lindsay's call for special Social Security benefits implies. It's equal treatment. Maybe just these disclosures will help a bit.

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Rise in Welfare For Three Groups Clears Senate Unit

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Senate Finance Committee voted to increase welfare payments to the aged, blind and disabled sufficiently to raise 3.5 million of them above the poverty line.

The committee approved a plan to guarantee a federal cash payment of $130 a month to persons in these three categories. The plan would allow recipients to disregard the first $50 of any retirement income plus $50 of earned income and half of any remaining income in collecting the guaranteed minimum.

At present, the average cash payment for an elderly person on welfare is $76 a month. The figure varies from state to state.

The committee proposal would add $4.2 billion to the federal cost of welfare, $1.5 billion more than a comparable package in a welfare-reform plan passed by the House.

Sen. Russell Long (D., La.), committee chairman, said the panel probably will approve an across-the-board increase of at least 10% in Social Security retirement benefits, compared with a 5% boost voted by the House. The Senate committee still has to decide how to finance the increases.

Last month the committee voted to raise to $200 from the present $133 the minimum monthly Social Security retirement benefit for a person who has worked 30 years.

Italia's Labor Troubles

* * *

Liberalized welfare payments for the aged, blind and disabled were approved, 11-0, by the Senate Finance Committee. Under the plan, all persons in the three categories would be guaranteed $130 a month from the federal government if they had no other income. An individual wouldn't lose any welfare payment for the first $50 he draws from Social Security or from the first $50 he earns. Payments or earnings above $100 would diminish his welfare check, and if he had $360 in monthly income, he would be ineligible for welfare.

W-S.J. 4/6/72

A ruling limiting the FTC's power will be

The New York Times Magazine
APRIL 30, 1972

Welfare Reform

A Radical, Direct, Simple, Utopian Alternative To Day-Care Centers

By WILLIAM V. SHANNON

Drawing by Chas. B. Slackman.

Uncle Sam as the nation's babysitter—just what the great majority of children don't need, according to the author.

WASHINGTON.

I must share the view of those of its supporters who proclaim this to be the most radical piece of legislation to emerge from the 92d Congress.

I also hold the conviction that such far-reaching national legislation should not, must not, be enacted in the absence of a great national debate upon its merit and broad public acceptance of its principles.

Few contend that such a national debate has taken place.

—PRESIDENT NIXON,
in a veto message.

One of the most irresponsible statements I have seen in my many years in public life . . . cruel, hysterical and false.

—SENATOR WALTER MONDALE,
commenting on the veto message.

LAST Dec. 9, President Nixon vetoed an antipoverty bill which had as its major component the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971, sponsored by Senators Walter Mondale, Minnesota Democrat, and Jacob Javits, New York Republican. The child-development bill, one of the most far-reaching measures ever passed by Congress, ranking in financial cost and social implications with Medicare or Federal aid to education, deserves much more thorough discussion than it has received. The bill has never been the subject of a question at one of Mr. Nixon's (admittedly infrequent) news conferences. It is rarely, if ever, brought up during Sunday TV interviews, in which his Democratic rivals are regular participants. It rarely made the front page of any newspaper until Mr. Nixon vetoed it.

The "great national debate" which President Nixon called for has not taken place but the legislative scene has already been set for passing the bill again. Ignoring G.O.P. predictions of a second Nixon veto, the House of Representatives on Feb. 17 approved a poverty bill which includes a much expanded Head Start program and which Senator Mondale intends to use as a vehicle for adding a revised version of his child-development plan.

If another bill passes Congress this year, President Nixon is sure to veto it again, and conservatives have the votes to sustain that veto. Over the longer term, however, a bill bearing some resemblance to Mondale's is likely, sooner or later, to become law. The political arithmetic of the growing number of working mothers guarantees that.

If the centers set up under such a law are adequately financed, ideally staffed and well run, they would, in my judgment, help some of those youngsters who are the worst victims of poverty and neglect. The centers are, however, neither necessary nor desirable for the great majority of children. Moreover, because they are likely to be underfinanced, understaffed and overcrowded, I sincerely doubt they will achieve many of their objectives. Unless Congress undergoes a radical change of heart, it will try to do a $30-billion job on a $3-billion budget.

Although I am a liberal, I do not share the liberal enthusiasm for day-care centers. Such centers are not a satisfactory or desirable substitute for the full-time care and devotion of a child's own mother. President Nixon may have politically expedient motives of his own, but I nevertheless agree with the premise of his veto message, which stated: "All other factors being equal, good public policy requires that we enhance rather than diminish both parental authority and parental involvement with children—particularly in those decisive early years when social attitudes and a conscience are formed, and religious and moral principles are first inculcated."

Liberals may deprecate these Nixon words as all wet and reactionary, but much hard-earned human wisdom lies behind them. Excessive emphasis on day-care centers can weaken the family at a time when it needs strengthening. Having said that, however, I do not think the status quo is good enough. I have a radical proposal of my own to advance. It would be an alternative to day care that would enable the poor and the working poor—except those families which are most severely deprived and damaged psychologically—to take care of their own children.

But before advancing my own views, I shall set forth the argument of the advocates of comprehensive child-development

(Continued on Page 71)

WILLIAM V. SHANNON is a member of The Times editorial board.

ROUGH STUFF—Seedman forces a prisoner to face the camera, a 1962 incident that prompted the New York Civil Liberties Union to demand his reprimand for "abuse"—no action was taken.

It Is Very Hard To Smile at Albert Seedman When He Is Not Smiling at You

By PETER HELLMAN

AT 6:20 one morning last September, Albert Seedman, the city's chief of detectives, called me from his home on Long Island to say in a low but not at all sleepy voice: "We had a good one last night in Central Park. Meet me at the 86th Street station house at 8."

To go to a murder in Central Park on a fine morning in late summer is at first a little surreal. Seedman, having slept in the back of his official car for most of the slow 30 miles in on the expressway and then having started on his first cigar of the day, is clearly enjoying the walk from the station house into the park; dew is still not warmed off the grass and the sunlight is crisp in the trees. The path is empty until we stroll over a knoll to a meadow beside Belvedere Lake. Here the place is suddenly busy with patrol cars, unmarked cars, coroner's and photo-unit vehicles, news-media wagons. Cops are everywhere, prowling the bushes, writing reports, chatting, running from tree to tree marking off areas with ropes and signs that say, "Crime scene search area. Stop."

A deputy inspector gives Seedman the rundown: A 20-year-old Puerto Rican man and a 17-year-old black girl just up from South Carolina—neither of whom apparently knew any better than to be in the park at 2 A.M.—were accosted by two white men as they sat by the lake. When the Puerto Rican, Reuben Ortiz, protested the impending rape of the girl (she said later that he was a homosexual), he was shot between the eyes. When the man who did not shoot protested the murder, his partner shot him in the throat—he would die later in the hospital. Then, after she had been raped by the gunman, the girl was shot, tied up and left to die by the lake. It took her three hours to hop in a trail of blood up to the road where a patrol car found her at dawn.

Seedman starts to climb down the deceptively steep black rocks that slope to the lake. Somehow, with so many cars parked helter-skelter around the meadow and so many people rushing about, it is almost an anticlimax that down here beside the murky water is the center of all this activity — the body of Ortiz, under a red-checkered, vinyl picnic cloth. Despite the morning light he appears to be one-dimensional; he looks painted on the rock. A reporter from C.B.S. turns away and gags. Even the deputy inspector looks out into the distance. But Seedman stares down at the body for half a minute, puffing his cigar, as if he were contemplating a chessboard or an ant colony. Finally he shakes his head and says to nobody in particular, "What in hell is a girl like that doing with a guy like this?"

ALBERT SEEDMAN runs the largest municipal detective bureau in the world; at 2,900 men, it is larger than all but a dozen entire police departments. In his 13 months on the job he has taken personal charge of a half-dozen spectacular investigations, ranging from the shootings of Joe Colombo and Joe Gallo to a pair of double murders of policemen and the holdup in the Hampshire House at which Sophia Loren lost her jewels—this last case including an interrogation of the victim which, to the surprise of nobody who works for him, he did not delegate. In a period when Commissioner Patrick Murphy has shown little interest in keeping the old-line, over-50 segment of the force around, the 54-year-old Seedman has stayed on top. While other senior cops have been forced into retirement in the drive to root out corruption, Seedman managed to survive even the report that he had let the Hilton pick up the $83 tab for a dinner he hosted on the premises.

In addition, Seedman has been responsible for a momentous, if unspectacular, reshaping of the traditional division of labor between patrol and detective forces, as a result of which patrolmen, he hopes, will do more of their own spadework and detectives will be free for more specialized investigating. Seedman has also had to contend with a local homicide rate which has risen 30 per cent in the last year and shows no sign of leveling off, a situation with which he would seem to be uniquely prepared to deal, having visited the scene of more than 2,000 murders in the city since he joined the force back in 1942.

After 30 years of viewing assorted types of carnage — shootings, stranglings, manglings, poisonings—Seedman tends to regard bodies simply as questions. As he looks down at a victim, as he did that morning in Central Park, it is almost possible to hear him riffling through his mental catalogue of violence, trying to determine where this body fits in: *What was a girl like her doing with a guy like that?* The same riffling process was repeated a few weeks later while everybody else commiserated with a widow weeping copiously over the

PETER HELLMAN is a freelance who often writes about crime in New York City.

An alternative to day-care centers

(Continued from Page 13)
centers. And it is a powerful argument.

FOR any child, the years from birth to 6 are critical for his physical, intellectual and psychological development. Yet traditionally in the United States, the Government takes no official interest in a child between his arrival, when a birth certificate is required, until he is 6 years old, when the compulsory school attendance law takes effect. The assumption has been that families took care of these early childhood years. Yet the evidence is all around us that for some children, the family system has completely broken down and is not doing the necessary job of nurturing their characters, and preparing them for life. For other children, the family is still a viable emotional unit providing some strengths, but the fathers and mothers are so overwhelmed by adverse circumstances — sickness, ignorance, mental illness, inability to hold a steady job, or inability to cope with competitive, sophisticated city life — that those families need help in preparing their young children for school and later life. Still other children have competent parents who can cope with life in adult terms but who—out of ignorance, or irresponsibility, or selfishness — are not giving priority to their duties as parents; these children also need help.

Society can ignore the needs of the children in these various unfortunate circumstances but it cannot ignore them indefinitely or without cost. Sooner or later, a sizable number of them are going to show up as juvenile delinquents, as mentally retarded children, as emotionally disturbed patients in institutions, as adolescent drug addicts. Some may survive the school years but show up in prisons as young adult criminals, or in hospitals as mentally ill, or on the welfare rolls as unemployables. One or two may even show up on television screens as a Presidential assassin.

(Why *all* deprived, damaged children do not come to a dismal end, why some actually develop from this adversity a thriving will to succeed, is a blessing and a mystery. But one can speculate that behind each hard-hit child who later makes it in life there is someone—an older brother or sister, a devoted grandmother, a minister, a teacher, an athletic coach—who cared a lot and provided the youngster with a model and with guidance.)

THE Mondale bill which President Nixon vetoed is based on the theory that a big investment of money and effort in children, especially in the years from birth to 6, would save some of them from disasters later on and might actually reduce the amount of money that society now has to spend on juvenile-delinquent centers, prisons, mental hospitals, and other kinds of human repair and rehabilitation. In asserting the Government's comprehensive interest in these formative early years, the bill has many precedents, such as the long campaign against child labor, the public health effort to cut down infant mortality, the White House conferences on children and youth held once a decade since 1909, and the widely popular Head Start program enacted as a part of the poverty program.

Building on the Head Start model, the bill would go far beyond merely providing a convenient place near home or work where an employed mother could leave a child. It would establish child-development centers in every community. A child could get one, two or more meals, depending upon how many hours he stayed each day. A center would contract with outside doctors or clinics to provide medical, dental and psychiatric diagnosis and care. It would begin the education of preschool children and make available to them, as well as to older children, "summer, weekend, vacation and overnight programs." Parents would serve on the board of the center, and, if unemployed, they might be enlisted as volunteer workers or paid employes. In some circumstances, a mother might be paid to care for four or five children—her own as well as others—in her own home. This is called "family day care." Where needed, a professional or a trained volunteer would be sent out from the center to instruct and assist uneducated, inexperienced or underconfident mothers in baby and child care.

In short, this comprehensive approach is intended to be an active, responsible partner to every mother and, if a mother is absent, ill or indifferent, to serve as the best possible substitute. An ambitious concept realized in only a comparatively few existing centers, it signifies much more than the less expensive and more common day-care centers where children are, in effect, only in protective custody. "Custodial" child care is a dirty word among the experts in this field.

THE Mondale bill covers all children from birth through 14. There is comparatively little controversy, however, about the older children in the 6-to-14 age group who attend school. For them, the problem is primarily to find a place where they can play or otherwise usefully occupy themselves for two or three hours after school until their parents pick them up.

The conflict over comprehensive child-development programs concerns the 22 million children under the age of 6. In theory, the bill would permit a rich woman—Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller or Mrs. Robert Kennedy—to send her child to a development center if she wanted to pay the fee. But, as a practical matter, the bill is primarily intended to help the children of working mothers and those in poverty families. About seven million children in the under-6 age group have mothers who work. (The number of mothers in the work force has doubled since 1950, and the trend seems to be steadily upward.) About four million children live in families which are in dire poverty and about an equal number in families which are above the poverty line but still in straitened circumstances.

Poverty children are not identical with the children of working mothers, although the two groups overlap. In fact, proportionately more mothers work in families with annual incomes above $10,000 than in families with incomes below $3,000. This paradox is understandable because more middle-class women have marketable skills and have the money to pay for maids, babysitters, private nursery schools and other forms of child care. But some of the confusion that surrounds the child-development issue is caused by the

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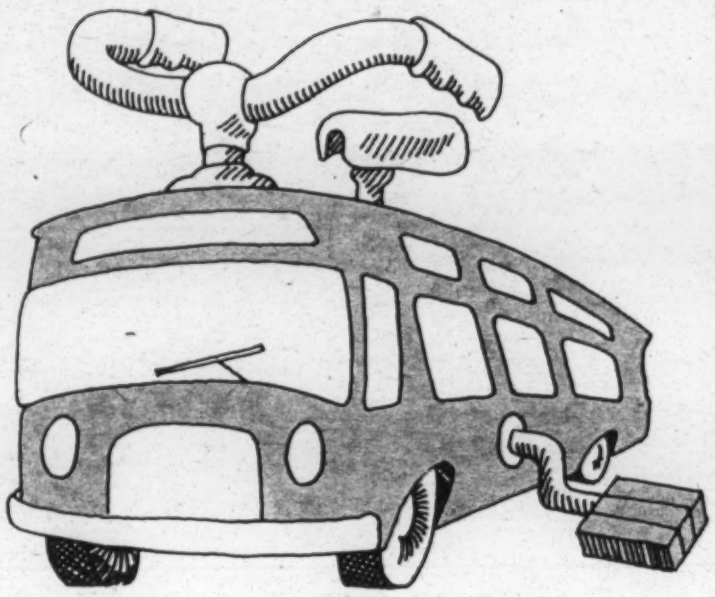

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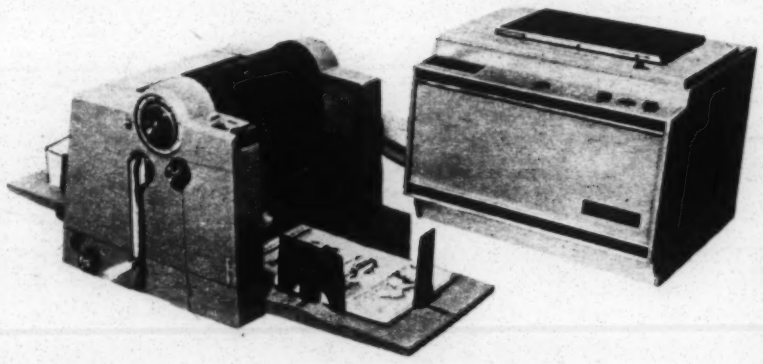

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fact that mothers in quite different circumstances — the highly paid advertising woman who lives in Scarsdale, the factory worker's wife trying to eke out her budget in Queens, the 17-year-old unwed mother just arrived in Bedford-Stuyvesant from a farm in South Carolina—are lumped together for purposes of discussion, and arguments which would be applicable to the family circumstances of one woman are used to justify or attack programs to help women in entirely different circumstances.

Although children from every kind of family could conceivably participate, the real emotional force behind the drive for comprehensive child development is the desire of liberal, compassionate people to improve the chances in life of children from the nation's worst-off families — migrant laborers and sharecroppers, unemployed miners in Appalachia, impoverished Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Indians and blacks. Two-thirds of the places in the child-development centers would be reserved for the children of these low-income families.

In testimony before a Senate subcommittee, John Niemeyer, president of the Bank Street College of Education in New York City, graphically described the plight of families trapped in a city slum. "These families needed all kinds of help," Niemeyer reported. "Typically there was a mother with four or five children, a father not in the picture regularly — although that is not true in all of the cases—and the needs run in this order, as far as we could ascertain them:

"First of all, these adults are physically ill. Secondly, they live in constant physical fear—and very real fear. Fear of the pusher, fear of the person breaking in and stealing everything out of your meager little apartment, fear of the children getting run over in the heavy traffic in the streets....

"And then the third great need, particularly on the part of mothers, is help with loneliness, with a tremendous feeling of vacancy in their lives. In fact, I am inclined to believe one of the problems that surrounds the whole question of... birth control, and so on, with people of this kind, is the problem of loneliness. Because I feel that many of these mothers, [when they have a baby] for two or three years have something to love and to fondle, and so on. I really think this fills a void in their lives, and I don't think that a knowledge of birth control will make a significant difference as long as we have these particular human emotional needs....

"Now this seems almost unbelievable, but I think that it is easy for us to put ourselves into the position of a person like this, women who spend all day in bed because there is nothing in the home except a television. And the television, of course, has been the great pacifier and mesmerizer of children because almost the minute they can see, they are propped up to watch this image that is flickering there — it's almost, I think, like hypnotism."

In what is rather an understatement, Niemeyer concluded: "These are the parents and families for which intervention is necessary."

Not all welfare mothers and their children are in the desperate circumstances described by Niemeyer. Some have personal strengths. But the apathy, physical squalor and fear are brutal realities. So are the low-grade infections and correctible physical defects which sap their energies. The question is what the state can effectively do to help. In an interview, Senator Mondale told me:

"In the last several years of traveling around the country and holding hearings on different aspects of the poverty problem, I examined all the different approaches — manpower training, enriched education, rehousing, and so on—and I kept coming back to the view that we have to reach these children in their first five years and do everything we can to improve their chances in life. For most of us, this is a great, rich, wonderful society full of hope and opportunity. But some people are outside the mainstream of American life. Are we content to say that hundreds of thousands of children because they were cheated at birth and in their early years are to be condemned to lives of failure and frustration?

"Consider a child, white or black or brown, who grows up in a community where he doesn't have enough to eat, lives in squalid, unsanitary housing, grows up without books or any kind of help, grows up in a broken home, grows up amid a depressed environment, without any health care, and then goes to what is often the worst school in town. The reactionaries of this country are trying to describe efforts to help that child as welfare, which is the code word by which we deliver money from 'decent, hard-working Americans' to this child and others like him, when in fact the issue is justice, permitting children to have the same chance in American society."

If a desire to improve the lot of impoverished children is one force behind proposals for comprehensive child development, the program's political appeal is enhanced by the benefits it offers three other groups of families: There are the families in modest economic circumstances with husbands who work but barely earn a subsistence income and wives who work part-time or full-time to pay for a few comforts beyond the family's necessities; these are the "working poor." A second group consists of middle-class women who ordinarily would not have to work when their children are small but who are driven back into the job market prematurely because of divorce, or the death or illness of their husbands. Third, there are the families in which husbands earn a satisfactory income but the women work by choice. These middle-class wives often argue for day care in terms of women's "liberation."

A fourth category might be families in which the husbands earn adequate incomes and wives do not pursue careers, but might do so if high-quality day care were available. In other words, comprehensive day care is not only a response to the increasing number of working mothers but its existence would probably serve to accelerate that trend.

Since the working poor, the widowed or divorced heads of middle-class families, and the "liberated" career women comprise a huge number of people, it is not astonishing that politicians in both parties climbed aboard the comprehensive child-development bandwagon. The bill passed the Senate, 63 to 17. Yet it is the inclusion of these other categories of people that also triggers the opposition. Their coverage makes it unmistakably clear that the Government is not setting out to cope with a limited and—if all goes well—diminishing number of impoverished children. Rather, it is embarking upon a program which could cover virtually all children and would not only recognize but confirm a profound change in the way in which Americans rear their children.

The opposition in and out of Congress has formed on both economic and cultural grounds. In the original version of his bill, Mondale proposed spending $2-billion in the first year of operation, $4-billion in the second and $7-billion in the third. These subsequent authorizations were dropped from the modified version that passed the Senate, and news stories usually referred to the bill as having "a $2-billion price tag." Once the program was fully under way, however, even if all eligible children did not participate and many of those who did were charged modest fees, the annual cost would be in the range of $20-billion to $30-billion a year. The cost of quality care for children in which food, toys, equipment and medical care are provided is at least $2,000 a year for each child. Dr. Jerome Kagan, chairman of the White House Conference's panel on day care, offered these rough estimates in Senate testimony:

"As you might expect, private centers run more efficiently than public centers. My impression is that, if you are working with preschool children 2½ to 5 years of age, $45 a week [per child] will run a pretty good private center. A public center which has more bureaucracy will probably be given $55 or $60 a week. You have to add 10 to 20 per cent for infants. It is more expensive to have a center for the first two years of life.... If this becomes a popular and approved way of raising American children, one could have half the population of children aged 0 to 6 requesting day care. You could spend all the money you want: 13 million children at $60 a week, which is $3,000 a child a year. If you pause to multiply those figures you have an enormous amount of money—$39-billion."

As it developed, President Nixon vetoed the bill for broad reasons having little to do with fee schedules or financial cost. The cost is probably not a decisive consideration for those on either side of the argument.

It gives hostile critics a handle with which to attack the bill, but most conservatives, when candid, admit that they would not like the program even if it cost only half as much. Liberals meanwhile dismiss the financial argument with the assertion that if this country can afford to subsidize aerospace companies and build a space shuttle, it can afford to invest huge sums in its own children.

More fundamental to the debate is the philosophy underlying the bill, which President Nixon attacked head-on, thereby evoking the angriest response from the bill's advocates. Liberals were quick to point out that his veto was a sop to the right wing of the President's party and that the Presidential candidacy of Representative John Ashbrook, a convinced conservative ideologue, may have had

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more than a little to do with Mr. Nixon's decision.

Most conservatives in Congress bitterly oppose President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan, better known as "welfare reform," a creditable if modest attempt to introduce the principle of a minimum income for every family. In opposing the Comprehensive Child-Development Bill, they argue in much the same way as they do against President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. Unstated but clearly visible is their conviction that a guaranteed minimum income for poor families would merely encourage them to have more babies. Their second conviction is that the poor are financial failures solely because of moral turpitude or personal weakness. If they are poor, they deserve to suffer the consequences. (This is the converse of the sentimental liberal view that the poor cannot be held morally accountable to any degree for their behavior and that society is to blame for everything.) Rejecting the evidence of new psychology and old common sense, conservatives insist upon applying a rationalistic carrot-and-stick economic theory as if welfare mothers were so many calculating Benthamites. If only the right economic pressures can be found, these conservatives believe, welfare mothers can be squeezed off welfare and onto private payrolls—as if a woman's employability in the market place were the highest test of her moral worth or her usefulness to society.

In trying to sell the Family Assistance Plan, Mr. Nixon has pandered to these conservative prejudices—and involved himself in a glaring contradiction. Thus, his welfare bill would provide $750-million annually to pay for day-care centers for the children of welfare mothers, so that these women can be trained and can work. It would apply initially to women with children over 6 and, after a short time, to those with children over 3. But in vetoing the Mondale child-development bill last December, Mr. Nixon piously warned against committing "the vast moral authority of the national Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach." Why is it right to coerce welfare mothers to put their children in Government-financed day-care centers in order to go to work and wrong to assist other women who voluntarily want to do the same thing?

Liberals and radicals, on the other hand, argue vigorously in behalf of comprehensive child-development centers for reasons which have only indirectly, if at all, to do with children and the family. They want child-care centers to energize the parents and get them involved in the community. Mrs. Maurien McKinley, associate director of the Black Child Development In-

(Continued on Page 82)

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(Continued from Page 78)

stitute in Washington, expressed a view put forward by numerous witnesses: "We believe that child-development centers can be the catalyst for total community development. It is to the advantage of the entire nation to view the provision of day-care/child-development services within the context of the need for a readjustment of societal power relationships. . . . As day-care centers are utilized to catalyze development in black and other communities, the enhanced political and economic power that results can provide effective leverage for the improvement of the over-all social and economic condition of the nation."

Translated from sociological jargon, this is the community-action theory which underlies the poverty program and the Model Cities program. It is the theory that only if the poor are organized and power taken away from "the Establishment" is progress possible. All the establishments—the politicians, the schoolteachers, the social workers, the doctors and medical administrators—are regarded as more harmful than helpful to the poor because of their heavy-handed paternalism. Without getting into the pros and cons of this complicated argument, one can see that the theory of community action has more to do with helping adults to fight City Hall than with helping fathers and mothers to rear their children.

POLITICS aside, however, President Nixon's argument against actively encouraging the shift from the family to the day-care center as the prime agent in child-rearing goes to the heart of the issue. Are child-development centers desirable for any children other than the most damaged and deprived? The unpopular truth is that any community facility—call it a day-care center or a child-development center—is at best an inadequate, unsatisfactory substitute, and at worst a dangerous, destructive substitute for a child's own mother.

In the months of infancy, a child's whole universe consists of himself and the person who feeds him, dresses him and responds to his cries and other signals for attention. Although the development of a human being is imperfectly understood since babies cannot talk, intensive research by Dr. Margaret Mahler and other experts on what psychiatrists call the "separation-individuation process" shows that in the period from approximately 6 months of age to 2 years, critically important events are taking place in the formation of a child's personality. During those months, he learns that his mother is not just an extension of himself, that he is a person in his own right, that his mother can leave him and that there are other persons in the world besides himself and her.

Superficially, it is true that anybody can feed a baby or change his diapers. But in the most profound emotional sense, a baby's whole sense of himself depends upon the warmth and consistency of the relationship that he has with the person who takes care of him. If he is indifferently or inconsistently treated by a succession of various adults—as he would tend to be if left in a day-care center for 8 or 10 hours a day—he is truly a deprived child. Psychological research indicates that anxieties, depression, passivity and other serious handicaps may develop. From 2 to 3 years of age, a toddler learning to talk and to run about can begin to stutter or suffer other impairments, from slight to serious, if he is subjected to severe emotional upheaval—such as a shift from family care to day care. In the years from 3 to 6, other important though less dramatic stages of development unfold in the child's life. For these reasons, most well-run nursery schools which serve middle-class and upper-class families rarely take children before they are 2½ or 3 years old, and do not keep them more than three or four hours a day until they are at least 5 years old.

Day-care centers have become important institutions in this country in recent years as the number of working mothers has increased, but other nations have had much longer and more extensive experience with them. Dr. Dale Meers, a Washington psychiatrist, has reported on a study of programs in the Soviet Union, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Israel and France. The report, published by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and entitled, "International Day Care: A Selective Review and Psychoanalytic Critique," is hardly an encouraging document. In the Soviet Union, Dr. Meers reports, senior officials who run the day-care centers do not make use of them for their own children. "Their preference [is] to use their

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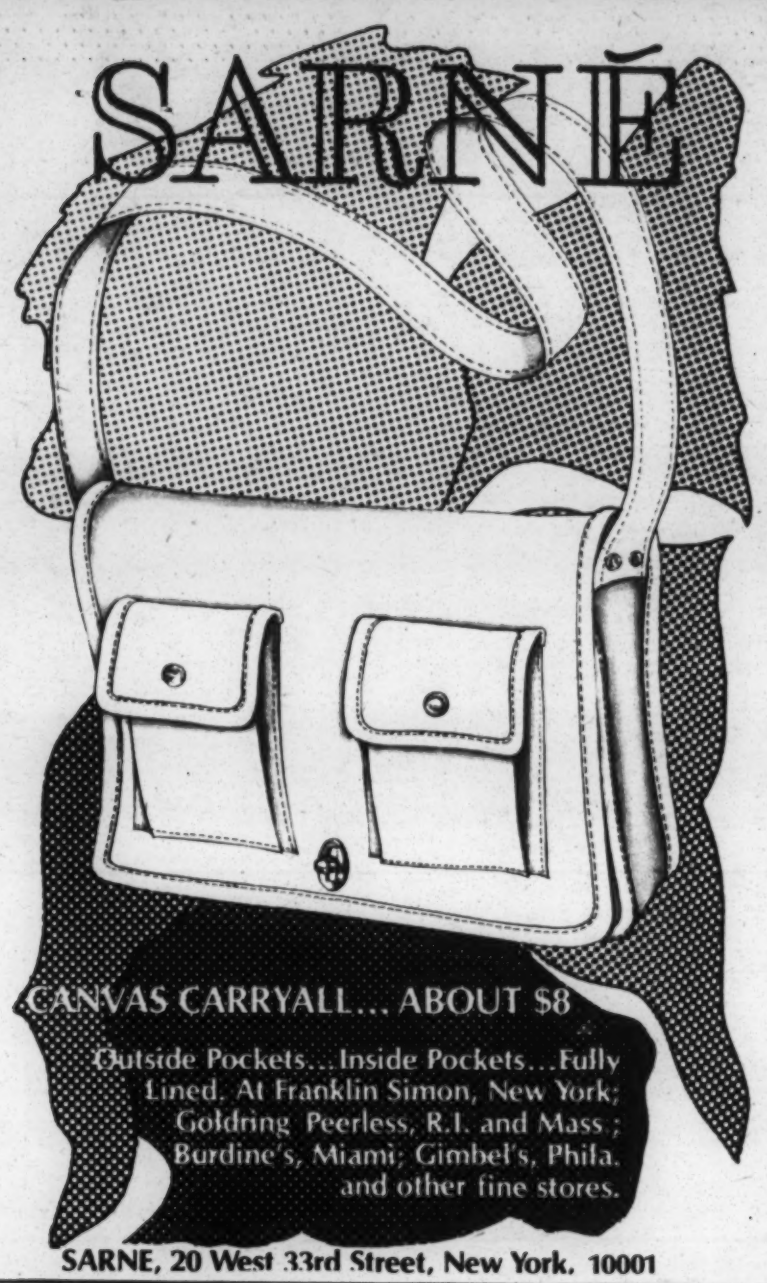

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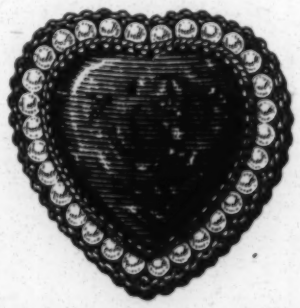

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incomes to employ someone to care for their children at home." Dr. Meers found that Hungarian officials hoped eventually to eliminate day care for children under 3 because of the "manifest unhappiness" of the child. In Czechoslovakia, the best day care "appeared hygienic, sterile and depressing." In every country, Communist and non-Communist alike, officials encountered serious problems of staffing and rapid turnover.

"Nursing staff covertly resist continuity of care of one or more babies. Indeed, it was a common experience, internationally, that care-givers often could not readily identify their children by name and, with babies, did not know with certitude whether each one had been fed. . . . The younger and less active the child in the day nursery, the smaller the amount of attention he received.

"Multiple mothering all too frequently provides an uncoordinated octopus. The multiplicity of care-givers, their overlapping of shifts, their replaceability for illness or holidays, their departures for other employment, all leave the very young child accommodating first to one and then to another."

The enthusiasts of day care more often point to Israel where many children are communally reared in the kibbutz. But more sophisticated advocates agree that Americans have a tendency to idealize the Israeli situation. "One must draw on one's own cultural tradition, one's own identities," for the institutions that will solve the problems, Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner of Cornell University observed to the Mondale subcommittee. Israel is a small, beleaguered nation with the uniquely high morale of a people who feel themselves under siege and fighting for their very existence. No comparable sense of common danger and common destiny informs communal life in the United States, a vast, rich, diverse and relatively sheltered country. A kibbutz, moreover, is a small, agricultural community where the parents work in the fields close by the "children's house" and are available to their children for three or four hours a day in the late afternoon and early evening.

Israeli practices in communal child rearing are the subject of intense controversy both within Israel and among outside experts. The evidence is not all in because really thorough scientific studies are only now being conducted, but there is some indication, as Dr. Bruno Bettelheim reported in his book, "The Children of the Dream," that kibbutz-raised children show significant personality differences from children raised in the conventional family. For example, the kibbutz children get along well with their peers and are very loyal to their group, but often seem incapable of deep emotional attachments and creative intensity.

In short, the experience of other countries with state-provided communal child care on a large scale does not suggest that this is a course on which the United States should enthusiastically embark. The risks for many, though not all, children range from mild neuroses and developmental lags to serious maladjustments.

Nor does the evidence cited in the Mondale Subcommittee's own hearings support the exaggerated claims made for parental involvement and control. The A.F.L.-C.I.O., a principal supporter of the bill, submitted a lengthy, glowing report on a day-care center operated in Chicago by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union for its own members. The report states: "Because the parents work, they are not free to come into the center during the day to investigate its benefits; after work, they are tired, with little interest in coming to evening parents' meetings. Therefore, education of the parents with regard to center capabilities is a slow process. There has been only one parents' meeting held, on a Sunday. Attendance was 50 per cent. The parents do bring the children in the morning and pick them up at night, so there is a brief opportunity to see what the children are doing and to visit with the staff."

That is the actual degree of parent participation in a center which the AFL-CIO describes as "a Rolls-Royce of day care."

THERE is a radical alternative to child-care centers which I believe would avoid the staffing difficulties, the psychic risks and the other drawbacks of communal care: Pay mothers to take care of their own children in their own homes.

Many years ago, Dr. Benjamin Spock put forward the ideal solution in his characteristically simple, straightforward language. In "Baby and Child Care," he wrote: "Some mothers have to work to make a living. Usually their children turn out all right because some reasonably good arrangement is made for their care. But others grow up neglected and maladjusted. It would save money in the end if the Government paid a comfortable allowance to all mothers of young children who would otherwise be compelled to work. . . . It doesn't make sense to let mothers go to work making dresses in a fac-

tory or tapping typewriters in an office, and have them pay other people to do a poorer job of bringing up their children."

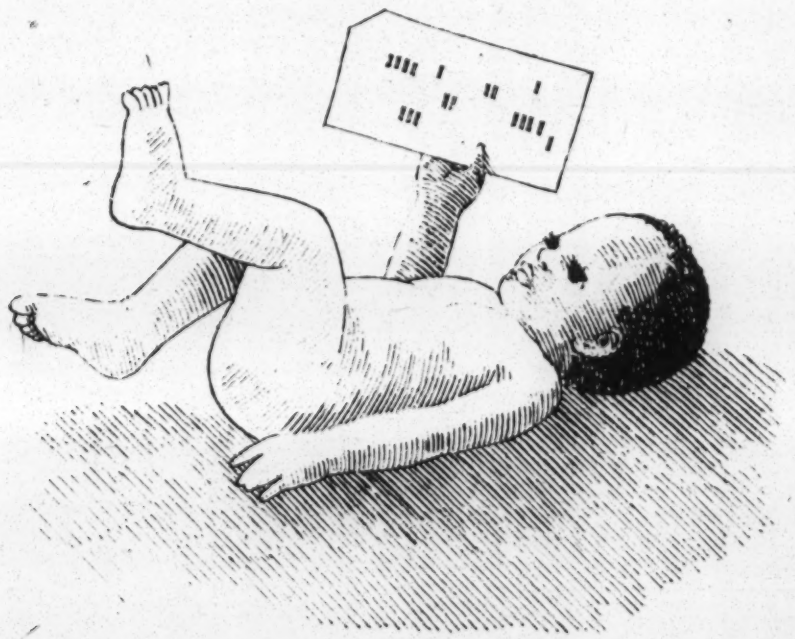
A comparison of costs suggests that the Federal Government, if it chooses to do so, can as easily pay a mother to take care of her own children as to finance them in a day-care facility. Most working mothers, unless they have high professional qualifications, would consider themselves fortunate if they found work paying $150 a week ($7,800 a year). After deductions for Federal and state income taxes, Social Security, union dues, lunches and carfare, their take-home pay would be about $100 a week, or $5,200 a year. To provide the kind of comprehensive child care which the Mondale bill envisages could easily cost $2,600 a year a child. If that sum were paid directly to the mother of two children, she would have as much income as if she went out to work.

Such an approach would not solve all the problems of all the broken and overwhelmed families at the bottom of the heap. They and their children would still need the kind of direct help that social workers have long tried to provide. But the direct approach would meet the needs of the millions of children of the working poor and of those middle-class single parents — widows, widowers and divorcées — who are perfectly capable of coping with life and taking care of their own children if only they had more money. The financially well-off mothers who work only for their own satisfaction would not benefit, because any family allowance they received could be largely offset by higher taxes.

TRUE equality between the sexes is wholly desirable, but the liberation of women must not become a potential defeat for young preschool children. Women should not try to combine a full-time job with raising small children. It is a rare and exceptionally gifted woman who does something more important in the outside world than she does during those critical first six years when she is helping to form the personality and character of a child.

Essentially, it is a matter of making a rational choice. If a young woman decided to join the Peace Corps, she would know that she was signing up for two years of her life. If she decided to go to medical school, she would know that she was committing herself to four years of hard work. I suggest that if a woman decides to have a baby, she should know that she is signing up for six years before she can return to work full time.

The direct, simple method of paying parents to stay at home with their children is perhaps utopian, basically because Americans do not believe in the family as much as they think they do. No one can say when or if Americans will reinvigorate those values which make parenthood the most serious human vocation, which are essential to sustain happy, effective families and which, if practiced, would truly make this country what it now mistakenly thinks it is —a child-centered society. ■



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Senate Unit Puts Stiff Work Rule In Welfare Bill

Families Without Pre-School Children Would Get Jobs But Couldn't Get Payments

Richardson, Hodgson Critical

5/1/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — Congress is heading into an election-year clash over welfare reform, with liberals and conservatives pushing in different directions on President Nixon's proposed family assistance plan.

The outline of the struggle became clearer Friday as the Senate Finance Committee voted 10 to four to substitute for a large part of the Nixon plan a harsher program prohibiting welfare payments to families without pre-school children.

Under the Finance Committee plan, which is likely to gather conservative support on the Senate floor, a mother or father would be guaranteed a government job at $1.20 an hour and would be eligible for a job in private industry at $1.60 an hour, partly subsidized by the government.

Committee Chairman Russell Long (D., La.) said the plan would apply to about 1.2 million welfare recipients, or 40% of those receiving benefits under the current program of aid to families with dependent children. The committee still must decide what to do about the other 60% in that program.

Shortly after the committee's action was announced, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Elliot Richardson and Labor Secretary James Hodgson attacked it as "a $9 billion step backward . . . into the leaf-raking schemes of the 1930s."

Mr. Nixon's plan, which is generally embodied in a measure that passed the House last year, would establish a federal minimum welfare payment of $2,400 a year for a family of four. Senate liberals will try to raise that figure when the bill comes to the Senate floor, probably late this month.

The Finance Committee bill would set up a federal employment corporation, which would try to place welfare registrants in private jobs. If such jobs weren't available, these persons would become employes of the corporation, doing "make-work" jobs at $1.20 an hour.

Welfare Reform (Use)

NEWS FLASH ON FAP!

May 3, 1972

Here's What's Happening with FAP

The Senate Finance Committee is in the process of throwing out the FAP (Title IV) provisions of H. R. 1 and substituting Russell Long's "Guaranteed Employment Program". (See summary below). This means that when the Senate Finance Committee reports H. R. 1 to the entire Senate it will not contain FAP but it will be worse than FAP.

Once the Senate begins to consider H. R. 1 (about June 1st) it is expected that Senator Ribicoff will make a motion to substitute his amendments for the Long version of Title IV. His motion will get 20-35 votes and will fail. A similar motion, this time substituting FAP for Long's Title is expected next. NWRO will oppose both motions.

NWRO's strategy is to oppose FAP and any amendments to FAP. If real welfare reform (such as the NWRO/McGovern $6500 Bill) is ever to be considered, FAP must be defeated now. NWRO will support any move which will aid in defeating FAP. We will welcome confusion and delay. The longer it takes the Senate to work on it, the more likely the chances that FAP will not be voted on. The Congress will recess from about July 1st to the middle of July for the Democratic Convention. If FAP isn't considered prior to July 1, the chances are good it won't be considered at all.

URGE YOUR SENATORS AND SUPPORTERS TO WORK FOR THE DEFEAT OF FAP (TITLE IV OF H. R. 1) AND THE DEFEAT OF RUSSELL LONG'S ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL.

Summary of Russell Long's "Guaranteed Employment Program"

The Senate Finance Committee has adopted this plan instead of FAP and will report it to the Senate. It is still unknown what the whole plan will be. This summarizes only the work provisions which are the only part they have completed.

1. Welfare will be eliminated for most families. Only families with children under six will be eligible for welfare. Families with an able-bodied adult and without children under six will not be eligible for welfare.

2. A massive employment program would be set up for family heads. The idea is to put family heads to work in one of three categories of jobs. Only one member of the family would be eligible. This would be the father unless he is dead, absent or incapacitated.

3. There will be three categories of jobs in the employment program. All have a 40 hour per week maximum.

A. Private or public employment at below the minimum wage. Included in this program are governmental payments designed to allow big companies to hire people at slave labor rates with the government making a payment to the employee equal to 3/4 of the difference between the wage and the minimum wage. For example, if the wage is $1.00 an hour the worker will receive a grant equal to 3/4 of 60¢ or 45¢ an hour for each hour worked.

B. Private Sector or Public employment which pays wages at or above the minimum wage.

C. Federal Public Services jobs for those unable to find jobs in categories A and B. Those jobs will pay $1.20 per hour.

4. Participants in the employment program will not be eligible for food stamps.

5. A person may choose to receive training under the WIN program but will receive only $1.00 per hour plus a 10¢ per hour bonus at the conclusion of training not to exceed one year.

6. A special payment equal to 10% of the wages covered by social security taxes will be paid to families whose head is working in either category A or B jobs. There is a $400 maximum on this payment and when a family's income reaches $4,000.00 the payment will equal $400 minus 1/4 of the amount by which the income exceeds $4,000.00. For example, if the family income rises to $5,000.00, the payment will equal $400 - (1/4 of $1,000.00) or $400.00 - $250.00 or $150.00. This payment will require separate application to I. R. S. and will be paid quarterly.

7. Families who have 5 or more members by June 30, 1973 will be eligible for a children's allowance of $25.00 a month for the 5th member, $15.00 for the 6th member and $10.00 for each additional member provided the family head is working substantially full time. If the head works less , the allowance will be reduced accordingly. The Children's Allowance will be payable in full until a family's income reaches $300 a month at which point the allowance will decrease $1 for each $2 of earned income above $300.

8. The administration of Federal Public Service jobs will fall to a new agency The Federal Employment Corporation (FEC). The FEC will pay the Children's Allowance and provide the Public Service job opportunities. I. R. S. will administer the 10% payment bonus.

Local Employment Services will be responsible for placing workers in category A and B jobs. The employment services will administer the subsidy payments for persons working in jobs not covered by the minimum wage.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

WELFARE REFORM

SMALLER WELFARE PAYMENTS for needy children than for blind or aged were approved. W-S-J 5/31/72

Texas, as do 25 other states, sets a ceiling on all welfare payments and goes on from there to make bigger cuts in the needy-child category than in the others. Supreme Court Justice William H. Rehnquist writing a 6-3 decision, upheld the Texas system, saying it didn't violate the equal-protection clause of the 14th Amendment. "It isn't irrational for the state to believe that the young are more adaptable than the sick and elderly," he added. In the same ruling, but by a 5-4 vote, the high court approved the method used by 18 states to subtract all outside income earned by needy families.

Rehnquist said there wasn't any indication of racial discrimination in the Texas welfare payments system, even though 87% of the children involved are black or Mexican-American.

A loyalty oath for school teachers was upheld by the Supreme Court. It rejected the claims of a discharged teacher that the New York statute infringes on religious beliefs of Quakers. The justices also dismissed challenges to taxes imposed by Pennsylvania and Philadelphia on the wages of New Jersey residents. And they left untouched the California Supreme Court's action abolishing the death penalty in that state.

(over)

OBSTACLES GROW for welfare reform. Its chances look dimmer than earlier this year.

Backers see need for Senate compromise between Nixon's plan and Ribicoff's more liberal proposal; a modest boost in the basic $2,400-a-year benefit might win enough liberal votes. HEW planners quietly plot details. But Nixon might reject any compromise as too expensive, repugnant to his conservative supporters. W-S-J 6/12/72

Time may work against the President's plan. Finance Chairman Long won't bring a bill to the floor until June; as convention-time nears, more Democrats might turn against Nixon. The attached higher-Social-Security bait may be lost meantime. It might be split off from the welfare bill by July 1, so the fatter checks could go out before election.

Reports persist that Nixon might prefer to have the campaign issue of congressional inaction on welfare—rather than a reform law.

8/12/72

Welfare Report/Nixon, Congress decline to check soaring social services costs

by John K. Iglehart

1300
8/12/72
NATIONAL JOURNAL
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Congress and President Nixon have made independent policy decisions not to bring the HEW Department's open-ended social services program under fiscal control until after the November elections.

The judgments were rendered on separate policy issues, but their combined impact will allow states to continue to tap the program, which, if left unchecked, could triple in size to $4.7 billion by the end of fiscal 1973.

Congress, for its part, rejected the imposition of a ceiling on the social service program's open-ended appropriation. The issue was considered July 25 in a House-Senate conference on the HEW appropriations bill (HR 15417).

The Senate Appropriations Committee had imposed a ceiling of $2.5 billion on the program, and the Senate rejected an amendment to remove it by a 39-52 vote on the floor. But House conferees, led by Appropriations Committee chairman George H. Mahon, D-Tex., objected strenuously and prevailed in conference.

Congressional rejection of the ceiling is a tribute to the effectiveness of Governors, state welfare directors and county officials who stormed Capitol Hill to lobby against the ceiling.

These forces besieged the conferees, urging rejection of the ceiling and arguing that the action would be wholly inequitable to states that were late-bloomers in the race for the federal social service dollar.

The only potential counterforce was the Administration, which has sought for three years to clamp a lid on the open-ended appropriation. But the Administration chose to lie low.

"The (HEW) Secretary was silent; the White House was silent," said Harley M. Dirks, a professional staff member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HEW. "Where were they when we needed them? And now the President wants to impose a $250-billion ceiling."

Presidential decision: The Administration's failure to lobby for a ceiling resulted from a view that Mr. Nixon expressed in late June on the shape of new regulations HEW was developing for its social services program.

The President directed HEW to prepare new regulations that would require states to develop better methods of accounting for their social service expenditures, but would not significantly obstruct the states' access to the program's open-ended largesse.

That Mr. Nixon made a personal judgment on a regulation for an HEW program reflects the political importance the White House has attached to social services.

The President arrived at his decision after HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson sent him a memorandum June 23 which outlined four possible options that the Administration could pursue in seeking better control of the program. The President selected by far the most expensive option, one that would delight Governors whose states were in financial distress, but also would result in a costly budget overrun.

In explaining this option, Richardson told the President:

"The obvious advantage to this approach is that we would not prevent states from continuing to exploit this source of fiscal relief. We would thus avoid a major political controversy.

"The equally obvious disadvantage is the price tag that we would have to pay for this approach: At least $2.7 billion above our FY 1973 budget and a program level of $6 billion or perhaps more in FY 1974.

"An additional disadvantage is that we cannot describe or account programmatically for these enormous sums. In fact, we may be helping, through our refinancing, to perpetuate some poor programs."

By selecting this approach, Mr. Nixon has avoided, for the time being, a major confrontation with the Governors, who have come to view the social services program as important a source of new federal funds as revenue sharing.

Program: HEW's social services program operates under the legal authority of the Social Security Act (49 Stat 620) and finances a wide range of services on a ratio of 75-per cent federal funds to 25-per cent state.

The services are rendered to former, current and potential welfare recipients and include child care, protective services for children and aged individuals in danger of abuse or neglect, mental health services, and alcoholic and drug abuse prevention.

HEW estimates that in fiscal 1972, 664,600 adults and 12 million children will receive social services financed principally by the department.

Although the states find somewhat attractive the prospect of increasing services to the welfare population, their chief interest in the program is that it is a major source of fiscal relief.

California and Illinois were the first to recognize the program's potential for easing their financial problems. Recently, most of the other states have awakened to the program's seemingly limitless money supply.

Now, a great race is under way by late-starting states to make the necessary changes in their social service programs that will enable them to share the wealth.

Two extreme examples of states that are seeking new service dollars are Maryland and Mississippi. In fiscal 1973, Mississippi estimates that the federal share of its service expenditures will be $14.2 million. The state is seeking changes in its social service plan that would raise the federal commitment to $463.6 million in fiscal 1974.

Maryland estimates that the federal share of its fiscal 1973 social service expenditures will total $21.8 million. Maryland has estimated the federal share in fiscal 1974 at $417.7 million, if HEW approves its proposed state-plan amendments.

Regulations and timing

The debate over the content of any new social service regulations raged so heatedly within the executive branch and became so important in terms of federal dollars that the Office of Management and Budget turned to the President for a decision.

Now that Mr. Nixon has decided upon the course of action, the question of when to promulgate new service regulations has become almost as big an issue as the substance.

Richardson sent to the President a nine-page memorandum listing the four possible options the Administration could follow, but did not offer a recommendation. The Secretary warned: "Unless we take decisive administrative action, the budget for social services threatens to exceed $4 billion in fiscal 1973; $2.7 billion over your budget request."

The Secretary characterized the social services phenomenon as "a virtual open-ended raid on the federal treasury," but added: "To control these costs is politically hazardous. Several

Social Services

This is the second *National Journal* report on the HEW Department's social services program. The first report was published June 17 in Vol. 4, No. 25, p. 1007.

states, such as New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Texas and Pennsylvania, have refinanced state programs to their advantage. They can be expected to resist any effort to curtail federal expenditures."

Alternatives: Richardson outlined four possible courses of action, three of which would have significantly curtailed social service program expenditures; a fourth called for states to improve their accounting procedures. Mr. Nixon selected this option.

Preferred option—Under this alternative, HEW would issue regulations requiring states to develop a planning and accounting system that would provide detail on how they use the federal social service dollars.

This approach was developed by HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service, the agency under which social services is administered. As developed by social service program personnel, the proposal has been viewed generally as one that would prod states into developing better management structures to administer services, but not result in the loss of many federal dollars.

Other options—Richardson also raised the prospect of issuing regulations that would include a so-called "expansion-of-effort" restriction. Under such a requirement, federal social service funds would be available for matching only in relation to higher state expenditures. Such a structure would significantly curtail the program's uncharted growth rate.

"This approach still leads to an unacceptable level of federal expenditures for future years," Richardson said. He estimated that the program would grow to $2.8 billion in fiscal 1973 and $3.1 billion in fiscal 1974.

The toughest option Richardson put before the President was a proposed regulation that included an expansion-of-effort rule plus a curtailment in scope of services already financed partly through federal funds.

Under this option, which is the route favored by HEW's budget office, federal funding would be withdrawn for all room-and-board costs in public institutions, all health, mental health and medical services.

Richardson said: "This approach will have significant effect on almost all states, and states such as New York, Illinois, Massachusetts and Texas, which have recently revised their programs and thereby eased their fiscal problems, will be particularly agitated."

The fourth option presented by Richardson called for a phased implementation of the Administration's strategy for controlling the services program. Although it was rejected by the President, top HEW officials said they believe that it is the approach that the Administration ultimately will take.

In short, the strategy goes like this: do nothing that will cause a furor among the states before the November election; then issue regulations that will sharply cut the growth rate of social services shortly after the election.

"This combination," Richardson said, "seeks a balance between budget savings and political reaction. However, it will still leave severe budgetary problems and will result in considerable political repercussions."

John D. Twiname

Timing: Although the Administration has decided what shape its new service regulations will take in the short term, the question of when they will be promulgated is one that the Office of Management and Budget has not finally resolved.

C. William Fischer, chief of OMB's human resources division, laid out the pro and con arguments in a memorandum to OMB Director Caspar W. Weinberger in late July.

Fischer made no recommendation to Weinberger on when the regulations should be issued, but he noted that HEW believes that any delay would be viewed as hypocritical by the states.

John D. Twiname, administrator of HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service, feels most deeply among top department officials about the need to issue new service regulations now that would call for states to adopt better management procedures.

Twiname expressed his view to Fischer in a memo dated July 14. He said:

"The more I contemplate this issue, the more it appears to me that the Administration is taking a far greater risk to delay issuance of the regulations than otherwise . . . I think the most serious element . . . is its delay of the effort to establish controls of some sort in a program that appears to be running away with the federal dollar."

Congress

The Administration's indecision about when it should publish proposed social service regulations in the *Federal Register* is bound up in the OMB's hopes that Congress will take action to control the program.

Reflecting the decision Mr. Nixon made in declining to curb the program's growth before November, the OMB is hesitant to publish the regulations for fear of the political repercussions.

The OMB is hopeful that Congress will move up one of the available avenues to halt the open-ended assault on the social services account. There are several possibilities for action, but none looks very promising.

Although the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee have acted to impose a ceiling on the program, the attitude of most Members is best expressed by the action of the House-Senate conference on the Labor-HEW appropriations bill. The conference removed a ceiling from the program.

Conference: The tale of the conference is best told by looking at the Members who were in the best position to make the ceiling stick and chose otherwise.

House Appropriations Committee chairman Mahon, an acknowledged conservative with the federal dollar, went into the conference as an agressive advocate of removing the ceiling.

Although the conference had 77 differences before it to resolve, Mahon appeared to argue his position on behalf of only one: removal of the $2.5-billion social services ceiling imposed by the Senate.

Mahon was acting out of concern for Texas, which has only lately gotten on board with other states to tap the social services open-ended account in a significant way. A ceiling imposed now would hurt Texas and other states that are seeking new service dollars from HEW.

Texas Gov. Preston Smith, D, impressed on Mahon and Rep. Bob Casey, D-Tex., another House conferee, the absolute necessity of removing the Senate-imposed ceiling.

Smith did not limit his lobbying activities to Texas Democrats. Edwin F. Powers, an assistant to Smith, said: "Sen. (John G.) Tower (R-Tex.) has helped us clear up roadblocks in OMB. His influence has been helpful within the Administration."

Tower did not participate in the conference committee, but Powers said he had eased Texas' access to the first installment of new service dollars to the state.

Assuming other installments follow, Powers said, the federal share to finance services in Texas will increase from $15.2 million in fiscal 1972 to $178.6 million in fiscal 1973.

Flood's influence—Another member of the conference as important as Mahon in removing the services ceiling was Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HEW.

Flood has long been a champion of an open-ended services program and Pennsylvania has fared as well as most states in tapping the account. Flood argued in conference that it was the responsibility of the committees which authorize social security legislation—Senate Finance and House Ways and Means—to make any substantive changes in the services program.

One conference participant said privately: "Flood was so strong in favor of removing the ceiling that the other subcommittee members were virtually silent on the question, even those who favored a ceiling."

Senate effort—The Senate conferees went into the session July 25 holding the upper hand, at least on paper. The Senate, in rejecting a floor amendment, 39-52, to remove the ceiling, had provided its conferees with a strong bargaining point.

Sen. Norris Cotton of New Hampshire, the ranking Republican on the Labor-HEW appropriations subcommittee, used the argument in conference and also emphasized that he was not wedded to a ceiling of $2.5 billion; he just wanted a reasonable ceiling.

The conference zipped through all but one of the 77 items before it in one day and, in the view of several participants, the Senate conferees receded from their position on a ceiling because their House counterparts were so reasonable on most of the other issues.

Six-Fold Cost Increase in Three Years

The HEW Department's burgeoning social services program will have grown six-fold between fiscal 1971 and fiscal 1973, according to the latest state estimates. States now estimate that the federal share of their service expenditures in fiscal 1973 will total $4.7 billion. Listed below for each state are the federal share of social service costs in 1971, the May 1972 estimates of fiscal 1973 federal expenditures for social services as submitted to HEW by the states, and July 1972 estimates as provided by states at a meeting of Governors' representatives and state social service administrators in Washington on July 17. The figures are in millions and are rounded.

State	Federal share of social service costs in 1971	May 1972 estimates of federal share of social service costs in 1973	July 1972 estimates of federal share of social service costs in 1973
Alabama	$ 6.8	$ 41.2	$ 144.5
Alaska	1.8	18.9	19.7
Arizona	2.8	6.3	6.7
Arkansas	2.0	4.7	18.4
California	210.8	273.0	273.0
Colorado	11.7	22.7	29.8
Connecticut	7.6	15.8	18.8
Delaware	2.8	35.0	46.7
District of Columbia	7.0	10.1	32.0
Florida	12.5	112.6	112.6
Georgia	12.1	58.0	222.6
Hawaii	.5	2.1	2.4
Idaho	1.2	2.3	3.9
Illinois	28.3	147.5	172.5
Indiana	2.5	6.7	15.0
Iowa	6.8	12.8	13.5
Kansas	5.9	7.4	8.4
Kentucky	6.4	19.4	30.0
Louisiana	9.3	16.3	34.9
Maine	3.6	7.2	20.0
Maryland	15.0	21.8	417.7
Massachusetts	8.4	19.7	60.0
Michigan	17.6	85.8	85.9
Minnesota	15.4	24.1	96.5
Mississippi	1.1	14.2	463.6
Missouri	11.9	16.3	16.3
Montana	2.1	3.3	1.0
Nebraska	5.8	12.6	12.6
Nevada	1.0	2.0	2.0
New Hampshire	2.0	3.0	6.0
New Jersey	20.0	38.3	58.3
New Mexico	3.8	6.4	47.0
New York	88.2	618.4	850.0
North Carolina	11.6	47.1	50.4
North Dakota	2.5	4.0	5.0
Ohio	11.1	22.5	60.0
Oklahoma	7.5	11.6	54.0
Oregon	25.6	24.9	30.7
Pennsylvania	36.3	100.6	265.0
Rhode Island	4.4	6.2	15.8
South Carolina	3.6	14.1	214.1
South Dakota	2.0	2.9	2.9
Tennessee	9.9	43.5	230.2
Texas	13.0	42.4	178.6
Utah	3.1	5.2	7.2
Vermont	1.6	2.6	2.6
Virginia	10.2	19.6	32.0
Washington	31.1	57.9	74.1
West Virginia	7.9	7.9	15.4
Wisconsin	18.0	58.5	113.5
Wyoming	.7	.6	.6
Total	**$745.9**	**$2,158.3**	**$4,692.5**

"A conciliatory climate prevailed in the conference," said one participant. "The House members were a pretty reasonable group on every item except social services. That had an effect on the attitude of the Senators."

The Senators accepted as a compromise solution to the issue language in the conference report (HRep 92-1280) which urges the Administration and Congress to work "with the states to devise effective means of exerting fiscal control over social services programs."

The conference report also directed HEW "to submit to both the House and Senate Appropriations Committees no later than the commencement of the second quarter of 1973 a comprehensive plan for a system of fiscal restraint and programmatic accountability in social services programs.

"Such a program is expected to include a system of allotments of social services funds among states with proper consideration to population, per capita income, welfare consolidation, and past experience in social services program delivery. It is anticipated that such a plan could become effective no later than Jan. 1, 1973."

Authorizing committees: With the imposition of an appropriations ceiling an impossibility, the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means committees have acted to control services through other legislation.

During its consideration of HR 1, the Administration's social security-welfare reform bill, the Senate Finance Committee approved on June 11 a ceiling of $1 billion on the services program and scaled down the federal matching requirement.

Last year, the House approved a ceiling of $800 million in HR 1, with the exception of child-care and family-planning services, which would continue to be funded on an open-ended basis. The Finance Committee treated these two services in a similar fashion.

Although both committees have approved ceilings, the bill which includes the stricture is in deep trouble because of its welfare reform provision.

With the chance of HR 1's passage growing dimmer every day, these committees will have to find another legislative vehicle to which to attach a services ceiling.

Revenue sharing: Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., chairman of the Finance Committee, has expressed an interest in tying firmer federal control over services to the House-passed revenue-sharing bill (HR 14370) that his panel is considering. *(For a report on the revenue-sharing bill, see Vol. 4, No. 32, p. 1245.)*

George H. Mahon

Norris Cotton

Long opened a hearing July 20 that took testimony from a dozen Governors on the merits of revenue sharing by criticizing the spiraling cost of social services. "We cannot afford to continue the present social services system if we are going to provide $5.3 billion a year, and more, in revenue-sharing funds under the bill before us today," he said.

The committee approved Aug. 9, the day it completed action on its revenue-sharing bill, a provision that would sharply retrench the federal financial commitment to social services next year.

Under the provision, HEW could honor current services contracts for six months. But, after that, the department would finance only child-care and family-planning services on an open-ended basis.

HEW would distribute an additional $1 billion on a formula based on population. Large states that have done well in the services program would suffer under the provision and will presumably object to it.

Sen. Wallace F. Bennett, R-Utah, estimated that the provision "would save at least $3 billion" of the $4.7 billion the states estimate they will now spend for services in fiscal 1973.

Bennett said the provision will have "all-out Administration support." However, the President expressed Aug. 3 in a letter to Richardson his desire to keep the revenue-sharing bill free of "selected elements of HR 1."

The President said he would "strongly oppose" any move to amend HR 14370 "because it could doom the possibility of real welfare reform in this Congress and could seriously jeopardize the revenue-sharing bill."

Outlook

The prospect that Congress will impose a ceiling on HEW's social services program this session is not bright; states that are racing to fatten the federal commitment to their services program seemingly have a green light.

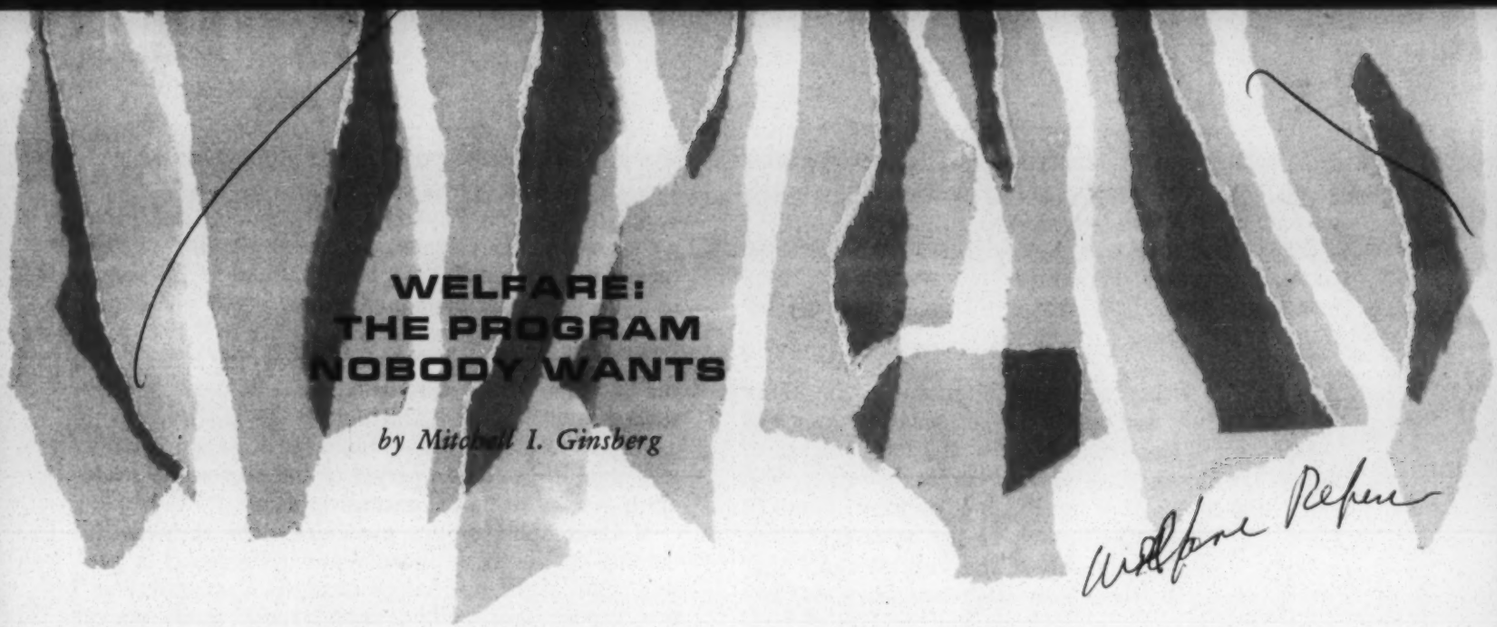
But it is unrealistic to expect that the Administration will adhere after November to the generous attitude it is now taking to the growth of the program.

Such a posture simply does not square with the President's announced intent to hold federal expenditures in fiscal 1973 close to $250 billion.

Mr. Nixon warned the Congress in a message July 26 that "no matter what the political pressures, no matter how frequently I may be told that in an election year a President cannot veto a spending measure," he will consider such action in bills that reach his desk that are too expensive.

The first real test of Mr. Nixon's intent, is likely to be the Labor-HEW appropriations bill which should clear Congress before it adjourns Aug. 18 for the Republican National Convention. As approved by the House-Senate Labor-HEW appropriations conference, the bill exceeds the President's fiscal 1973 request by $1.8 billion.

A veto, though, will have no effect on the social services program because of its open-ended appropriation. Therefore, unless the White House sharply changes its course, it will likely be early next year before any sharp curb is placed by the executive branch to slow the unconstrained growth of the social services program.



WELFARE: THE PROGRAM NOBODY WANTS

by Mitchell I. Ginsberg

Public welfare is a mess. This is probably the one statement about America's income-maintenance program on which almost everyone can agree, even many of the 15 million poor people who depend on welfare for survival.

As a major public issue, attacking welfare is a surefire winner for the press and politicians with nearly every audience. Always an issue, in recent years welfare has become a major one in most political campaigns. The public's concern mounted steadily as welfare recipients doubled and costs tripled during the past decade.

In response to this concern, President Nixon announced almost three years ago that welfare reform was his No. 1 domestic priority. Democratic presidential nominee George McGovern proposed a sweeping new approach, which he subsequently modified. Both programs came under heavy attack.

During the legislation's three-year journey, many individuals and groups have worked hard for constructive welfare reform; but nothing has happened or is likely to happen in the near future. Part of the reason for inaction is that welfare is so complicated that very few people understand it. What is more important is that people dislike it for very different reasons and thus want very different changes. The result is little agreement on what should be done.

Even those who are supposed to be experts in this area differ on solutions. Since objective research and evaluation are lacking, anyone can be an expert without being concerned with facts. Most citizens and taxpayers see welfare as a waste of their tax money and see the solution as cutting back and tightening up. Welfare recipients think it is already too strict and, above all, want the payments to be higher. Public officials see it as a huge drain on their budgets and a constant goad to charges of fraud and mismanagement. Welfare administrators and staff feel attacked from all sides and receive very little support from anybody.

In essence welfare is the one public program that has no political constituency, no political clout. Any other public program has support: the average citizen wants good schools because his children and grandchildren will probably use them. He wants a good police force, good fire protection, clean streets and quality medical care. He and his family have a vested interest in having good services available because they expect to need them. But the same citizen not only does not anticipate using welfare, but often feels contempt for those who do.

Welfare is not a new program in the United States, although in recent years it has expanded considerably. In the early colonial days most aid to the needy was given as charity by religious and civic groups. Soon states and local governments became involved, although help continued to be offered only in a limited and grudging fashion.

The great depression of the 1930s brought a major change. Millions of unemployed workers needed help: obviously it could no longer be said that poverty was all their own fault. Rugged individualism was clearly not enough and it was recognized that economic want was now a major problem requiring the participation of the national government. At the same time, there was also recognition of the need for a variety of social insurance programs. At the urging of President Roosevelt and with the support of organized labor and many other groups, Congress passed the historic Social Security Act of 1935. Along with old age and unemployment insurance, this act created a number of national welfare programs that continue today. The original programs were:

Old Age Assistance (OAA).

Aid to the Blind (AB).

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

In 1950, another category was added: Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, or APTD. States

MITCHELL I. GINSBERG is dean of the school of social work at Columbia University and president of the National Association of Social Workers. He is the former commissioner of the New York City Department of Welfare.

Forced Labor

California Puts People On Welfare to Work In a Controversial Test

Welfare-Rights Groups Label It 'Slavery,' but Officials Say Aid Recipients Benefit

'Same Thing as a Paycheck'

10/20/72

By JOANN S. LUBLIN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SACRAMENTO—Joe Bayuga, a 28-year-old Mexican-American with a master's degree in Spanish, recently started counseling disadvantaged students for California State University at Chico. Earlier he had worked as a locksmith's apprentice in the campus key shop.

Instead of taking home a paycheck from either part-time job, he simply continued to receive his $240 monthly welfare check for himself and his family.

Joe Bayuga is one of 147 California welfare recipients whose pioneer role is to test Gov. Ronald Reagan's controversial "community work experience program." The program, known as CWEP, began in June as a federally funded demonstration project and a key element in Mr. Reagan's much-heralded "welfare-reform" plan.

In March 1971, when he first proposed CWEP and other welfare changes, Gov. Reagan said he hoped to slash $700 million annually from skyrocketing welfare spending in the state. Welfare officials say savings since March 1971 have totaled over $500 million in the state, federal and local funds that otherwise would have been spent if the Reagan programs hadn't been adopted. Meantime, since March of last year, 220,653 welfare clients have been dropped from the rolls, which hit a high of 2.3 million in the state that month.

Under CWEP, able-bodied welfare recipients like Mr. Bayuga who cannot be placed in permanent jobs or training must work for a government or nonprofit agency for up to 80 hours a month to be eligible for aid. If Mr. Bayuga had refused his initial assignment to the campus key shop or hadn't shown up for his present counseling job, his portion of his family's Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) grant would have been cut off.

Instant Controversy

Although the program, dubbed "workfare," has only been operating in five California counties for four months, it already has generated controversy among welfare-rights groups, some program administrators and state legislators. (By next June, about 30,000 "employable" men and women receiving AFDC grants in 35 of the state's 58 counties are expected to be doing community-service work.)

The California Welfare Rights Organization, branding the work-or-no-welfare idea as "slavery" and a violation of federal welfare laws, twice won court-ordered delays of the program. The group's court action held up final approval of the $228,000 grant by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for nearly a year.

But when the final go-ahead for CWEP came in June, the Reagan administration put a damper on further efforts to block the program by suing the welfare-rights group and asking a federal district court in Los Angeles to declare the project valid. (The case is expected to go to trial in mid-December.) A similar HEW-approved demonstration project for New York ground to a halt in early August after barely getting off the ground. New York's public-work relief program has been held up by a restraining order issued by a U.S. district court in New York; the court acted after the program had been challenged by the city of New York and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

There have been previous federal tryouts of the idea of making welfare clients work in exchange for their assistance; one less-than-successful attempt was known as community work in training. Implemented in about 10 states, it was abandoned by Congress in 1968 largely because it failed either to reduce welfare rolls and costs or to place many welfare recipients in permanent jobs, according to Leonard Goodwin, a social psychologist with the Brookings Institution. Yet the continuing intense national political interest in work-or-no-welfare efforts became apparent earlier this month when one of the three welfare-revision experiments approved by the Senate was a "workfare" plan to provide guaranteed, paid government jobs instead of welfare grants. (However, the compromise version of the welfare-Social Security bill passed by Congress Tuesday dropped the three planned experiments in welfare reform.)

The "Last Resort"

In California, the controversial CWEP is the "last-resort" part of Gov. Reagan's attempt to cut welfare rolls through a comprehensive

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The "Last Resort"

In California, the controversial CWEP is the "last-resort" part of Gov. Reagan's attempt to cut welfare rolls through a comprehensive employable program of counseling able-bodied welfare recipients through state employment offices. Since June, 2,018 recipients—mainly unemployed fathers and mothers with children over age six—have become the responsibility of state employment offices in the five CWEP counties. Of the 2,018, more than half have already been put into permanent jobs or work-training programs, state officials report.

However, because of the so-called Talmadge Amendment to the Social Security Act (named for Georgia Sen. Herman E. Talmadge), which took effect in late summer, employable welfare recipients all over the country must register and search for work or training through state employment agencies. The difference between the California and the federal efforts is CWEP —a mandatory service obligation for welfare clients who can't find work or training. For the 147 Californians assigned to community-work projects so far, these tasks have ranged from shoveling manure at the Chico campus farm to working as a translator-clerk in a state government office to shelving books as library aides.

According to proponents of the pilot project, CWEP enables men and women on welfare to perform services for their communities that might otherwise go undone for lack of funds. For instance, in Ventura County, near Los Angeles, most of the 89 persons assigned to CWEP are working for the county parks department. "They are weeding out areas that would otherwise be sitting there for a long period of time," says Paul Lamp, parks supervisor.

Supporters of CWEP also contend the pub-

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Forced Labor? California Puts People on Welfare in Public Jobs

Continued From First Page

lic-service assignments build up work-experience records that may help welfare participants in landing a permanent job. In Butte County, 90 miles north of Sacramento, one participant has already obtained a job as a buildings and grounds maintenance man with a public agency where he had spent two weeks working off his monthly welfare grant. "So he will be discontinued from aid," says Jake Miller, CWEP supervisor for the southern half of Butte County.

In addition, through CWEP, women who have been unemployed mothers all their adult lives as well as unskilled, long-unemployed fathers are expected to acquire valuable work habits. "You're coming across people who are second- and third-generation welfare recipients, for whom the thought of working is just frightening," Thelma Bachand says. Mrs. Bachand runs the Chico Human Resources Development Office, the state employment agency that administers CWEP in northern Butte County.

But critics of CWEP dispute its potential benefits on several fronts. For one thing, even the least job-experienced welfare client knows how to get somewhere on time. So except for the reinforcement of these known work habits, the program "doesn't provide any training related to a person's skills and abilities," says David Schwartz, a poverty lawyer in Ventura County. Instead of giving needy Californians the opportunity to become employed, CWEP "will only help perpetuate the welfare system," says Beth La Rue, a Sacramento mother, welfare recipient and California Welfare Rights Organization vice president.

There are other criticisms of the project. One is that, because welfare clients don't get paid by the agency where they work 80 hours a month, CWEP resembles slavery. "It appears much like enforced servitude," says Ralph Abascal, a San Francisco poverty lawyer. As counsel for the welfare-rights group, Mr. Abascal has sought to get the work program declared illegal through a counterclaim to the state's lawsuit in Los Angeles.

One woman, a college-educated welfare client who refused an assignment to CWEP and so temporarily lost part of her grant, concurs with Mr. Abascal. "You don't get a dime. It's a form of slavery." With a bitter tone to her voice, she continued, "Either you go to work at a demeaning job or your children go hungry. Some choice."

But with a paycheck, "you could say you're off welfare," and the stigma of being a welfare recipient would be gone, argues Mr. Bayuga, the CWEP participant who counsels students. Retorts State Welfare Director Robert B. Carleson: "In practice it's the same thing as a paycheck. If he doesn't show up, he won't get paid." Anyhow, Mr. Carleson adds, CWEP wasn't designed as a welfare cure-all but rather as temporary community service while a welfare client continues to look for full-time work.

Still, not all the field administrators for CWEP remain as enthusiastic as Mr. Carleson. Some agree with welfare rights activists about the importance of a paycheck over a welfare grant. CWEP might reduce a recipient's dependency on welfare, says Tony Capritto, Ventura County CWEP supervisor, "if we could somehow firm up the recipient's relationship with the user agency to make it more of an employer and have the employing agency hand out the stipend."

Wayne Robertson, another administrator, says: "It's likely to be more damaging to the client to say he worked for the last 12 months for the Parks Department and then for the Parks Department to say, 'No, he was never working here, he was on a welfare program.' " A Welfare Department employment officer in Ventura County, Mr. Robertson acts as the liaison for CWEP between his agency and the human-resources department.

Four of six social workers brought over from Mr. Robertson's office to the human-resources department last June to help run the employables effort have already become disenchanted and requested transfers. "CWEP keeps recipients busy, but it isn't a solution in itself. And it doesn't result in people getting off welfare," says Sally Allen, a sociol-work supervisor. The social workers became unhappy partly because of political pressure from Sacramento to immediately assign welfare recipients to community work projects "if we didn't get them jobs or training the first day," says James Packer, the county's deputy welfare director.

Welfare Defeat: A False Economy

W-S-J 10/26/72

By JONATHAN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON — Critics of rising welfare costs are hailing the death in Congress of the administration's Family Assistance Program. From the beginning they argued that FAP would only result in a massive explosion of the relief rolls.

But their celebration may be short-lived. For indications are that welfare costs under the present system will rise more rapidly than they would have under the rejected administration plan. Indeed, it's possible that the conservatives who helped defeat the plan may in time come to a realization that the present system is more "liberal" in most respects than FAP, and possibly even that they took the wrong side of the issue—at least on fiscal grounds, if not philosophical ones.

A second chance won't come quickly. Whatever the administration proposes in the way of welfare legislation next year—and some expect it will propose a more "conservative" approach—Congress is not likely to act rapidly. After three years of fruitless grappling with FAP, lawmakers seem to be sick of the whole subject.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates that FAP would have reduced total welfare outlays to poor families by $700 million from present levels in its first year of operation, and that the "savings" could have grown greater in future years. Among the most significant differences: FAP would have drastically curtailed the burgeoning food stamp program; enabled states to save money by cutting their own welfare benefit levels; imposed strict federal safeguards against fraud; and "taxed" the poor's outside earnings more severely than the current system.

Indeed, the welfare bill—HR I— that Congress finally killed had become so stingy from the liberals' point of view, that one HEW man could complain: "There's nothing wrong with HR I that a couple of billion dollars more wouldn't cure."

A Paradoxical Image

One of the paradoxical things about the FAP proposal is that it was tagged "liberal" from the beginning of the long three-year debate and never managed to shed that image, even though it grew steadily more restrictive and "conservative" as time passed. In the end, it can be argued, the Chamber of Commerce and other conservative groups might have been wiser to support FAP as an economy measure than battle it as a giveaway program.

For example, when FAP was first proposed in 1969, its annual income guarantee—$2,400 a year to a family of four—would have resulted in increased benefits in nine states. But even as the debate continued welfare payments rose above this level in four of the nine. Simultaneously, rising wages were reducing the number of working poor who would benefit from FAP payments to five million from 12 million. Payments under the present system, which decrease as earnings rise, fell off to about $500 million from $2.1 billion during the period. "A large part of the money which was going to be delivered under federal law (FAP) already has been delivered," comments one HEW man.

But just as FAP's liberality has been overestimated by the public and politicians, the generosity of the existing system has been underestimated. HEW's Aid to Families with Dependent Children grants has almost doubled in the last four years and the Agriculture Department's smaller food stamp program has grown tenfold. Indeed, the liberality of these existing programs persuaded the National Welfare Rights Organization, representing welfare recipients, to join the Chamber in opposing reform. NWRO's reasons may have been more perceptive than the Chamber's.

Existing welfare arrangements are advantageous for the poor in many significant respects. AFDC, much like the proposed administration plan, permits working mothers to retain a portion of their earnings as a supplement to relief. (About 20% of them now do so.) But it allows them to first deduct any expense required to hold a job, including private school fees, car payments, union dues, Social Security and income taxes.

As they work out in practice, these deductions mean the system is very liberal the way it is now, insists Jodie Allen of the Urban Institute. It's estimated, for example, that 4% of California AFDC recipients claim over $4,000 a year in work expenses. States have failed in attempts to limit the deductions.

A federal court ruled in a California case that recipients could deduct all work related expenses actually incurred without regard for their reasonableness, including pension fund contributions that were ultimately paid back to the worker. Federal courts also rejected efforts by Georgia and Pennsylvania to establish flat monthly maximums for work expenses.

FAP would have limited deductions to $60 a month, less than most states are now allowing. "It is necessary to close what sometimes amounted to open-ended deductions for work expenses under the current system," HEW argued in support of FAP. "This arrangement has resulted in . . . the receipt of assistance by some persons with upwards of $10,000 gross income."

AFDC is generous in other ways. Its grant formulas ignore irregular earnings. Thus, a recipient can earn well over the eligibility level on an annual basis, but still qualify for aid, if his earnings for the current month are below the guideline. (Theoretically, overpayments are recouped, but in practice recipients often don't have any money left to pay the government back.)

The Agriculture Department's food stamp program is even more generous. Like AFDC, the basic food stamp benefit of $1,296 a year to a penniless family of four is reduced as earnings rise. But numerous exclusions are allowed: all medical expenses if these exceed $10 per month per family; housing costs above 30% of net income; up to $30 a month in wages; day care expenses and educational fees.

Washington's Lack of Control

But perhaps the biggest growth factor of all is Washington's total lack of control over AFDC and food stamp spending. The programs are "open-ended," which means the federal government is obligated to furnish whatever funds the state programs require. Uncle Sam pays the full cost of food stamps and anywhere from 50% to 83% of a state's AFDC outlays. (The percentage varies from state to state.)

Food stamp spending has jumped to $2.3 billion a year from $250 million in 1969 and could reach $3 billion by 1975. The anti-hunger program enjoys powerful support on Capitol Hill, elicits a warm emotional response from the public and this seems likely to flourish.

AFDC costs, now $7.3 billion, have been rising at a rate of about 15% a year, although the trend is now unclear. Experiencing agonizing budget pinches, states have been seeking to retrench on welfare outlays, by forcing recipients to work for grants, requiring those on relief to carry identification cards and launching highly publicized fraud investigations.

FAP would not have been so openly punitive, but its solution to the welfare cost problem could have been more effective. FAP would have phased out most of the food stamp program and even given some of the poor less in cash than they now receive in stamps. By imposing a national welfare payment standard—generous in the rural South but well below the current level in most urban states—it would have freed HEW from the fiscal burden of subsidizing future state increases.

But now FAP is dead. And whatever else happens to welfare costs, one thing seems certain: the federal government will be stuck with most of the bill.

Mr. Spivak, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau, covers HEW.

Welfare Impasse Resolved by Senate Vote Authorizing HEW to Test All Three Plans

10/5/72

By WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Senate, as expected, resolved an impasse over which of three welfare programs to adopt by voting to test all of them.

By a 46-to-40 vote, the Senate accepted an amendment of Sen. William Roth (R., Del.) authorizing the Health, Education and Welfare Department to test the alternative plans for two to four years and report the results to Congress.

One program is a liberal-backed plan to establish a guaranteed annual income of $2,600 for a needy family of four. The Senate voted Tuesday against instituting that plan nationwide.

Also to be tested is a less-generous guaranteed-income plan that passed the House and has the Nixon administration's support, and a plan drafted by the Senate Finance Committee to remove many persons from welfare rolls and offer them government jobs instead.

None of the proponents of the various plans seemed particularly happy about acceptance of the testing proposal that will cost up to $400 milion a year. But it was apparent in debate on the welfare issue that support in the Senate was insufficient to establish any one of the rival programs as a replacement for the present welfare system.

The bill on which the welfare debate centers also contains an expansion of Social Security and Medicare benefits and a schedule of big increases in Social Security taxes starting next year.

Sen. Harry Byrd (Ind., Va.) said Saturday he would offer an amendment calling for tests of the various plans but he withdrew his proposal after learning Sen. Roth had been working for several months on a similar amendment.

Crocker National to Re...

Welfare Reform 12-13-72

To Be Equal

Column No. 50

ANOTHER TRY AT WELFARE REFORM

by

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

High on the list of priorities facing the new Congress when it convenes in January should be the question of welfare reform. By now this is an annual event -- welfare reform has been debated for the past three sessions.

Everyone agrees on just one point -- that the present welfare system is not working and badly needs overhauling. One of the major tasks facing the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Caspar Weinberger,will undoubtedly be to brush up the Administration's Family Assistance Plan.

How successful renewed reform efforts will be depends on whether the aims of the welfare system are to cut costs or to help poor people. Confusion on that score helped to defeat previous versions. The Administration started off with a proposal that established the principle of federal assistance to all in need, but the plan was rewritten several times and each revision added layers of punitive measures that amounted to a war on the poor. The last Congress gave welfare reform an unceremonious burial, to the relief of all who want to see a just and equitable assistance program worked out.

The most recent development on the welfare scene was HEW's plan to tighten management of state welfare programs by taking away some $400 million a year because allegedly ineligible people were collecting welfare payments or were receiving overpayments.

This move illustrates the cost-cutting approach to welfare at the expense of the human needs the system is supposed to meet. Attention is focused on the statistics of payment distributions with no consideration given to the needs of the individuals involved. Regulations can be interpreted narrowly, resulting in apparent overpayments or they can be interpreted more broadly, in which case there is no pattern of overpayment. In this case, poor people may pay for managerial errors.

Whatever the bureaucratic mechanism employed, the recipients are still people who are poor and who are dependent upon public assistance for their rent payments and for

their children's food. All the stress on statistical overpayments also neglected the many who get less than they are legally entitled to under the law. Playing a numbers game with welfare statistics does nothing about the real problems.

Real welfare reform will require a comprehensive program of tax reform, extension of social security benefits, increasing and extending unemployment compensation and minimum wages, family allowances, and above-poverty-line minimal federal assistance standards.

And for all the talk about "permissiveness" and the "work ethic," a massive job-creation program is needed to enable everyone who can work to have it. Study after study simply confirms that people on welfare want to work and share the same values as those who hold jobs. It's the economy that is the villain here, not the poor.

As national attention once again focuses on welfare reform, it would be most beneficial to remove the subject from the emotionally-supercharged atmosphere of myths and stereotypes about poor people and to concentrate instead on the ways in which our faltering economy can be made to work for everyone.

It may be easier to win headlines by attacking "cheats on welfare," but the problem of hunger and poverty will remain long after those headlines fade and the paper on which they are printed is recycled.

Attempts at welfare reform will be doomed if they once more degenerate into a circus-like competition to see whose plan can punish more people. The work ethic is just a faded idea if it exists in a vacuum created by lack of job opportunities, and welfare costs can be sharply cut if the nation is prepared to tolerate widespread hunger and misery.

The real goal of welfare reform has to be the relief of the hardships of poverty coupled with the expansion of opportunities for human growth and development. That's the lesson of the futile deadlock of the past several years.

# # #

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12/13/72

Welfare Reform

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

LUCY WATKINS

1/2/73

To — Esser, Bowie, Harris, Anderson, Nia, Campbell, Wood, Walters

from - Lucy

A doctor I know in Chapel Hill gave me this article during Christmas. In addition to being interesting in its own right, it brings me to think we should be thinking in terms of what other kinds of research and evaluation of social experiments we need to push for in the South (HMO, for example).

Established 1845 SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN October 1972 Volume 227 Number 4

A Negative-Income-Tax Experiment

Would payments to those who earned less than a certain amount reduce their incentive to work? The initial results of an unusual test with 1,300 families indicate that the payments would have no such effect

by David N. Kershaw

The welfare-reform proposals of both President Nixon and Senator McGovern embody the concept of the negative income tax: a downward extension of the income-tax system that would pay out cash (negative taxes) to families at the low end of the income scale. An essential feature of the concept is that as a family's income rises above the poverty level the tax payments are reduced by an amount less than the earnings, so that the family is always better off the higher its own earnings are. The concept was first presented to a broad public in 1962 by Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, who argued that the negative income tax would strengthen the market economy and individual initiative by enabling poor people to make their own decisions on spending and saving and would cut back on the large and growing apparatus of social-welfare programs.

It is difficult to predict what the impact of a negative-income-tax plan would be on the people covered and on the economy. The word "experiment" is often applied to new social programs, but it is not used in the normal scientific sense. For the past four years, however, my colleagues and I at Mathematica Incorporated, working with a group at the Institute for Research on Poverty of the University of Wisconsin, have been conducting a more rigorous kind of social experiment to test the effects of a negative income tax. Money for the experiment was provided by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. The main objective of the work has been to explore the key question about the negative tax, namely the extent to which it would reduce the incentive of the recipients to work. The extent of such a work reduction will determine both the actual cost of a new program and whether or not it is acceptable to the taxpayers. Our preliminary findings indicate that a negative income tax does not significantly reduce the earnings of the recipients. We think the findings also point to the value of social experimentation as a tool for policy makers.

The need for some such technique arises from the large sums that the Government regularly commits to the eradication of one social ill or another: additional housing for the poor, health facilities for the elderly, medical care for the indigent, school lunches for poor children and so on. Since the supply of skills and money for these activities is limited, the legislative process becomes essentially a system of bargaining or of trading off one set of programs for another. On what basis do Government officials recommend one set of programs rather than another? What criteria do legislators employ to measure the probable effectiveness of one idea as opposed to another? The fact is that there have been few effective ways for determining the effectiveness of a social program before it is started; indeed, in most cases it is impossible even to forecast the cost of a new social program until it has been in operation for some time.

Clearly this situation is not conducive to sound and effective decision making. Moreover, it results in such unforeseen disasters as the Medicaid scandals, empty public-housing projects and relentlessly increasing costs for welfare programs. Social experimentation of the kind I am discussing is a tool that has been developed and tested in the past five years for avoiding unanticipated developments in new social programs and for measuring in advance what the programs will cost.

What is usually unforeseen in a new program is how the people affected by it will behave. What they do, of course, is likely to have a profound effect on the program. For example, in the Medicaid program unexpectedly high fees charged by physicians and hospitals and unexpectedly high use of the services took policy makers by surprise. Various behavioral changes induced in the recipients similarly determine the cost and effectiveness of new income-transfer programs. Since most major social programs will induce changes in behavior, which in turn will affect the program, it is clearly vital for policy makers to understand the magnitude and direction of such changes in behavior in advance in order to make the most rational choices among new programs.

A social experiment as we view it has the same general design as an experiment in the natural sciences. One under-

takes to identify the experimental population, then to change one of the variables affecting its behavior and finally to compare its subsequent behavior with that of a control population in which the variable has not been changed. If the experiment is well designed, the investigator can attribute any difference in the behavior of the experimental population to the stimulus. The question we faced was whether or not this approach would work when the population consisted of human beings, when the laboratory was the community and when the stimulus was a complex new social program.

Our experiment was the first attempt to answer the question. The experiment has been conducted as the New Jersey Negative Income Tax Experiment because its first operations were in Trenton, although it was later extended to Scranton, Pa., as well as to three other cities in New Jersey: Paterson, Passaic and Jersey City. Negative-income-tax payments were begun in Trenton in August, 1968, and were ended in Scranton last month. The only part of the experiment now in progress is the analysis of the data.

The welfare-reform proposals of the two presidential candidates are among a number of negative-tax plans that have been advanced in recent years. Although the various plans differ in many ways, all of them are defined by two common variables: the guarantee level and the rate of reduction (sometimes called the tax rate) applied to the guarantee.

The guarantee is the amount paid to a family or an individual with no other income. In a negative-income-tax system the guarantee would be in effect a floor under incomes, providing a basic level of income for everyone. Various guarantee levels have been proposed, ranging from $2,400 annually for a family of four (the amount in H.R. 1, a House of Representatives bill incorporating the Administration's proposals for welfare reform) to $6,600 per year (advocated by the National Welfare Rights Organization).

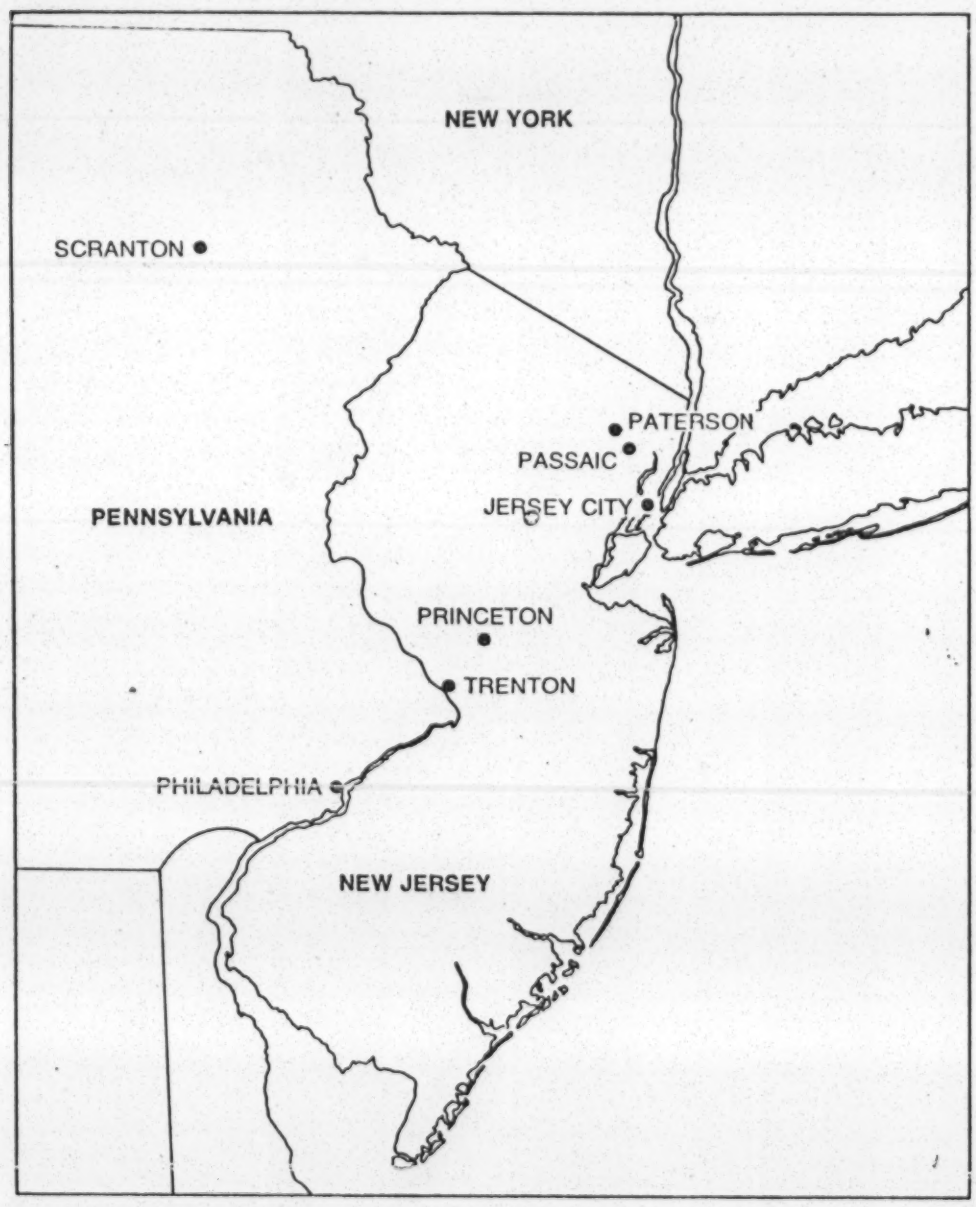
The rate of reduction is the rate at which the negative-tax payments are reduced as the family's other income rises. The reduction is always less than the amount of the rise in other income. That is to say, for each dollar of other income the family receives, the negative-tax payment is reduced somewhat, but not dollar for dollar. A dollar-for-dollar reduction formerly applied in welfare programs, and the rate in such programs remains high today.

The guarantee and the rate of reduction can be combined in many ways. Suppose the guarantee is $3,000 and the rate of reduction is 50 percent [*see illustration on opposite page*]. A family with no earned income receives the full $3,000, and the reduction is not applied. If in the next year the family's earned income is $1,000, the rate of reduction of 50 percent means that the negative-tax payment to the family is reduced by $500. The family now receives $2,500 in negative-tax payments and $1,000 of its own income for a total of $3,500. The reduction works just as the positive income tax works; in this example the family is effectively in a 50 percent marginal tax bracket.

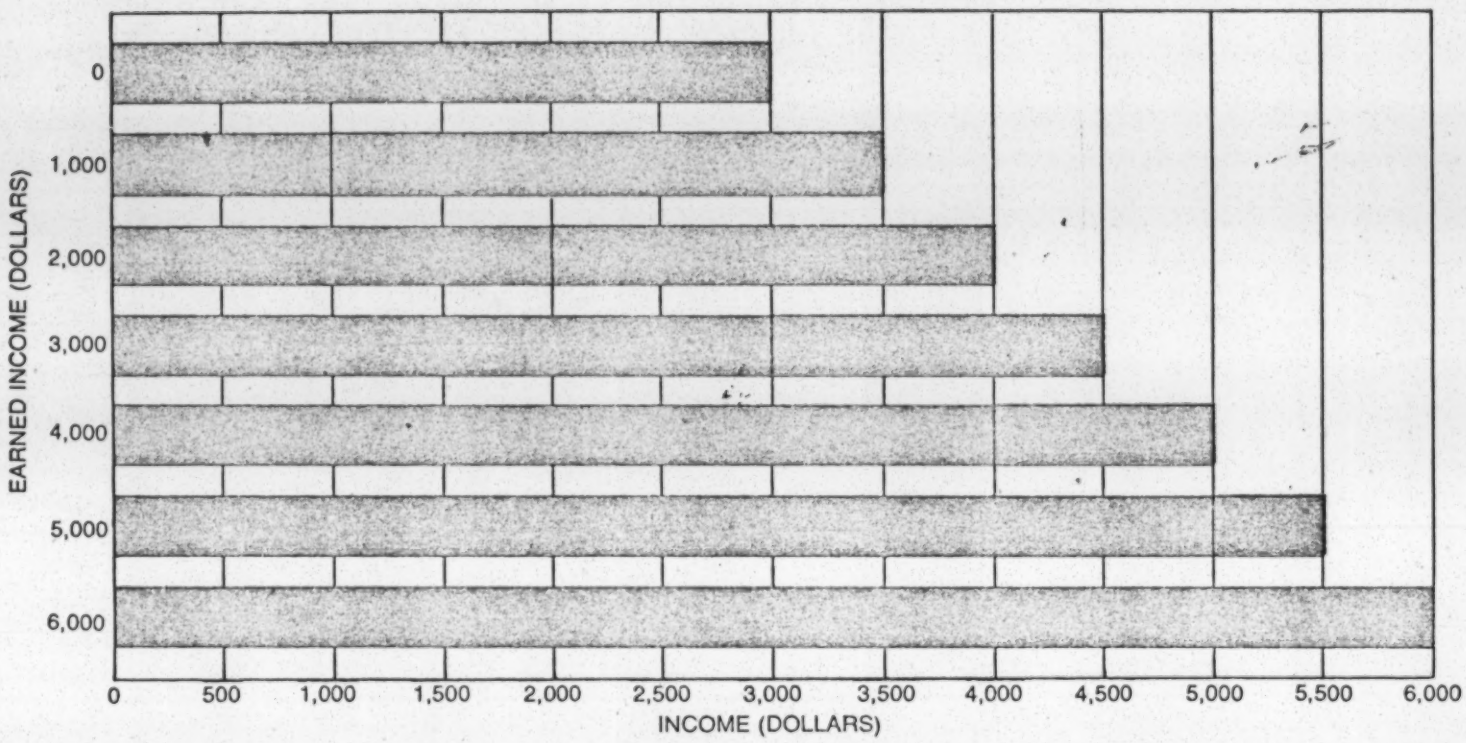
The key point is that the family's total income continues to rise as its earned income rises, notwithstanding the reduction in negative-tax payments. Just as in the positive-tax program, the family is always better off with a higher earned income. The point is important because it shows that the negative-income-tax system is designed to minimize the disincentive to work that has often been associated with welfare programs. People who are able to work keep a portion of their earnings just as people in the positive-tax system do.

In the example I have given, the family would continue to receive negative-tax payments until its own income reached $6,000. At that level the family would become a taxpayer rather than a tax recipient. As long as the level remained above $6,000 the family would receive no payments. If the income dropped below $6,000, the payments would be resumed.

Choosing the "best" combination of guarantee level and rate of reduction is a difficult problem. The two things one is most concerned with in a welfare sys-



FIVE CITIES (*color*) where the negative-income-tax experiment was conducted were chosen from the Northeast because it is densely populated and has many working poor people. An ethnic balance was also sought. The negative-tax payments began in Trenton in 1968.



RELATION between the guarantee (*color*) and the earned income (*gray*) is charted for a guarantee of $3,000 and a rate of reduction of 50 percent. The guarantee is the amount paid under a negative-income-tax plan to a family with no other income; the rate of reduction is the rate at which negative-tax payments are reduced as other income rises. The reduction is always lower than the amount of the rise in other income, so that the recipient is always better off by having earnings than by relying solely on the negative tax.

tem are (1) how much it will cost and (2) whether or not it will have a strong tendency to make the recipients disinclined to work. Unfortunately the objectives of low cost and minimum work disincentive are in direct conflict [*see illustration on next page*].

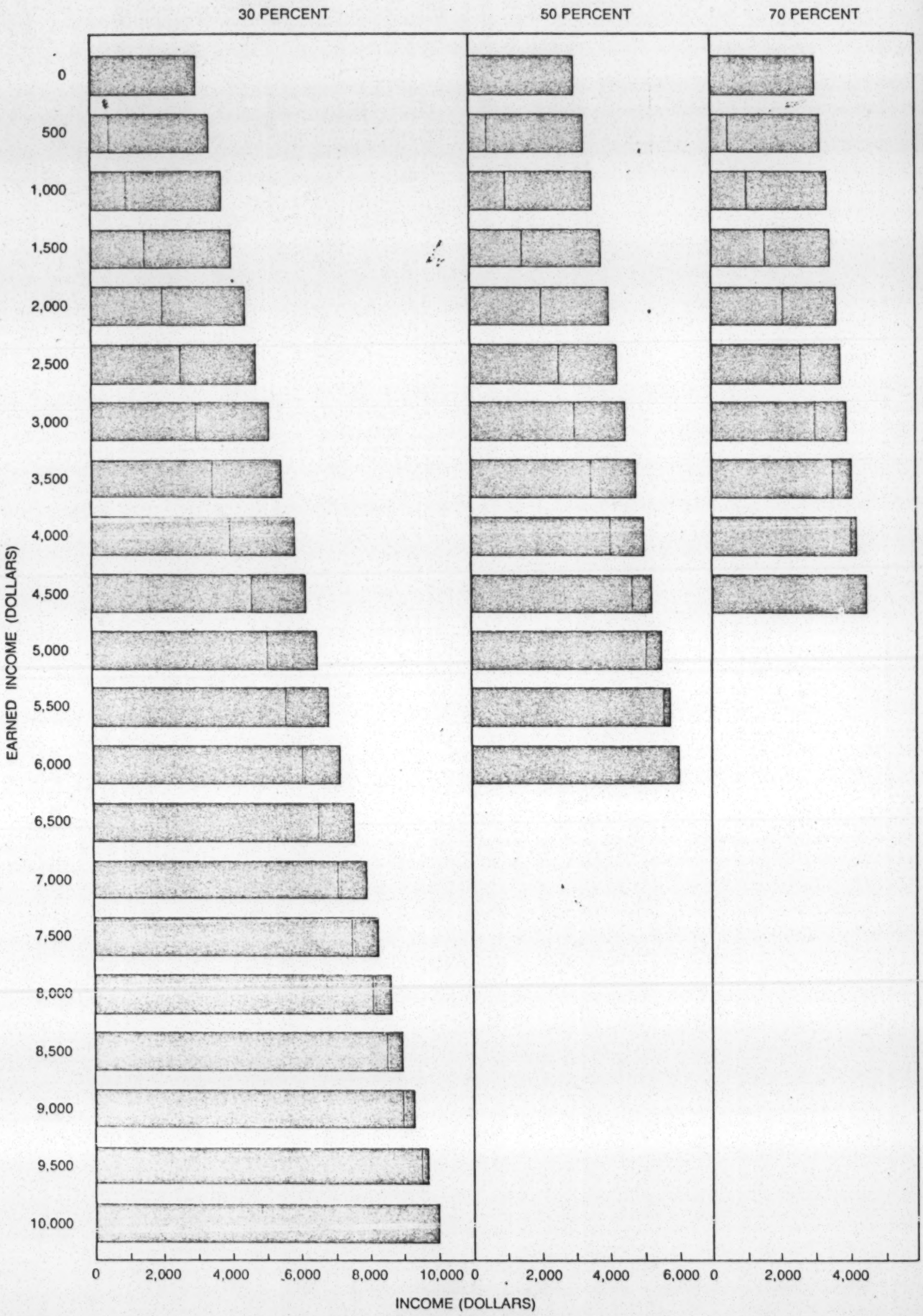
The problem is evident if one envisions plans applying rates of reduction of 30, 50 and 70 percent respectively to a guarantee of $3,000. At 30 percent a family would continue to receive payments until its earned income reached $10,000, which is close to the median income in the U.S. for a family of four. Under this plan half of the families in the nation would be recipients of negative-tax payments. Although the low rate of reduction would presumably keep the work disincentive low, the cost would be very high. On the other hand, a rate of reduction of 70 percent would keep the cost of the system down but could severely limit the incentive to work.

The problem of establishing an appropriate guarantee level and rate of reduction, of ascertaining the effect of various combinations on work behavior and of estimating the cost of a national program led to a decision by the Office of Economic Opportunity that a field experiment should be undertaken as a way of obtaining evidence. In 1967 the office gave money for the experiment to the Institute for Research on Poverty and to Mathematica, which has its headquarters in Princeton, N.J. These organizations shared the responsibility of designing the experiment and of analyzing the data, and Mathematica set up the administrative system.

The design of the experiment was focused on the work-response issue. Given a guaranteed annual income, how much, if any, would recipients reduce their work effort? The designers of the experiment decided that the population of most interest consisted of intact families among the working poor. The work response of single-parent families and of the aged and disabled were of less interest. Data on the work response of single-parent families were partly available through the program of aid to families with dependent children, and it appeared that the cost of a guaranteed income for the aged and the disabled could be estimated without a field test since the variability of their response to negative-tax payments was limited. For these reasons the designers decided that the sample for the experiment should consist of intact families with able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 58 who were either in the labor force or physically capable of entering it.

A second major decision concerned the method of choosing the participants. The designers considered a national sample, which would consist of families chosen on a random basis from places in every region of the country; a "saturation" experiment, consisting of all the eligible families in a given area, and a "test-boring" approach involving a limited number of families from several geographic areas. It appeared that a national sample would cost too much and would be risky administratively in view of how little was known about conducting a social experiment of this kind. The saturation approach was rejected both for its cost and because it was difficult to see how data from a single area would be helpful in making generalizations about a national negative-tax program. We decided on the test-boring approach.

Choosing the site involved several considerations. The first decision was to concentrate on an urban area, since most of the working poor live in cities. Second, we focused on the Northeast because it is densely populated and is close to Washington, so that the Office of Economic Opportunity could more easily participate in the decision making. In the end we settled on New Jersey because it is densely populated and has a substantial number of poor people. Moreover, the state government was interested in the experiment. Trenton was chosen as the pilot site because it is close to Princeton (and so to Mathematica) and because as the capital of New Jersey it facilitated liaison with state officials. Paterson, Passaic and Jersey City were added later because they are fairly large cities, and Scranton was added because


30 PERCENT
50 PERCENT
70 PERCENT
EARNED INCOME (DOLLARS)
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INCOME (DOLLARS)

its preponderance of white residents would bring an ethnic balance to a sample that was otherwise largely black or Puerto Rican.

The selection of families was based on two preliminary interviews: a 44-question screening survey administered to about 30,000 families in the five cities and a 340-question "pre-enrollment" interview administered to 2,300 families. Both interviews obtained information on the composition of the family and on income. In addition the pre-enrollment interview provided baseline measurements of certain other sociological and economic variables.

The designers decided to test three rates of reduction: 30, 50 and 70 percent. The reasoning was that this group of rates covered the relevant policy range, inasmuch as a national program would never be designed with a reduction rate lower than 30 percent (on cost grounds) or higher than 70 percent (on work-disincentive grounds). Four guarantee levels were established, ranging from $1,650 (half of the official poverty level for a family of four in 1967) to $4,125 (125 percent of the poverty level). Eight combinations of reduction rate and guarantee level were established, and each one was designated as a "plan" [*see illustration on this page*].

More than 1,300 families have been involved in the program, although some have dropped out and are not reflected in our data. Somewhat more than half of the 1,300 families were assigned to one or another of the eight negative-tax plans. The other families constituted a control group that received no negative-tax payments, although they were interviewed periodically just as the experimental families were. A control group is necessary in order to be able to compare the families receiving payments with families of similar situation who are not. In this way the experimenter can be sure that random events in the cities are not responsible for the results he is measuring.

In order to participate in the experiment the families in the group receiving payments were required only to report their correct income and any changes in family composition. The reports, which we verified through various auditing procedures, were made every four weeks to the Council for Grants to Families, a corporate body set up by Mathematica and the Institute for Research on Poverty to process and disburse payments. On the basis of income reported to the council, families were paid every two weeks by check sent by mail from Princeton. The council also had an office in each of the experimental cities to answer questions from the families and from Princeton.

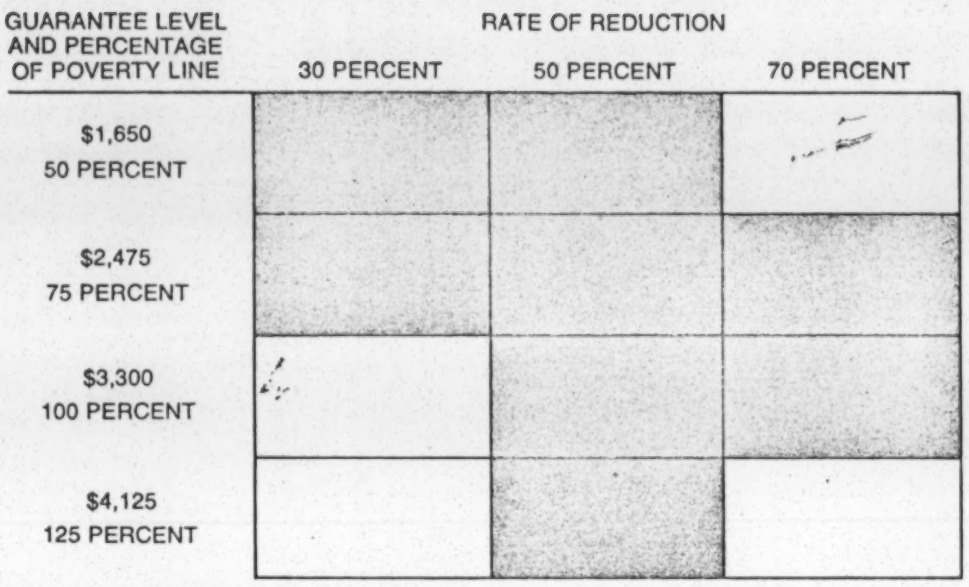
Families were free to do whatever they wished with the payments. They also could move anywhere in the U.S. If a member left the original family unit, he or she still received a share of the family grant. Payments were excluded from taxable income under a ruling obtained from the Internal Revenue Service.

In addition to the income data on the forms mailed in by the experimental families every four weeks, information on the work response and other characteristics of the sample was obtained from interviews administered every three months by the Urban Opinion Surveys Division of Mathematica to both the experimental and the control families. The questionnaires sought information on such matters as participation in the labor force, financial status, medical and educational histories, family structure and political and social integration. Twelve such interviews were made, and a 13th quarterly interview was undertaken to ascertain what understanding the families had of the experiment.

We have now obtained a great deal of information about the 1,300 families. We shall be analyzing the results for another year. Unanalyzed portions of the data will be made available, under controlled conditions, to investigators over the next few years. Even though the analysis is not complete, we have reached a stage where it is possible to describe the principal results in a preliminary way.

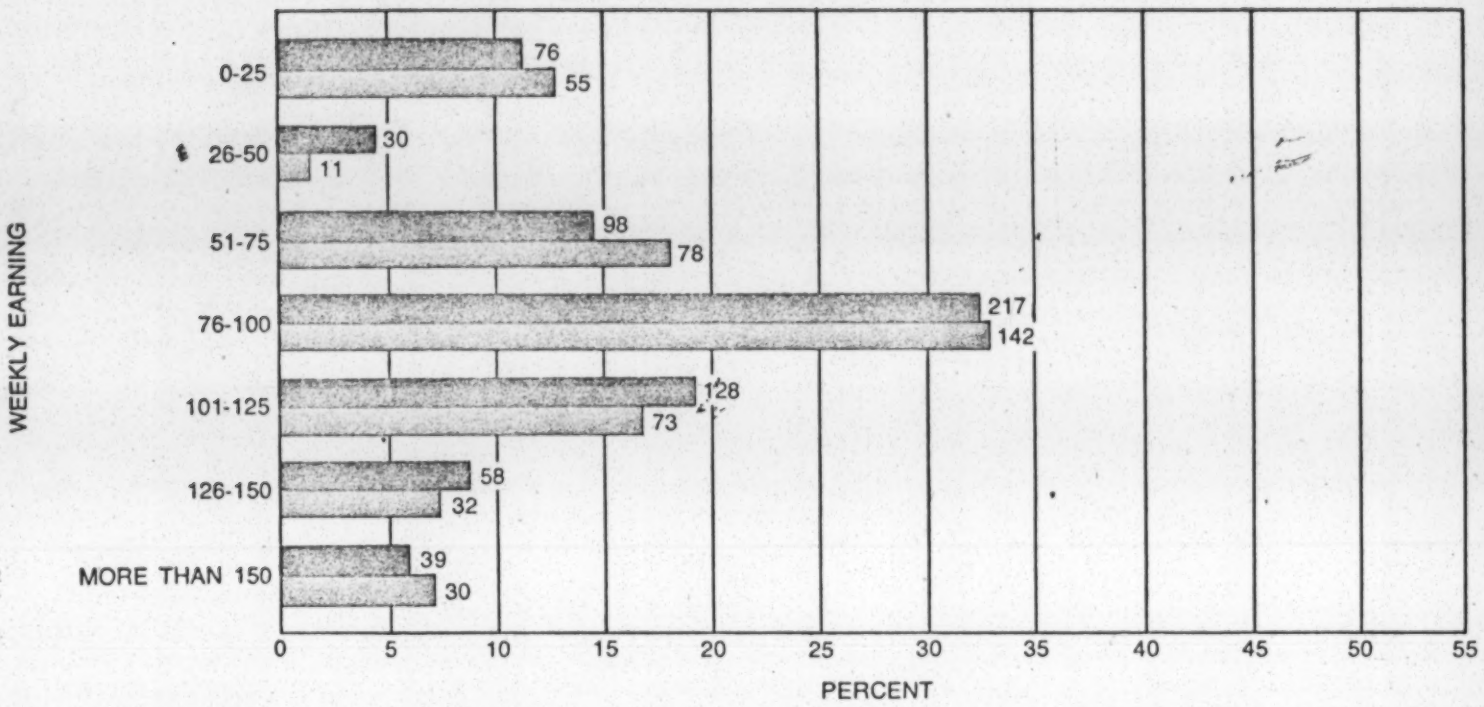
The most important results, of course, are those that bear on the work response. The question to be asked here is: How did the work behavior of the families in the experimental group compare with the work behavior of the families in the control group? The preliminary results give no evidence indicating a significant decline in weekly earnings as a result of the introduction of the payments [*see illustration on page 25*]. About 31 percent of the families in the experimental group showed earning increases of more than $25 per week, compared with about 33 percent of the controls. About 25 percent of the experimental families showed earning declines of more than $25 per week, compared with 23 percent of the controls. These differences are too small to be regarded as statistically significant. That is a most encouraging finding.

A second finding in terms of work response was identified when improvements in the computer system enabled us to analyze indicators other than earnings. One such indicator was the number of hours worked. An analysis primarily made by Harold Watts of the University of Wisconsin, who is the principal inves-

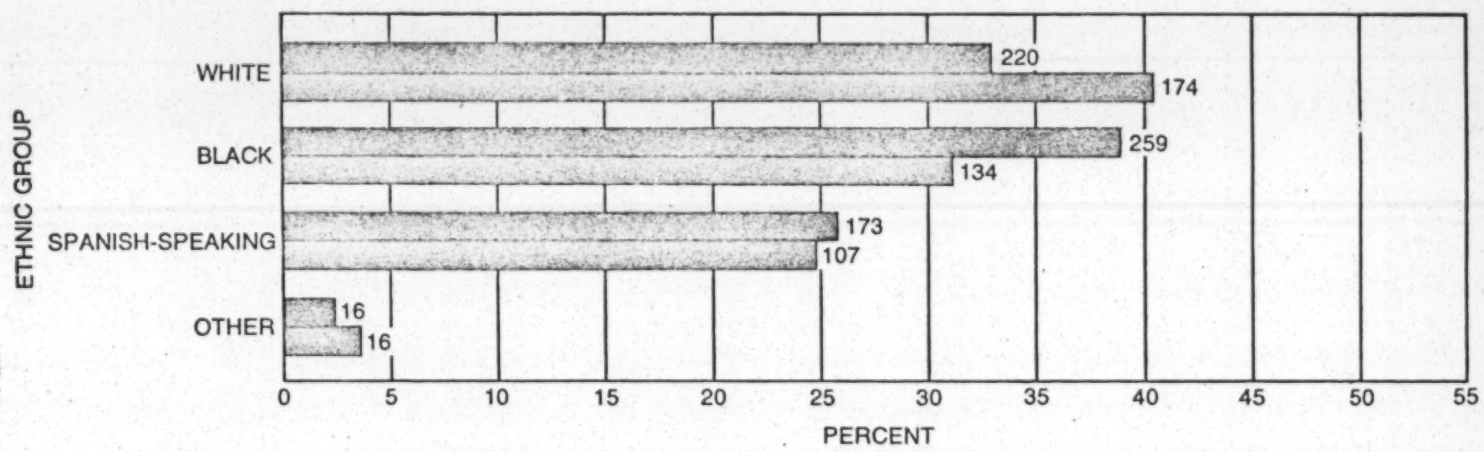


EIGHT COMBINATIONS of guarantee and rate of reduction employed in the negative-tax experiment are indicated by the colored squares. The "poverty line" was established in 1967, when the negative-tax experiment was designed, as $3,300 per year for a family of four.

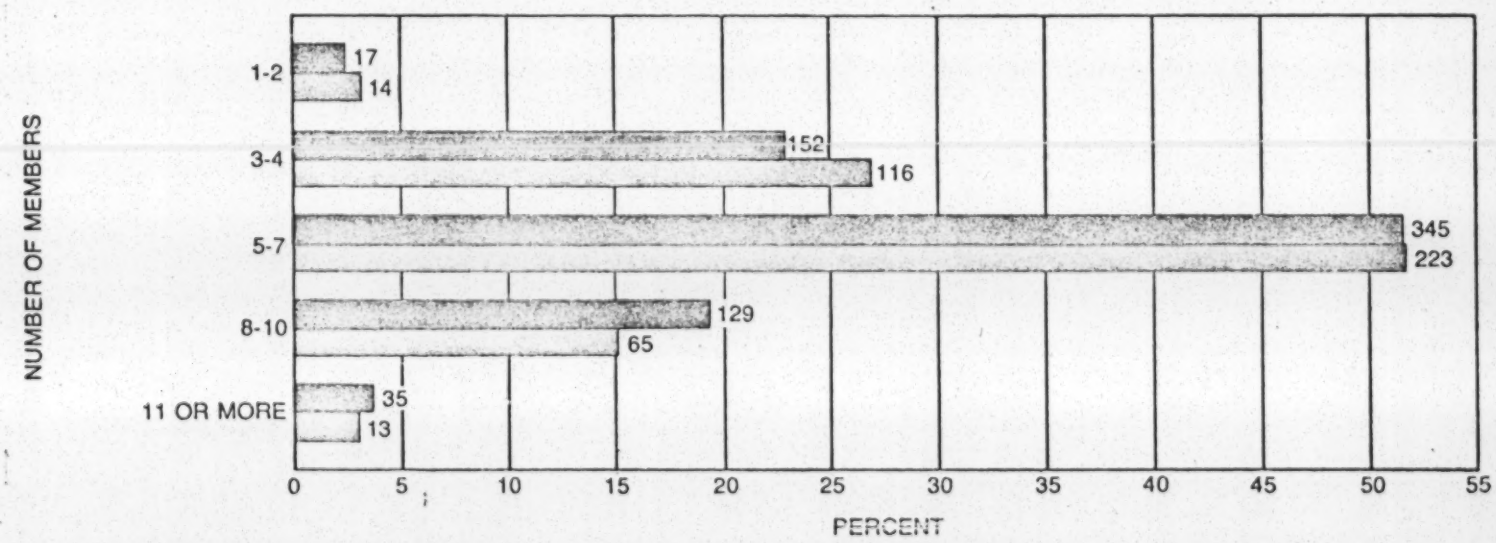
GUARANTEES AND REDUCTIONS are shown on the opposite page in various combinations. For each level of earned income the negative-tax payment (*color*) and the earned income (*gray*) are indicated for three rates of reduction. The problem in arriving at an optimum combination is that a low rate of reduction results in a costly negative-income-tax plan and a high rate tends to make the recipients less inclined to work to increase income.



WEEKLY EARNINGS of the families that received negative-tax payments (*color*) are compared with the weekly earnings of the "control" families (*gray*) at the beginning of the experiment. The control families received no payments but were treated otherwise in the same way as the families receiving negative-tax payments. Numeral at end of each bar shows number of families in the group.



ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION of the families in the experiment is indicated. The colored bars represent families that received negative-tax payments and the gray bars the control families. Until Scranton was added, most of the sample was either black or Puerto Rican.

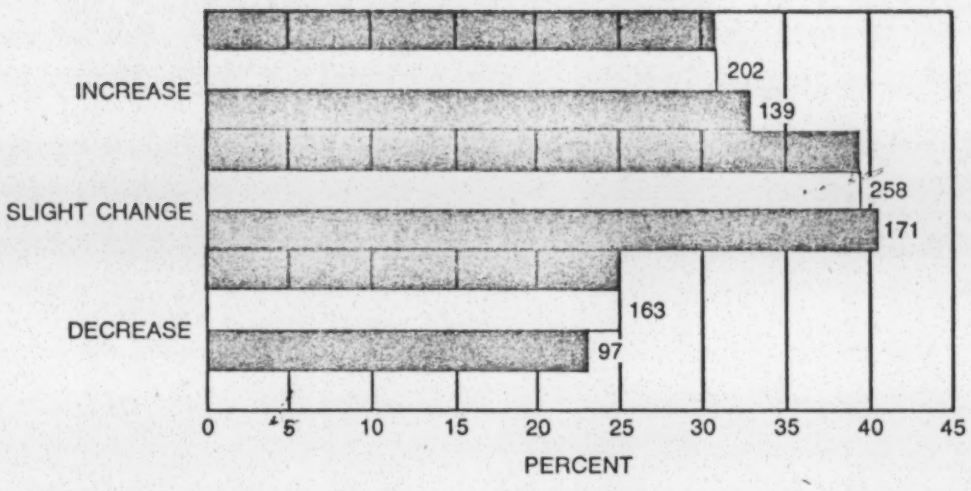


FAMILY SIZE of participating families is charted. Again the colored bars represent families that received payments, the gray bars represent control families and the numerals give the number of families in each group. A member of a family who left the household after the beginning of the experiment continued to receive his or her proportionate share of the family's negative-tax payment.

tigator in the experiment, showed that the hours worked by families in the experimental group are about 12 percent fewer than the hours worked by families in the control group. The difference is statistically significant.

Close examination reveals that about 40 percent of the difference is attributable to primary earners in the experimental group who worked less than primary earners in the control group. The reasons appear to be small differences in overtime pay, in periods of unemployment and in time spent on a second job. The remaining 60 percent is attributable to spouses and other adult workers in the family. Interestingly enough, it does not appear that these people are leaving the labor force in comparison to the control group; instead it seems that they are entering the labor force less rapidly. This observation suggests that the reason for the lower number of hours worked in the experimental group may be that people in those families take longer to look for better jobs. The availability of the negative-income-tax payment enables the worker to do that instead of having to accept the first job he finds.

The possibility that recipients spend more time looking for better jobs is a hypothesis; it may not be the actual reason for the reduction in hours worked. Attributing precise causes is a complicated process. Further analysis may provide answers. In any case a reduction of only 12 percent suggests that the introduction of a national negative-income-tax program will not give rise to a tidal wave of voluntary idleness. It certainly would be encouraging if people are reducing their work hours in order to look for better jobs.



CHANGE OF EARNINGS of families that received negative-tax payments (*color*) and of control families (*gray*) is charted for the first two years of the experiment. "Increase" means a rise of more than $25 per week, "slight change" a rise or fall of less than $25 and "decrease" a decline of more than $25. Since the comparisons are so close, there is no statistically valid evidence that the payments curbed the recipients' incentive to work.

We have also obtained information on the attitudes of the people in our experimental and control populations toward work. There would appear to be little reason for low-income workers to adhere to the "Protestant ethic." Why should they consider work a good thing? In the labor market they have met discrimination, low wages, poor working conditions and arbitrary layoffs. For some reason, however, the people we interviewed generally supported the idea of work. This attitude could prove significant if the nation undertakes to develop an income-maintenance system that provides a smooth transition from poverty to reasonable affluence.

It is conceivable that the most important and lasting result of the New Jersey experiment will be the support it provides for the idea of social experimentation. Although the experiment encountered a number of serious unforeseen problems, in general it worked: families were chosen and assigned to experimental or control groups, money was paid, interviews were conducted, data were assembled, analysis was done and results were sent to Washington, where policy makers used them. A more rigorous question is whether social experimentation is a cost-effective way of obtaining answers to policy questions.

The weaknesses of the method are fairly clear: it is an expensive way of gathering information (the cost of the New Jersey experiment will be almost $10 million in the end); it takes a long time to get results, since measuring human behavior with confidence requires at least several years, and it is difficult to control the environment of the experiment. The strengths of social experimentation as a policy tool are also rather clear: it is the only way to obtain information on some kinds of behavioral change before a new program is introduced; it is the best way to collect precise information on specific issues because it is carefully structured and controlled, and it can help to focus the attention of able and imaginative scholars and professionals on new issues. On balance, social experimentation has thus far proved to be an effective new tool.

The New Jersey experiment has given rise to, or at least encouraged, a number of other social experiments. The rural negative-income-tax experiment, sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity and conducted by the Institute for Research on Poverty, covers 800 rural families in Iowa and North Carolina. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has provided money for income-maintenance experiments in Seattle, Gary, Ind., and Denver and also for the Vermont family-assistance-planning study, which was designed to explore the more important administrative issues in the Family Assistance Plan. The experiments in housing allowance, sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, give housing vouchers to poor families in several cities with the aim of studying the response of families and landlords, the demand and supply of housing and how a national housing-allowance program might be administered. The Office of Economic Opportunity is sponsoring an education-voucher demonstration and a health-insurance experiment. The education-voucher program seeks to measure the effect on communities and students of giving all parents in a particular area vouchers good for education at a school of their choice. In the health-insurance experiment about 2,000 families will be placed on various health-insurance plans to measure how the utilization of medical services changes in response to differences in the cost of medical care.

Other social experiments are under consideration. They involve such issues as child care, problems of income measurement and administrative techniques in cash-assistance programs. One can anticipate that an increasing number of policy decisions on major social programs will be made with the assistance of information obtained through social experiments undertaken to explore these issues and others yet unforeseen.

Welfare Reform

While mother works

Who needs day care?

Robin does. *Her mother is divorced and works as a clerk for the city government. At noon, Robin comes home to their small apartment from her split-session, third grade class. Then 8-year-old Robin is on her own until her mother arrives home at six.*

George does. *When his father deserted the family, his mother found work as a cafeteria worker in a hospital. His sister, who is 11, dropped out of school to care for 3-year-old George.*

Alice does. *Her father is a salesman who was seriously disabled in an automobile accident. Her mother has gone back to teaching. Alice, at 18 months, is in the care of a maid who is clean and efficient, but without warmth or humor or interest in children.*

Joseph does. *Both his parents are college students who work part-time. In the 6 months since his birth, Joseph's daily routine has consisted of being handed from neighbor to neighbor in the trailer park where his young parents live.*

Paul does . . . *and so do his brothers and sisters. Paul is the youngest, almost 2; the oldest in this family of nine children is 12. Their father is unemployed, their mother hospitalized. The family lives in two rooms in a slum tenement; they eat—and even sleep—in shifts.*

Jerry and Sharon do. *When their mother died last month, Grandma moved in to help. But active twins, aged 2, are too much for Grandma; the household is frantic, untidy, unhappy. The twins' father cannot afford a housekeeper, has trouble providing even the necessities of life. But he cannot face giving up his children to foster parents.*

Day care *is a service for* **any** *child who is threatened with neglect during any part of the day. Day care is needed by many millions of children, from homes that are well-to-do and homes that are poverty-stricken . . . from families that are broken or disrupted or whole . . . in communities that are urban, suburban, or rural.*

Mothers of 6 million pre-school children are working. What happens to them—and millions of older children—while their mother earns—or helps to earn—the family living?

Unions show the way

Five days a week, forty kids aged three to thirteen report at 7:30 a.m. to the Park Village Day Care Center in Cleveland.

Pre-school children participate in educational programs, receive three nutritious meals and are well-cared for by trained professionals. Older children attend school but return to the center for lunch and after school lets out.

The children are from low income families. Their parents work or are enrolled in job training programs. Few can afford to pay for any child care at all and none could ordinarily afford the quality care the children at Park Village receive.

But Park Village is special. It is sponsored by two unions with a sense of community spirit, SEIU Local 47 and Local 427 of the Meatcutters. They financed the construction of the center and bought the furniture and other equipment. The unions pay for the utilities and custodial care, and, when necessary bail out the center financially with emergency funds.

WORKING PARENTS pay what they can afford, based on a sliding scale of fees and the County welfare department pays for the children of families on public assistance.

No Local 47 members directly benefit from the center, although they may send their children. "It is truly rendering a community service," says Mrs. Gladys Scipio, Park Village's director. "The parents in the area are working or trying to obtain job skills to help lift their families out of poverty. Without the center they simply could not provide proper care for their children."

At the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Day Care Center in Chicago, 60 children are cared for in a comfortable, airy building open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., five days a week, 50 weeks a year. The teaching staff is comprised of a director, five fully accredited teachers and four assistant teachers. There is also a full-time cook, a part-time psychiatric social worker, part-time volunteers and an attending pediatrician and dentist. All medical and dental care is provided at no cost to the parent.

EACH CHILD receives breakfast, a hot lunch and a mid-morning and mid-afternoon snack, all prepared in a fully-equipped, on-premises kitchen.

The building is single-story with no permanent walls within, enabling shifting screens to enlarge, enclose or alter. It features super graphic designs, is fully carpeted and has outdoor play areas.

The program is rich and varied. There are learning groups, freeplay, outdoor play or physical education programs, directed active play time and creative activities. At least once a month the children go on field trips to museums and other places of interest.

The cost of maintaining the children in the center is estimated to be $2900 annually per child. It is totally free to the member; the center is financed by the Amalgamated Social Benefits Fund which is employer contributed and union administered.

PARK VILLAGE and the Chicago center run by the Clothing Workers are examples of labor and industry's response to the child care crisis in this country. Centers like them are scarce. But, a comprehensive child care bill recently passed by the Senate may bring the federal government to the rescue of millions of working mothers who desperately need good child care.

Mothers of six million pre-school children in the United States are working. Government, industry and labor all have a stake in the problem of how to take care of them while their mothers work.

Until the last few years, day care centers were regarded as an arrangement only for the children of welfare or disadvantaged families. This is no longer true. Millions of women from middle income families are working to supplement their husband's income.

Research

★ON WELFARE

Welfare - Gen

Burson Praises Nixon Stance

By STEVE BALL JR.

For a long time state welfare director Bill Burson has felt the federal government should, as the old saying goes, "Do something even if it's wrong," about its welfare program.

Now, Burson feels, President Richard Nixon has done precisely that.

"The President has performed a great service in saying the present welfare system has failed," Burson declared this weekend in an interview in which he explained in detail for the first time his views of the new Nixon welfare proposals.

"If he doesn't accomplish anything else, I think he has performed a service for which history will bless him," Burson continued.

"In general I agree with the President in starting a debate that hopefully will result in a program that will solve rather than perpetuate welfare problems."

WILLIAM H. BURSON
Gives Welfare Views

BUT THEN the Georgia director got down to some specifics which, incidentally, he likely will present some day to the U.S. Senate Finance Committee since he is one of six persons requested by Connecticut Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, former secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to serve in an advisory capacity during hearings on the new welfare legislation.

First, Burson wonders, "aren't we putting the cart before the horse to federalize AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and not the adult categories which need only money?

He explained that Nixon is proposing doing away with the AFDC program by providing a minimum benefit of $1,600 a year for a family of four and, apparently, dropping all assistance other than monetary (caseworkers, etc.). Direct federal payments to families would thus "federalize" the program.

On the other hand, Burson pointed out, the state's main obligation to the adult categories—the aged, the blind and the disabled—is almost wholly financial. These categories could more easily be taken over by Washington or, as Burson put it, "Let the federal govern-

where people are able to work," Burson said he does not believe Nixon "took as much pain as he should to point out that nine out of 10 can't work because they're too old, too sick or too young."

Burson also expressed concern that while Nixon made proposals to require fewer mothers to work, thus helping solve "the immediate problem of day care centers," the President's plan would likely "intensify the problem of culturally deprived child."

"He proposed nothing approaching a preschool program for children on the same level as a training program for adults," Burson said.

"Tomorrow's problem is not going to be solved except through a pre-school program that gives a child the incentive to be more productive than his parents."

Also, Burson said, "Mr. Nixon didn't mention at all the ultimate solution—family planning.

"IT'S TRUE," he added, "that he sent a separate message on that." But, he said, the birth control emphasis should have been tied closely to the welfare proposals.

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It is, in fact, the administration's apparent intention to abandon all but financial assistance to families that has Burson most concerned.

"IF THE AFDC category is abolished," he asked, "what happens to our case workers, family planning program, even Medicaid? Where are the people getting help (in addition to money) going to get the help they need? There's complete silence on this point."

Burson paused and grinned, "As a matter of fact, this could put welfare case workers on welfare," then quickly added that was really beside the point.

"Admittedly the welfare organizations have been saying all along they don't want services, they want money—period," he conceded. "But, I wish I thought our clients could solve their own problems—the managing of money, how to keep kids in school, etc.—but the fact that they are our clients shows they can't.

"Without services, we'll just rear another generation like the present generation."

Burson said the "thing I question the most" is the formulas involved in AFDC. "Mr. Nixon is going to get us out of one complicated, unworkable formula into another complicated, unworkable formula on how the money is allocated."

The Nixon formula of a family keeping the first $60 of its monthly income then having its assistance benefits reduced 50 cents for every dollar earned above $60 is "very complicated for even the caseworkers to understand."

"I feel," he said, "it would be simpler to have the $1,600 minimum floor everywhere and then have states match dollar for dollar up to the poverty level."

SEVERAL of Burson's questions about the proposals are financial. He feels, for example, that "the South is going to get left with the short end of the stick again."

As he understands it, Burson said, states that now pay more than $1,600 a month to a family of four would be required only to pay the difference between that $1,600 and their present level while states below the $1,600 level would be required to put up 50 per cent of their AFDC budgets to help the federal government defray costs.

While Burson was especially enthusiastic because Nixon emphasized that the present welfare system breaks up families by penalizing working fathers, and heartily agrees that "work is a factor in those programs would likely "intensify the problem of culturally deprived child."

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In all, Georgia is scheduled to get $20.8 million from Nixon's revenue-sharing plan and save $12.5 million in welfare—a $33.3 million windfall, Burson said.

"I can't reconcile a windfall to the state of Georgia with the great need we have now," Burson declared. "I feel we need to do more rather than less."

The Nixon proposals would, of course, he hastily added, raise the level of assistance in Georgia. The maximum payment for a family of four now under AFDC is $102 a month. That would go to $1,600 a year.

The average payment in Georgia to the aged now is $50.66 a month, to the blind $62.21 and to the disabled $60.60. Nixon would establish a national minimum of $65 a month.

Generally, Burson questions the estimated cost of the Nixon proposals. Some knowledgeable people estimate it at $14 billion rather than the $4 billion price tag the administration uses, he said.

And, he wonders if things like the variation in federal aid to states which pay over his proposed minimum and those which pay less and the lack of any mention of welfare services aren't part of the reason the advertised cost is too low.

BUT, HE nevertheless is gratified that Nixon has "done something" and hopeful that by the time Congress gets through with its debate that "something" will be right.

STORM

Continued from Page 1-A

All craft around Jamaica and Grand Cayman were warned to remain in safe harbor.

The storm was headed toward Bajo Nuevo and Pedro Cays, islands south of Jamaica which the Hurricane Center believed were uninhabited.

Francelia's present course would take her over the same area where killer Hurricane Camille was born and started her vicious charge across the western tip of Cuba enroute to the Louisiana-Mississippi Gulf coast.

The Hurricane Center said besides the gale winds, Jamaica —especially the coastal areas— will be lashed by heavy rains.

HURRICANE WATCHERS said the storm was located at Latitude 15.4 north, Longitude 75.8 west, or about 180 miles south southeast of Kingston, Jamaica.

Simpson said, "There is some possibility of a turn to a more northerly course" which would take the storm across Jamaica and then Cuba.

E WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1

How Useful Are Welfare

By JONATHAN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON — "On balance, the Family Assistance Plan is not welfare reform. . . . It is a giant step backward. It is worse than the present inadequate welfare system. FAP must be opposed and defeated by those who believe in improving the conditions and opportunities of poor people." So says the militant National Welfare Rights Organization.

"While the country is desperate for real welfare reform—something to begin curbing welfare rolls and costs—HRI (the family assistance bill) is a step in the opposite direction. . . . It would make so many more people eligible for welfare that our relief rolls could reach 15 million persons in 1973, twice the figure for 1970." So says the National Chamber of Commerce.

So just what is the welfare reform bill due to be debated by the House this week—a conservative crackdown or a liberal giveaway? Would it force hapless mothers with little tots to leave their homes and labor as domestic servants, or would it encourage thousands of gainfully employed workers to rush to the dole of a guaranteed annual income?

Following the pattern of previous welfare reforms, the new bill probably can be expected to do a little of both. It's a schizoid mixture of stringent work requirements designed to cut back relief rolls and more generous grants designed to ease the poor's financial plight. Less powerful blends of this same "tough-tender" antidote were administered in the government's 1962 and 1967 welfare reforms, and it's significant that neither reform had much success in cutting welfare costs.

The mixture is being applied again, however, because Congress finds it politically essential to "crack down on cheaters" and exalt the virtues of work whenever it enlarges the welfare program and makes grants more generous. The result is the appearance of cutbacks but the reality of expanded cost.

Either out of cynicism or lack of knowledge, each new attempt to make the welfare program more capable of caring for the poor acted in 1962 would provide the basis for getting these people on their feet and off the relief rolls," complained Rep. John Byrnes, the Wisconsin Republican and key welfare legislator. "We were shocked to see what little effect that legislation actually had."

CWT was succeeded in 1965 by Title V of the anti-poverty program, which paid the total costs of work and training programs for welfare recipients. Title V had more money, over $100 million a year, and offered greater financial incentives to the states to participate. More persons were trained, but the end results were not much more encouraging.

"By the time Ways and Means was holding hearings in 1967 on public assistance legislation, the facts were that 133,000 welfare recipients had enrolled in the programs since 1964, 22,000 had found jobs, and 70,000 were in training, but the total number of recipients of AFDC (Aid to Families With Dependent Children) had increased by 800,000 during the three years. In an Alice-in-Wonderland kind of situation, the more work training successes reported, the larger the population dependent on public relief became," reports Gilbert Steiner, a Brookings Institution welfare expert in his book "The State of Welfare" (Brookings).

By 1967 the AFDC rolls were growing at an alarming rate, states were facing mounting fiscal problems meeting their welfare costs and the lawmakers were desperate for solutions. Congress thereupon gave renewed impetus to work and training programs for AFDC recipients. (The aged, blind and the disabled who presumably couldn't help themselves simply got bigger grants). The Welfare Reform Act of 1967 set up a new program, known as WIN for Work Incentive. WIN required able-bodied recipients—including mothers, much to the consternation of liberals—to register at local Labor Department offices and take suitable work or training. To help them, more money was provided for manpower education and day care.

The aim of the new measure, said the lawmakers, was "reducing the AFDC rolls by restoring more families to employment and self-reliance, thus reducing federal financial involvement in the program."

Needless to say, it has not turned out that way: Since 1967 the AFDC rolls have doubled from 5 million to 10 million recipients. WIN did not really get off the ground until mid-

women WIN graduates is $2 an hour and for men $2.50 an hour, the Labor Department reports.

The drop-out rate is high, and many participants return to the welfare rolls. Administrators maintain that the potential of the program has not been attained because of the shortage of day-care facilities for children; federal financing now makes day care available to only 50,000 children. But even if this problem were solved, elementary arithmetic suggests that the fiscal payoff is not very promising. The cost of day care is about $2,000 a year per child. If work expenses are added, it's probably cheaper for the government to let mothers stay at home.

Emphasis Unchanged

Despite all the difficulties of the past, the administration's current welfare reform measure continues to emphasize the work ethic. "Congress feels there's a hell of a difference between people who ought to be working and those who can't," explains one welfare expert. The Family Assistance Plan extends the work requirement to women with pre-school children, provides far more money for day care and requires able-bodied recipients to get their payments from the Labor Department. The aim, the lawmakers report, is to create "a system of assistance which will maximize the incentive and the obligation of those who are able to work to help themselves . . . to move every family in which there are employable adults toward employment and economic independence."

The forecasts now are that these work provisions will result in 1.3 million fewer persons on the relief rolls by 1976. Maybe this will happen. But nine years of effort and three programs don't offer great hope.

There's no doubt that the Family Assistance Plan embodies fundamental welfare reforms. It would establish the first uniform national eligibility standards for welfare recipients; guarantee poor families an annual income of $2,400; reduce the inequities between welfare payments in destitute and wealthy states; give the "working poor" supplemental income if their earnings fall below $4,320 a year.

But the plan is also a perpetuation of the past. It offers bigger grants—$2.3 billion more a year for the aged, blind and disabled, and poor families—coupled with vigorous work re-

Work Rules?

... angle of vision for the parade of freaks and funnymen.

A female Hercules in Wagnerian garb accepts the challenge of a huge Miss Tarzan; a mermaid named Neptuna smiles at us with her icy blue lips; Siamese twins in their formaldehyde womb are displayed for their beauty; the clowns in their grotesque makeup batter each other with jesting cruelties, and all to the frenetic lyricism of Nino Rota's music.

To the child, the circus is terrifying. "The clowns didn't make me laugh, they frightened me," he tells us.

But that fear exists outside the tent as well, since the travesty of the circus is, to the boy Fellini, at one with the inherent absurdity of the real world. He recalls for us a midget nun, a vulgar old lecher, a madman who plays at battle after seeing war movies, and a gorgeous theatrical duo who appear in the local billiard hall. "The world," our true narrator the adult Fellini tells us elsewhere, "is peopled with clowns."

* * *

We are not, however, allowed the smug pleasure of seeing only these oddballs as clowns. The circus is the world, the world is the circus and we are all implicated, even Mr. Fellini himself. He and his good-sized crew climb out of a tiny car in a delicious parody of parody. Projectors fail; aged film clips of aged clowns are ridiculously short.

But it is not to criticize that these connections are made; it is not to tell us all life is absurd and we are ridiculous figures on a garish stage. The magnificent ending of the film refutes these possibilities affirming, as it does, both the clowns themselves and the tendencies in man Fellini sees them as embodying: "his thrust toward the lofty, and his push towards the base."

In a stunning sequence, we witness the mock funeral of Auguste, the tramp clown. But Auguste, like the aging clowns we have encountered throughout the film, refuses to die. He rises from his comical coffin to the heights of a confetti colored heaven and flies amid streamers, his cables obvious, but angelic and aloft nevertheless.

An old clown expresses his pleasure at the act and with a gentle melancholy recalls one of his own routines. In a vast, empty hall, out

On Film

By Joy Gould Boyum

A new film by Federico Fellini is a major cultural event. For although the status of film as art may be insecure, that of Fellini as major artist is not. Whatever the response to his individual works, his genius is as unquestioned as his success. "The Clowns," his most recent work, can only confirm his reputation as master film maker.

"The Clowns" may frustrate whatever expectations the uninitiated audience brings to the film experience. It has no plot, at least in the sense of a casual sequence of events, nor does it offer developed characterizations.

Even more disorienting, it seems to refuse the illusion of reality, the basic bit of artifice which would persuade us that what we are witnessing is actual life and not an image of it.

"The Clowns" insists on itself as film. We see before us Federico Fellini, himself as himself, and we are introduced directly to his cameramen and crew whom we follow from circus to circus as they record the film we are presumably seeing now. But in compelling our attention to itself as medium, the film intensifies the illusion it would seem to deny. It forces our surrender to its reality when in the end it is art.

The film's ultimate refusal, and perhaps its most elaborate dissimulation, is its explicit denial that it carries a message (and by implication, a meaning). "Signor Fellini," an interviewer asks the director in the course of the film, "What message are you trying to give us here?" Fellini, about to answer (or then again, not to answer) is suddenly assaulted by a clown's bucket which, landing upside down directly on his head, conveniently muffles him.

The result of all this apparent formlessness should be perplexing confusion, if not precious trickery; but it is instead triumphant cinema, accessible to any who will open themselves to its dynamic and joyful vision of fantasy.

* * *

The imaginative world literally constructed before us is, of course, that of the circus, with its chief players, the clowns, and its P. T. Barnum, Federico Fellini, the maestro who stages the spectacle of comedy and terror with extraordinary wit and above all, a wry but pervasive nostalgia. What in fact shapes the film is a loving remembrance of things past and the consequent excursion towards rediscovery and revival.

"The clowns of my childhood where are they?" Fellini asks. This question, which comes less as an intrusion than as an assertion of the film's subjectivity, is what "The Clowns" attempts to answer.

Appropriately, we enter this world through the vantage point of a child, watching with him the raising of tents in the shadowy night that is the traditional environment of dreams. In the morning, we follow the boy in his sailor suit, shortly to become spectators to the circus performance, an emphatically stationary camera our angle of vision for the parade of

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G.I.

Poverty, Income Maintenance, and the Negative Income Tax

by

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ilr Paperback No. 1

RISING WELFARE COSTS SPUR DEMANDS FOR CHANGE

President Nixon's welfare recommendations, expected to include proposals for the first major innovations in the welfare system since it was created by the Social Security Act of 1935, are scheduled to be submitted to Congress Aug. 8.

Momentum for reform of the system has been building since the early 1960s.

In the words of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders: "The failures of the system alienate the taxpayers who support it, the social workers who administer it and the poor who depend on it." The Commission might have added local and state governments to the list of those who object to its costs and administrative problems.

Welfare costs have soared in recent years with growing numbers of recipients added to the rolls. Nationally, relief rolls have risen almost 10 percent a year since the mid-1960s, with most of the increase in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program.

In December 1968, almost 9.7 million persons received aid under state and federal public assistance programs—a 9.5 percent increase over December 1967. Total cost in 1968 was $9.8 billion—an increase of $2 billion over 1967.

The public assistance programs provide aid to the blind, physically disabled, elderly poor and dependent children. Medical assistance for the needy is also provided through Medicaid. The costs of the programs are shared by local, state and federal governments.

In addition, many states offer other types of welfare assistance for which there is no federal reimbursement—a category of aid called "general assistance."

The highest welfare costs come in the AFDC program, because it has the largest number of participants. From 1949 to 1959 the increase in AFDC recipients was one million, from 1959 to 1968 the increase was three million. The January 1969 total of AFDC recipients nationwide was 6.2 million persons. The program cost a total of $815 million in 1958 and $2.5 billion in 1968.

Why the upsurge in welfare rolls has taken place is uncertain. Several explanations have been offered.

One possible explanation is the migration of rural poor to the cities. In rural areas, the poor may have been able to scratch out a meager existence on farms; when they arrive in the cities, they often lack the skills needed for employment. Unemployment coupled with higher living costs often leads them to welfare.

Greater federal participation in the public assistance programs also has been considered as causing welfare rolls to grow. As the Federal Government has increased its share of welfare costs, local governments have been able to ease requirements and increase grants. The national average AFDC payment for a family of four rose from $113 a month in 1960 to $168 in 1968.

Until 1960, the rate at which AFDC applications were accepted remained stable at 55 percent. In 1968, 75 percent of all who applied for the program were approved for assistance.

Court decisions also have influenced the trend to larger numbers of welfare recipients. The most recent major decision on welfare—the April 21 ruling of the Supreme Court that residency requirements for welfare eligibility are unconstitutional—promises an increase of 100,000 to 200,000 in the AFDC program.

The antipoverty program also may play a part in rising welfare costs through its efforts to encourage the poor to organize. The growing militancy of persons on welfare has led to the formation of the National Welfare Rights Organization. The group claims 250 affiliated local welfare rights organizations with more than 30,000 members (mostly welfare mothers) in 100 cities. Its major demand is a "guaranteed adequate income" system providing $5,500 a year for a family of four.

History

(For history of public assistance programs, see Congress and the Nation p. 1225)

The most important welfare bill ever passed by Congress was the Social Security Act of 1935 (PL 74-271).

Enacted in the midst of the Depression, the Act changed both the concept of personal economic security in the United States and the nature of federal-state relationships in the welfare field.

The heart of the Social Security Act consisted of five programs: old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, Old-Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind and Aid to Dependent Children.

The old-age insurance program (officially called Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance or OASDI) provides retirement benefits to persons who contribute to the system through their working years. Unemployment insurance is financed through a payroll tax on employer and employee.

The programs generally considered "welfare" programs today are the three programs of public assistance authorized under the Act—Old-Age Assistance (OAA). Aid to the Blind (AB) and Aid to Dependent Children (now called Aid to Families with Dependent Children or AFDC).

In 1950, a fourth public assistance program was added: Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD) (PL 81-734).

Another program sometimes included in a discussion of welfare is the Medicaid program, begun in 1960 as Medical Assistance for the Aged (PL 86-778). The program was designed to provide aid to elderly persons not poor enough to qualify for Old-Age Assistance but judged by the states to be "medically needy." In 1965 the medical assistance program was extended to all persons on public assistance.

All the programs operate in the same basic manner. The states make monthly cash payments to eligible indi-

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Public Assistance Programs, 1936-68

The number of recipients, average monthly payments and amount of federal grants to the states under the public assistance programs from 1936 (when the first three programs went into effect) through 1968 are shown below. Recipients and average monthly payments are for the month of December of each. Year. Figures are also given for general assistance, which is financed wholly by state and local governments without federal aid.

In the column headings, the following abbreviations are used:

OAA—Old-Age Assistance.
AFDC—Aid to Families with Dependent Children.
AB—Aid to the Blind.
APTD—Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled.
GA—General Assistance.

NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS

(thousands of persons)

Year	OAA	AFDC Families	AFDC Persons	AB	APTD	GA [1]
1936	1,106	162	404	45		1,510
1940	2,066	370	891	73		1,239
1944	2,066	254	639	72		258
1948	2,498	475	1,214	86		398
1952	2,646	570	1,992	99	164	280
1956	2,514	616	2,271	107	269	305
1960	2,332	806	3,080	108	374	431
1964	2,159	1,030	4,289	96	528	346
1968	2,028	1,522	6,086	80.7	703	391

AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENT [2]

(rounded to nearest dollar)

Year	OAA	AFDC per Family	AB	APTD	GA per Case
1936	$19	$ 30	$26		$24
1940	20	32	25		24
1944	28	46	29		29
1948	42	72	44		47
1952	51	84	55	54	50
1956	58	95	63	59	56
1960	69	115	73	68	72
1964	79	141	86	81	69
1968	70	168	93	84	96

FEDERAL GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE [3]

(millions of dollars, rounded to nearest tenth)

Year	Total	OAA	AFDC	AB	APTD
1936	$ 28.4	$ 24.7	$ 2.5	$ 1.3	
1940	271.1	220.5	44.7	6.0	
1944	404.9	340.8	54.4	9.8	
1948	718,4	562.4	139.6	16.4	
1952	1,177.7	800.3	303.3	29.4	44.7
1956	1,455.3	928.6	396.8	32.0	92.0
1960	2,033.8	1,157.5	660.2	48.8	167.2
1964	2,921.6 [4]	1,232.6	1,018.0	45.7	245.9
1968	4,702.9 [4]	1,218.1	1,404.4	52.1	383.6

1 Figure for general assistance is for the number of cases, not individuals aided.
2 Average monthly payment is for month of December, and includes vendor payments from 1950 on, except for general assistance. Figure for 1968 is actually for January 1969.
3 Grants are for the federal fiscal year and therefore are a June, rather than December figure.
4 Includes vendor payments for medical care.

SOURCE: Department of Health, Education and Welfare

gent persons to pay for their living expenses, and the Federal Government reimburses the states for part of their costs. Assistance under all programs is limited to persons judged needy by the states.

Changes have been made periodically in the federal-state formulas for the public assistance programs, with the federal share increasing each time. In 1950, Congress permitted the Federal Government to reimburse the states not only for money payments made to recipients under the four programs but also for "vendor" payments for medical care—payments by the state directly to doctors, hospitals, etc., for treatment of public assistance recipients. To compute the federal reimbursement, the amount of money payments to an individual and vendor payments made for his medical care were added together, and the regular public assistance formula was applied against the total.

In 1958, a partial sliding scale for matching was adopted, which varied the federal reimbursement from state to state in accordance with the state's per-capita income. States with per-capita income lower than the national average received more favorable matching than states with per-capita income higher than the national average. Another change in the 1958 amendments based all future matching computations on average state spending per person, instead of requiring individual computations for each beneficiary.

Following is a description of the programs:

Old-Age Assistance—A program of monthly cash payments to support indigent persons aged 65 and over. Under the original matching formula in the 1935 Act, the Federal Government agreed to reimburse the states for half of any amount up to $30 a month. Maximum federal reimbursement was therefore $15 per person aided.

The most recent change in the formula was made in 1965, when the federal share was raised to 31/37 of the first $37. The Federal Government also pays 50 to 65 percent of the remaining state cost, with the percentage depending on state per-capita income. The maximum federal payment is $75 a month per recipient.

Aid to the Blind—This program is identical to Old-Age Assistance in administration, methods of operation and federal matching formula, but it applies to blind adults rather than the elderly.

Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled—Established in 1950, this program also uses the same formula and other administrative methods of Old-Age Assistance.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children—A program of support for needy children deprived of normal parental support because of death, incapacity or absence from the home of a parent. Typically, the states (on the basis of a test of need) make payments to help a woman with no husband support her children.

In the beginning, the Federal Government reimbursed the state for one-third of the first $18 monthly state payment for one child and one-third of the first $12 for each additional child.

The AFDC formula now provides a maximum federal monthly payment of $32 per recipient. The formula provides a federal share of five-sixths of the first $18 and 50 to 65 percent of the balance, depending on state per-capita income.

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Medicaid—The Social Security Amendments of 1960 (PL 86-778) created a program of Medical Assistance to the Aged (MAA) under which the Federal Government reimbursed the states for 50 to 80 percent of state expenditures for medical care for the indigent elderly. The percentage depended on per-capita income in the state.

When Congress established the Medicare program in 1965 (PL 89-97), it provided a new Title XIX to the Social Security Act to combine all the medical provisions for the needy in the act. The MAA program was extended to needy persons who were eligible for public assistance and, if the state desired, to needy children who did not qualify for public assistance. The formula of federal reimbursement was raised to between 55 and 83 percent.

Costs and Recipients

In 1945, total spending by state, local and federal governments for public assistance, combined with the wholly state-financed general assistance programs, came to $987.9 million. Of this total, the federal share was $401.9 million or 40.7 percent.

By 1963, total welfare spending had risen to $4.7 billion, of which the federal share was $2.7 billion or 55.7 percent. In June 1968, when the total had reached $8.9 billion, the federal share was $4.7 billion or 55.8 percent.

State spending for welfare varies. The taxpayer in New York City pays 12 times as much in local and state taxes for welfare as does the taxpayer in Mississippi.

AFDC draws the most fire of any of the welfare programs. Taxpayers complain about the fast growth and increasing costs of the program.

Many citizens, according to opinion surveys and the comments of Members of Congress, believe that many persons in the program would rather claim welfare than work.

Welfare mothers complain that they cannot adequately support their children on the payments and that the whole system is demeaning and punitive.

It has been estimated that there are 15 million needy children in the United States, of whom about 4.6 million are eligible for AFDC payments. The majority of the remaining 1.6 million AFDC recipients are mothers.

According to the National Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission), two-thirds of the poor receive no federal money at all, while the one-third who are eligible for public assistance receive only one-half of what they need. In 1968, an Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) official told a Congressional committee that more than 55 percent of the men between age 22 and 54 who headed poor households worked full-time and were still poor.

The National Commission on Urban Problems estimated in mid-1968 that there were only about 80,000 employable males among the 8.4 million persons then on relief.

Income Maintenance Proposals

Since the early 1960s, proposals have been advanced for replacing the welfare system with a guaranteed annual income. That term has included a variety of different plans, including a negative income tax. The basic principle of a guaranteed income is that the Federal Government would make up the difference between a family's earnings and an income determined to be the minimum necessary for a family to live.

Listed below are several of the variations proposed for a guaranteed income system:

Direct full cash payments—In this plan, an income floor, or basic standard level of income, would be established. Direct cash payments would be made to anyone whose income was below the floor.

This system was first proposed by British economist and sociologist Robert Theobald. He called it Basic Economic Security (B.E.S.) The system would guarantee each adult an income of $1,050, and each child, $650, or a total yearly income of $3,400 for a family of four. There would be recalculations of these amounts annually, and no requirement that the recipient work.

Under the Theobald plan, if a family of four had no private income, it would receive a full government allowance of $3,400. If it had an income of $2,000 it would be entitled to $1,400 in government payments and on top of that would receive $200 as a 10 percent premium for earning $2,000 on its own. If a family had income in excess of $3,400 it would not be entitled to any government payments.

Negative Income Tax—The concept of the negative income tax was first developed by University of Chicago economics professor Milton Friedman.

The Friedman plan would work this way:

Under current tax law, a family of four has exemptions plus standard deductions equal to $3,400. Hence if the family had income of $3,400 it would pay no tax—$3,400 would be the break-even point. If the family had no income, it would receive a payment from the Government of $1,700, or 50 percent of the $3,400 break-even figure. If the family had a pre-tax income of $2,000, it would have a negative taxable income of $1,400 and thus would be entitled to a $700 payment from the Government.

Modifications of the Negative Income Tax—Another negative income tax plan has been proposed by Robert Lampman, University of Wisconsin economist. Lampman would use the poverty line (currently set at $3,300) as the break-even level for a four-member family instead of income tax exemptions and minimum standard deductions. But he also recommended a 50 percent rate to compute the Government payment.

A more generous version of the Friedman plan has been advanced by Yale University professor James Tobin. Under the Tobin plan, the break-even point could go as high as $7,500, with a minimum guaranteed floor of $2,500.

Tobin has estimated that an adequate income maintenance program, that would replace most public assistance expenditures, might cost as much as $25 billion a year.

Presidential commission's also have recommended doing away with existing welfare programs in favor of some kind of guaranteed income system.

In 1966, the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress recommended that Congress give "serious study to a minimum income allowance or negative income tax program...to approach by stages the goal of eliminating the need for means test public assistance programs by providing a floor of adequate incomes."

The Kerner Commission in 1968 proposed that the Federal Government provide a minimum guaranteed income to families enrolled in the AFDC program. The

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Negative Income Tax Experiment

A test of the negative income tax began in Trenton, N.J., in October 1968.

The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which is sponsoring the experiment, calls it "graduated work incentives" rather than "negative income tax" because of what it calls the "desired work-inducing effects of the program" or the reduction of payments gradually as other income increases.

The project was extended to two other New Jersey cities early in 1969 and will be tried in rural areas later this year.

Two groups of families have been used—about 800 families in one group who have been receiving graduated work incentive payments and about 400 families in the other group who are receiving no payments. Seven separate payment schedules have been established, with each arrangement guaranteeing a different maximum grant based on income and family size. The grants range from $1,000 to $4,600 a year, with the levels reduced by 33 percent to 75 percent as other income increases.

One variation, for example, provides a 50 percent deduction for earned income and a 75 percent guaranteed income rate applied to the remainder after the 50 percent deduction. Using a break-even point of $3,300 annual income, a family earning $3,000 would lose $1,500 in benefits but still receive $975 (or 75 percent of the $1,500) for a net annual income of $3,975.

The families receiving the payments may spend the money any way they wish and may move from the city and still receive the payments. Their only requirement is filing a monthly report on earnings and number of dependents.

Responsibility for running the experiment has been assigned by the OEO to the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin. The institute in turn has contracted with Mathematica, a group of Princeton University professors, to handle much of the project's administration. Another group set up by the institute—the Council for Grants to Families—works with the project participants and helps them with their problems.

The program is to run for three years and will cost about $5 million. By the end of the three years, the OEO hopes to have learned what changes the income payments have made in the lives of the participants—whether they made greater or fewer efforts to find work and seek promotion, whether the families showed greater stability after receiving the payments and to what uses the extra money was put.

Commission also called for uniform national welfare standards, extension of the AFDC program and absorption of most of the costs of welfare by the Federal Government.

Recent Developments

The welfare laws which originated during the Depression have been amended from time to time by Congress mainly to increase the federal share of benefits. But major federal reforms, apart from the addition of the medical assistance program for the needy, have not been made for many years.

States which have been faced with rapidly accelerating welfare costs have, however, in the last year or two tried adopting regulations designed to cut costs. Congress also has attempted to encourage greater work training by welfare recipients to reduce participation in the programs.

Some of the recent developments involving the welfare system:

Congress. In 1967, Congress sought to tighten the administration and costs of the AFDC program and to encourage working by AFDC mothers. As part of the Social Security Amendments of 1967 (PL 90-248), Congress provided work training and work-incentive programs for AFDC mothers and day-care facilities for their children.

Congress also placed a freeze on the number of AFDC participants for whom the Federal Government would share welfare costs with the states. The ceiling was set at the ratio of AFDC children to the total number of children in the state as of January 1968. States and localities would have been forced to assume the total costs of assistance to all needy children in excess of the freeze. The limitation was intended to prod the states into rapidly using the work-incentive features of the bill.

After postponing the freeze in 1968 for one year, Congress June 30 repealed it entirely. State and local governments argued that they could not afford the increased costs they would have incurred because of the freeze. *(Weekly Report p. 1204)*

The Courts. The Supreme Court ruled April 21 that one-year residency requirements as a basis for welfare eligibility were unconstitutional. The decision, based on three cases from Connecticut, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia, struck down residency requirements in 40 states.

Secretary Robert H. Finch of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) said the decision made minimum federal standards for welfare inevitable. The Department of HEW estimated that 100,000 to 200,000 AFDC recipients might be added to the rolls as a result of the ruling. *(Weekly Report p. 593)*

The Supreme Court on June 17, 1968, invalidated an Alabama regulation that families were ineligible for relief under the AFDC program if an able-bodied man resided in the home, whether or not he was the parent of the children in the home. The state considered the man a "substitute" parent. *(1968 Almanac p. 149)*

HEW in October issued a regulation which stated that "substitute parent" or "man-in-the-house" criteria could not be used by states to disqualify families from assistance.

Federal Agencies. The HEW Department in 1968 ruled that beginning July 1, 1969, persons seeking welfare benefits would be permitted to draw welfare checks without undergoing investigations of eligibility.

The new regulations were to apply only to certain areas for a trial run.

If the Administration decides to go ahead with this approach, the new system will go into effect nationwide on Oct. 1, 1969, for Old-Age Assistance; Jan. 1, 1970, for Aid to the Blind and Disabled; and April 1, 1970, for AFDC.

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NIXON PROPOSES $4 BILLION REVAMP OF WELFARE SYSTEM

President Nixon Aug. 8 proposed an ambitious new domestic program to reform the welfare system, to institute revenue sharing with state and local government and to streamline manpower training programs.

Calling the program The "New Federalism," the President said it would offer "a new and drastically different approach to the way in which government cares for those in need, and to the way the responsibilities are shared between the State and Federal Governments." *(For text of speech, see p. 1517.)*

The major component of the program was a $4 billion welfare system which would set a minimum annual federal payment of $1,600 for needy families. The plan was to cover the "working poor" as well as those with no income and require unemployed adult recipients to obtain job training or employment to receive benefits.

The aim of the program, the President said, was to bring those able to work off welfare rolls and onto payrolls.

The President also proposed turning over to state and local governments the administration of federal job training programs and returning to those governments $500 million in fiscal 1971 as a revenue-sharing measure.

The fourth part of the President's speech dealt with a reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) which the President said had suffered from "a confusion of roles." In the future, the President said, the OEO would be a "laboratory agency" to test new ideas for eliminating poverty.

Reaction to Proposals

Republican Members of Congress and local government officials generally praised the President's program but some skepticism was voiced about the program's chances for passage by Congress. Liberals and welfare groups complained that the proposed welfare benefits were too low.

Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee which would have to approve the recommendations, said he was reserving final judgment on revenue-sharing until he examined the specific formula for disbursing the funds.

"If it is just a block grant with no formula (for ensuring Congressional objectives), I think it is a very bad thing," Mills said. "There would be no restraint on the state legislatures," he continued.

Mills also said he approved of the general concept of the President's welfare plan and hoped to hold early hearings on the proposals. He was concerned about the $4 billion cost, he said, but endorsed the President's program for training the poor for employment.

New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) both praised the plan for providing "needed new concepts for reforming our national welfare system," and criticized it for not giving "significant financial relief to New York or other industrialized states which now bear the heaviest fiscal burden for public assistance."

But two other Republican Governors were less reserved in their enthusiasm for the plan. Minnesota Gov. Harold E. LeVander called the welfare and revenue-sharing proposals "a major breakthrough in federal-state relations" while Washington Gov. Daniel J. Evans said the recommendations could have a more dramatic impact on state and local government "than any federal fiscal action ever taken."

Spokesmen for welfare and civil rights organizations termed the proposed welfare benefits inadequate to meet the needs of the poor, but also said the speech indicated recognition of the enormity of the welfare problem.

Whitney Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said the speech was "the first recognition that welfare is a national problem, demanding income guarantees by the federal government." George A. Wiley, executive director of the National Welfare Rights Organization, said the proposals would not solve the welfare crisis or the crisis of the cities.

The President sent messages to Congress on the following dates: Aug. 11, welfare *(Text p. 1520);* Aug. 12, manpower *(Text p. 1523);* and Aug. 13, revenue-sharing *(Txxt p. 1525).* The OEO reorganization plan *(Text p. 1526)* did not require Congressional approval.

Welfare Message

President Nixon's welfare message proposed two major changes in the existing welfare structure:

- Federal benefits for "working poor" families—those whose income falls below $3,920 for a family of four.
- A national minimum benefit of $1,600 annually for a family of four with no income. Blind, elderly and disabled persons would be assured of a minimum federal monthly payment of $65.

States in which payments presently exceeded the proposed $1,600, the President said, would be required to supplement the federal benefit so that payments did not fall below their current level. No state would be required, Mr. Nixon said, to spend more than 90 percent of its present welfare cost.

Mr. Nixon also recommended that only low-income families without children and needy single persons be eligible for food stamps under the new system.

Office Of Economic Opportunity

President Nixon proposed a reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) aimed at turning the agency into an innovator of experimental programs to take people out of poverty.

He said the agency's functions would be handled by three main offices: the Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation; Office of Program Development and Office of Program Operations.

(Continued on p. 1480)

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Existing Federally Aided Welfare Programs . . .

EXISTING

PROPOSED

Programs

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Aid to the Blind (AB), Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD) and Old-Age Assistance (OAA)

AFDC to be replaced by Family Assistance program. AB, APTD and OAA to be continued.

Eligible Recipients

AFDC—Dependent children in families in which the male of the household is incapacitated, dead or absent, and (in 25 states) where the male head of the household is unemployed. The mothers of the dependent children are also eligible for AFDC payments.

AB, APTD and OAA—Recipients include the blind, the disabled and the needy elderly.

Family Assistance—All families with children whose incomes are under a certain level ($3,920 for a family of four; $5,700 for a family of seven). Two types of families would be covered: "dependent families" headed by a female or unemployed father, and "working poor" families headed by an employed male whose earnings were below $3,920. To be eligible for benefits, unemployed fathers and mothers of school-age children would be required to accept job training or employment.

AB, APTD and OAA—Eligibility unchanged. Recipients include the blind, disabled and needy elderly.

Total Number of Recipients

(March 1969)

AFDC -	Total:	6,478,100
	Children:	4,815,000
	Families:	1,621,000
AB		80,400
APTD		728,000
OAA		2,030,000
General Assistance (supported solely by state funds)		827,000
TOTAL		10,000,000

Family Assistance - Total families:	3.7 million
Total welfare recipients (estimated):	22.4 million

Benefits

National Average Monthly Payments

(March 1969)

	Per family	Per recipient
AFDC	$171.35	$42.90
AB		94.25
APTD		84.60
OAA		70.65
States With Highest Average Monthly Payments		
AFDC - New Jersey - 263.00		65.30
AB - California		144.65
APTD - Iowa		134.35
OAA - Wisconsin		139.00
States With Lowest Average Monthly Payments		
AFDC - Mississippi - 38.75		9.70
AB - Utah		55.35
APTD - Mississippi		49.20
OAA - Mississippi		39.80

Welfare recipients with earnings: First $30 earned a month and one-third of remainder not deducted from welfare check. Remaining two-thirds of earned income deducted.

Family Assistance

1) Families with no earnings:

a. A federal payment of $1,600 a year—$500 for first two family members and $300 for each additional family members.

b. Supplemental state funds.

2) Families with earnings:

a. $1,600-a-year federal benefit, reduced by 50 percent of earnings on money earned above $750 a year. Example: Family of four with earnings of $2,000.

Subtract $720 from $2,000 -	$1,280
50 percent of $1,280 -	640
Subtract $640 from $1,600 -	960
Add $940 to $2000 earned income -	$2,960

AB, APTD, OAA—Federal minimum payment level of $65 a month per recipient, plus state supplementation.

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. . . Compared With Proposals in President's Message

EXISTING

PROPOSED

Federal-State Cost Sharing

AFDC—Federal share: five-sixths of first $18 for each recipient; 50 to 65 percent of balance depending on state per capita income. Maximum federal share—$32 a month per recipient. Each state determines its own cost share.

AB, APTD, OAA—Federal share: $31 of first $37; 50 to 65 percent of balance depending on state per capita income. Maximum federal share - $75 a month per recipient. Each state determines its own cost share.

Family Assistance—Federal share: $1,600 annually for family of four.

State share: States must make up difference between federal $1,600 and state's present benefit level. No state can contribute less than 50 percent of its present total gross costs; no state required to contribute more than 90 percent of its present level.

AB, APTD, OAA—Federal share: 100 percent of first $50, 50 percent of next $15 and 25 percent of remainder. Federal minimum payment per recipient of $65 a month.

Total Federal Costs

(Fiscal 1968)

AFDC	$1.40	billion
AB	.05	
APTD	.38	
OAA	1.2	
Total	$3.0	billion

Estimate, fiscal 1970: $4.2 billion

Additional costs, Family Assistance	$2.5	billion
Additional costs, Adult programs	.4	
Training and day care	.6	
Other costs including administration	.5	
Total additional federal costs	- $4.0	billion
	+ 4.2	fiscal 1970
Total	$8.2	billion

Administration

All welfare programs administered by state and local governments which determine eligibility and size of payments to recipients.

Family Assistance program to be administered by Social Security Administration. AB, APTD and OAA to be combined.

Work Training

AFDC—Under 1967 amendments to Social Security Act, mothers in AFDC program were to seek work training. The legislation provided that an attempt be made to find jobs for those who were employable and that those in need of training be trained and given $30 a month incentive payment. Those who refused to accept work or undertake training were to lose their welfare benefits. The legislation also provided 80 percent federal matching for the cost of the work training program and day care centers for preschool children of mothers in training or on jobs. The states were to participate in the program and determine those required to take training.

1) Employable recipients (able-bodied unemployed fathers and mothers of school-age children) in Family Assistance programs required to accept training or employment or lose their portion of family benefits.

2) 150,000 additional training opportunities for welfare mothers.

3) Child care services for additional 450,000 children in families headed by welfare mothers who seek training or employment.

4) $30 monthly benefit for trainees.

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TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S WELFARE-'WORKFARE' SPEECH

Following is the complete text of President Nixon's Aug. 8 speech on public welfare and other reforms. *(See story, p. 1477)*

As you know, I returned last Sunday night from a trip around the world—a trip that took me to eight countries in nine days.

The purpose of this trip was to help lay the basis for a lasting peace, once the war in Vietnam is ended. In the course of it, I also saw once again the vigorous efforts so many new nations are making to leap the centuries into the modern world.

Here in the United States, we are more fortunate. We have the world's most advanced industrial economy, the greatest wealth ever known to man and the fullest measure of freedom ever enjoyed by any people anywhere.

Yet we, too, have an urgent need to modernize our institutions—and our need is no less than theirs.

We face an urban crisis, a social crisis—and at the same time, a crisis of confidence in the capacity of government to do its job.

A third of a century of centralizing power and responsibility in Washington has produced a bureaucratic monstrosity, cumbersome, unresponsive and ineffective.

A third of a century of social experiment has left us a legacy of entrenched programs that have outlived their time or outgrown their purposes.

A third of a century of unprecendented growth and change has strained our institutions and raised serious questions about whether they are still adequate to the times.

It is no accident, therefore, that we find increasing skepticism—and not only among the young, but among citizens everywhere—about the continuing capacity of government to master the challenges we face.

Nowhere has the failure of government been more tragically apparent than in its efforts to help the poor, and especially in its system of public welfare.

Target: Reform

Since taking office, one of my first priorities has been to repair the machinery of government and put it in shape for the 1970s. I have made many changes designed to improve the functioning of the Executive Branch. I have asked Congress for a number of important structural reforms: among others, a wide-ranging postal reform, a comprehensive draft reform, a reform of the unemployment insurance and antihunger programs and reform of the present confusing hodge-podge of federal grants-in-aid. Last April 21 I sent Congress a message asking for a package of major tax reforms, including both the closing of loopholes and the removal of more than 2 million low-income tax-paying families from the tax rolls entirely. I am glad Congress is acting now on tax reform; I hope it acts soon on the other reforms as well.

The purpose of all these reforms is to eliminate unfairness; to make government more effective as well as more efficient; and to bring an end to its chronic failure to deliver the service that it promises.

My purpose tonight, however, is not to review the past record, but to present a new set of reforms—a new set of proposals—a new and drastically different approach to the way in which government cares for those in need, and to the way the responsibilities are shared between the state and federal governments.

I have chosen to do so in a direct report to the people because these proposals call for public decisions of the first importance; because they represent a fundamental change in the nation's approach to one of its most pressing social problems; and because, quite deliberately, they also represent the first major reversal of the trend toward ever more centralization of government in Washington. After a third of a century of power flowing from the people and the states to Washington, it is time for a New Federalism in which power, funds and responsibility will flow from Washington to the states and to the people.

During last year's election campaign, I often made a point that touched a responsive chord wherever I traveled.

I said that this nation became great, not because of what government did for people, but because of what people did for themselves.

It aims at getting everyone able to work off welfare rolls and onto payrolls.

It aims at ending the unfairness in a system that has become unfair to the welfare recipient, unfair to the working poor and unfair to the taxpayer.

This new approach aims to make it possible for people—wherever in America they live—to receive their fair share of opportunity. It aims to ensure that people receiving aid, and who are able to work, contribute their fair share of productivity.

This new approach is embodied in a package of four measures: first, a complete replacement of the present welfare system; second, a comprehensive new job training and placement program; third, a revamping of the Office of Economic Opportunity; and fourth, a start on the sharing of the federal tax revenues with the states.

Next week—in three messages to the Congress and one statement—I will spell out in detail what these measures contain. Tonight I want to explain what they mean, what they are intended to achieve and how they are related.

Welfare

Whether measured by the anguish of the poor themselves or by the drastically mounting burden on the taxpayer, the present welfare system has to be judged a colossal failure.

Our states and cities find themselves sinking in a welfare quagmire as caseloads increase, as costs escalate and as the welfare system stagnates enterprise and perpetuates dependency. What began on a small scale in the depression 30s has become a monster in the prosperous 60s. The tragedy is not only that it is bringing states and cities to the brink of financial disaster, but also that it is failing to meet the elementary human, social and financial needs of the poor.

It breaks up homes. It often penalizes work. It robs recipients of dignity. And it grows.

Benefit levels are grossly unequal—for a mother with three children, they range from an average of $263 a month in one state down to an average of $39 in another state. So great an inequality is wrong; no child is "worth" more in one state than in another. One result of this inequality is to lure thousands more into already overcrowded inner cities, as unprepared for city life as they are for city jobs.

The present system creates an incentive for desertion. In most states, a family is denied welfare payments if a father is present—even though he is unable to support his family. In practice, this is what often happens: a father is unable to find a job at all, or one that will support his children. To make the children eligible for welfare, he leaves home—and the children are denied the authority, the discipline and the love that come with having a father in the house. This is wrong.

The present system often makes it possible to receive more money on welfare than on a low-paying job. This creates an in-

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centive not to work; it also is unfair to the working poor. It is morally wrong for a family that is working to try to make ends meet to receive less than the family across the street on welfare. This has been bitterly resented by the man who works, and rightly so—the rewards are just the opposite of what they should be. Its effect is to draw people off payrolls and onto welfare rolls—just the opposite of what government should be doing. To put it bluntly and simply—any system which makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, and which encourages a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family, is wrong and indefensible.

We cannot simply ignore the failures of welfare or expect them to go away. In the past eight years, 3 million more people have been added to the welfare rolls—all in a period of low unemployment. If the present trend continues, another 4 million will have joined the welfare rolls by 1975. The financial cost will be crushing; the human cost will be suffocating.

I propose that we abolish the present welfare system and adopt in its place a new family assistance system. Initially, this new system would cost more than welfare. But unlike welfare, it is designed to correct the condition it deals with and thus to lessen the long-range burden.

Under this plan, the so-called "adult categories" of aid—aid to the aged, the blind and disabled—would be continued and a national minimum standard for benefits would be set, with the Federal Government contributing to its cost and also sharing the cost of additional state payments above that amount.

But the program now called "Aid to Families with Dependent Children"—the program we normally think of when we think of "welfare"—would be done away with completely. The new family assistance system I propose in its place rests essentially on three principles: equality of treatment, a work requirement and a work incentive.

Its benefits would go to the working poor as well as the nonworking; to families with dependent children headed by a father as well as to those headed by a mother; and a basic federal minimum would be provided, the same in every state.

I propose that the Federal Government build a foundation under the income of every American family with dependent children that cannot care for itself—wherever in America that family may live.

For a family of four now on welfare, with no outside income, the basic federal payment would be $1,600 a year. States could add to that amount, and most would do so. In no case would anyone's present level of benefits be lowered. At the same time, this foundation would be one on which the family itself could build. Outside earnings would be encouraged, not discouraged. The new worker could keep the first $60 a month of outside earnings with no reduction in his benefits, and beyond that his benefits would be reduced by only 50 cents for each dollar earned.

By the same token, a family head already employed at low wages could get a family assistance supplement; those who work would no longer be discriminated against. A family of five in which the father earns $2,000 a year—which is the hard fact of life for many families—would get family assistance payments of $1,260 for a total income of $3,260. A family of seven earning $3,000 a year would have its income raised to $4,360.

Thus, for the first time, the government would recognize that it has no less of an obligation to the working poor than to the nonworking poor; and for the first time, benefits would be scaled in such a way that it would always pay to work.

With such incentives, most recipients who can work will want to work. This is part of the American character.

But what of the others—those who can work but choose not to?

The answer is very simple.

Under this proposal, everyone who accepts benefits must also accept work or training provided suitable jobs are available, either locally or at some distance if transportation is provided. The only exceptions would be those unable to work and mothers of preschool children. Even mothers of preschool children, however, would have the opportunity to work—because I am also proposing along with this a major expansion of day-care centers to make it possible for mothers to take jobs by which they can support themselves and their children.

This national floor under incomes for working or dependent families is not a "guaranteed income." Under the guaranteed income proposal, everyone would be assured a minimum income, regardless of how much he was capable of earning, regardless of what his need was, regardless of whether or not he was willing to work.

During the Presidential campaign last year I opposed such a plan. I oppose it now and will continue to oppose it. A guaranteed income would undermine the incentive to work; the family assistance plan increases the incentive to work. A guaranteed income establishes a right without responsibilities; family assistance recognizes a need and establishes a responsibility. It provides help to those in need and in turn requires that those who receive help work to the extent of their capabilities. There is no reason why one person should be taxed so that another can choose to live idly.

In states that now have benefit levels above the federal floor, family assistance would help ease the states' financial burdens. But in 20 states—those in which poverty is most widespread—the new federal floor would be above present average benefit levels and would mean a leap upward for many thousands of families that cannot care for themselves.

Manpower Training

Next, let me turn to the job training proposals that are part of our full opportunity concept. America prides itself on being the "land of opportunity." I deeply believe in this ideal.

Full opportunity means the chance for upward mobility on every rung of the economic ladder—and for every American, no matter what his handicaps of birth.

The cold, hard truth is that a child born to a poor family has far less chance to make a good living than a child born to a middle-income family.

He is born poor, fed poorly; and if his family is on welfare, he starts life in an atmosphere of handout and dependency; often he receives little preparation for work and less inspiration. The wonder of the American character is that so many have the spark and drive to fight their way up. But for millions of others, the burden of poverty in early life stifles that spark.

The new family assistance would provide aid for needy families; it would establish a work requirement and a work incentive; but these in turn require effective programs of job training and job placement—including a chance to qualify, not just for any jobs, but for good jobs that provide both additional self-respect and full self-support.

Therefore, I am also sending a message to Congress calling for a complete overhaul of the nation's manpower training services.

The Federal Government's job training programs have been a terrible tangle of confusion and waste. They are overcentralized, over-categorized; with good reason, many young people wonder why the Federal Government cannot take money out of one program that has too few applicants and use it instead to expand another that has too many. They wonder why they have to accept training programs they have no interest in instead of ones they care about. They want to be treated as human beings, not cogs in a machine.

To remedy the confusion, arbitrariness and rigidity of the present system, the new Manpower Training Act would basically do three things:

- It would pull together the jumble of programs that currently exist and equalize standards of eligibility.
- It would provide flexible funding—so that federal money would follow the demands of labor and industry and flow into those programs that people most want and need.
- It would decentralize administration, gradually moving it away from the Washington bureaucracy and turning it over to states and localities.

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In terms of its symbolic importance, I can hardly overemphasize this last point. For the first time, applying the principles of the New Federalism, administration of a major established federal program would be turned over to the states and local governments, recognizing that they are in a position to do the job better.

For years, thoughtful Americans have talked of the need to decentralize government. The time has come to begin.

Federal job training programs have grown to vast proportions, costing more than a billion dollars a year. Yet they are essentially local in character. As long as the Federal Government continues to bear the cost, they can perfectly well be run by states and localities—and that way they can better be adapted to specific state and local needs.

What I propose is not a sudden dumping of these programs on unprepared local authorities, but rather a careful, phased transfer, with benchmarks of readiness and incentives for performance. If states and localities decline to pick up the responsibility, the Federal Government will continue to manage the programs. If they try and fail, the Federal Government can resume the responsibility. We should trust the American capacity for self-government enough to try. The only way to bring about decentralization is to do it, and this is the place to begin.

The Manpower Training Act will have other provisions specifically designed to help move people off welfare rolls and onto payrolls:

- A computerized job bank would be established, to match jobseekers with job vacancies.
- For those on welfare, a $30-a-month bonus would be offered as an incentive to go into job training.
- For heads of families now on welfare, 150,000 new training slots would be opened.
- As I mentioned previously, greatly expanded day-care center facilities would be provided for the children of welfare mothers who choose to work. However, these would be day-care centers with a difference. There is no single ideal to which this Administration is more firmly committed than to the enriching of a child's first five years of life, and thus helping lift the poor out of misery at a time when a lift can help the most. Therefore, these day-care centers would offer more than custodial care; they would also be devoted to the development of vigorous young minds and bodies. As a further dividend, the day-care centers would offer employment to many welfare mothers themselves.

Office Of Economic Opportunity

One common theme running through my proposals tonight is that of providing full opportunity for every American. A second theme is that of trying to equip every American to play a productive role. A third is the need to make government itself workable—which means reshaping, reforming, innovating.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is an innovative agency—and thus it has a vital place in our efforts to develop new programs and apply new knowledge. But in order to do effectively what it can do best, OEO itself needs reorganization.

In the past, OEO suffered from a confusion of roles and from a massive attempt to do everything at once, with the same people performing many conflicting functions: coordinating old programs, doing new research, setting up demonstration projects, evaluating results and serving as advocates for the poor. As a result, inefficiency, waste and resentment too often clouded the record of even its best accomplishments.

This Administration has made a thorough study of OEO. We have assigned it a leading role in the effort to develop and test new approaches to the solving of social problems. OEO is to be a laboratory agency, where new ideas for helping people are tried on a pilot basis. When these prove successful, they can be "spun off" to operating departments or agencies—just as the agency, for example, "spun off" the weather satellite and the communications satellite when these proved successful. Then OEO will be free to concentrate on breaking even newer ground.

OEO has a broad charter: not only to help make opportunity real but to search out ways of making institutions more responsive and to get behind the effects of poverty to the causes of poverty. These goals are fundamental commitments of this Administration.

The OEO reorganization to be announced next week will stress its innovative role. It also will stress accountability, a clear separation of functions and a tighter, more effective organization of field operations.

Revenue Sharing

We come now to a proposal which I consider profoundly important to the future of our federal system of shared responsibilities. As we look ahead to the 1970s and the 1980s, it also is vital in terms of ensuring that states and localities can continue to do their part in dealing with the kinds of social problems I have been discussing tonight.

When we speak of poverty or jobs or opportunity, or making government more effective or getting it closer to the people, it brings us directly to the financial plight of our states and cities.

We can no longer have effective government on any level unless we have it on all levels. There is too much to be done for the cities to do it alone or for the states to do it alone—or for Washington to do it alone.

For a third of a century, power and responsibility have flowed toward Washington—and Washington has taken for its own the best sources of revenue.

We intend to reverse this tide, and to turn back to the states a greater measure of responsibility—not as a way of avoiding problems but as a better way of solving problems. Along with this should go a share of federal revenues. I shall propose to the Congress next week that a set portion of the revenues from federal income taxes be remitted directly to the states—with a minimum of federal restrictions on how those dollars are to be used and with a requirement that a percentage of them be channeled through for the use of local governments.

The funds provided under this program will not be great in the first year. But the principle will have been established, and the amounts will increase as our budgetary situation improves.

As we look ahead to the complex tasks of the 70s; as we contemplate the diversity of this vast and varied country, it is clear beyond question that effective, responsive government will require not one center of power, but many. This start on revenue sharing is a step toward the New Federalism. It is a gesture of faith in America's states and localties and in the principles of democratic self-government.

With this revenue-sharing proposal, we follow through on a commitment I made in the last campaign; we follow through on a mandate which the electorate gave us last November—after nearly 40 years of moving power from the states to Washington, we begin in America a decade of decentralization, a shifting of power away from the center whenever it can be used better locally.

In recent years, we all have concentrated a great deal of attention on what we commonly call the "crisis of the cities." These proposals I have made are addressed in part to that, but they also are focused much more broadly.

They are addressed to the crisis of government—to adapting its structures and making it manageable.

They are addressed to the crisis of poverty and need—which is rural as well as urban. This Administration is committed to full opportunity on the farm as well as in the city; to a better life for rural America; to ensuring that government is responsive to the needs of rural America. These proposals will advance those goals.

I have discussed these four matters together, because together they make both a package and a pattern. They should be studied together, debated together, seen in perspective.

These proposals will be controversial. They also are expensive. Let us face that fact frankly and directly.

The first-year costs of the new family assistance program, including the child care centers and job training, would be $4

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billion. I deliberated long and hard over whether we could afford such an outlay. I decided in favor of it for two reasons: because the costs would not begin until fiscal 1971, when I expect the funds to be available; and because I concluded that this is a reform we cannot afford not to undertake. The cost of continuing the present system, in financial as well as human terms, is staggering if projected into the 1970s.

Revenue sharing would begin in the middle of fiscal 1971, at a half-year cost of a half billion dollars. This cuts into the federal budget, but it represents relief for the equally hard-pressed states. It would help curb the rise in state and local taxes.

Over-all, we would be spending more—in the short run—to help people who now are poor and who now are unready for work or unable to find work.

I see it this way: Every businessman and every working man knows what "start-up costs" are. They are a heavy investment made in early years in the expectation that they will more than pay for themselves in future years.

The investment in these proposals is a human investment; it also is a "start-up cost" in turning around our dangerous decline into welfarism. We cannot produce productive people with the antiquated, wheezing, over-loaded machine we now call the welfare system.

If we fail to make this investment in work incentives now, if we merely try to patch up the system here and there, we will only be pouring good money after bad in ever-increasing amounts.

If we do invest in this modernization, the heavily burdened taxpayer at least will see the light at the end of the tunnel. And the man who now looks ahead only to a lifetime of dependency will see hope for a life of work and pride and dignity.

In the final analysis, we cannot talk our way out of poverty; we cannot legislate our way out of poverty; but this nation can work its way out of poverty. What America needs now is not more welfare but more "workfare."

The task of this government, the great task of our people, is to provide the training for work, the incentive to work, the opportunity to work and the reward for work. Together, these measures are a first long step in that direction.

For those in the welfare system today, or struggling to fight their way out of poverty, these measures offer a way to independence through the dignity of work.

For those able to work, these measures provide new opportunities to learn work and to find work.

For the working poor—the forgotten poor—these measures offer a fair share in the assistance given to the poor.

The new system establishes a direct link between the government's willingness to help the needy and the willingness of the needy to help themselves.

It removes the present incentive not to work and substitutes an incentive to work; it removes the present incentive for families to break apart and substitutes an incentive for families to stay together.

It removes blatant inequities, injustices and indignities of the welfare system.

It establishes a basic federal floor so that children in any state can have at least the minimum essentials of life.

Together, these measures cushion the impact of welfare costs on states and localities, many of which have found themselves in fiscal crisis as costs have spiraled.

They bring reason, order and purpose into a tangle of overlapping programs and show that government can be made to work.

Poverty will not be defeated by a stroke of a pen signing a check; it will not be reduced to nothing overnight with slogans or ringing exhortations.

Poverty is not only a state of income. It is also a state of mind and a state of health. Poverty must be conquered without sacrificing the will to work, for if we take the route of the permanent handout, the American character will itself be impoverished.

In my recent trip around the world, I visited countries in all stages of economic development; countries with different social systems, different economic systems, different political systems.

In all of them, however, I found that one event had caught their imagination and lifted their spirits almost beyond measure: The trip of Apollo to the moon and back. On that historic day when the astronauts set foot on the moon, the spirit of Apollo II truly swept the world—a spirit of peace and brotherhood and adventure and a spirit that thrilled to the knowledge that man had dreamed the impossible, dared the impossible and done the impossible.

Abolishing poverty, putting an end to dependency—like reaching for the moon a generation ago, that may be impossible. But in the spirit of Apollo, we can lift our sights and marshal our best efforts. We can resolve to make this the year, not that we reached the goal, but that we turned the corner: From a dismal cycle of dependency toward a new birth of independence; from despair toward hope; from an ominously mounting impotence of government toward a new effectiveness of government—and toward a full opportunity for every American to share the bounty of this rich land.

WELFARE REFORM MESSAGE

Following is the complete text of President Nixon's Aug. 11 welfare reform message to Congress. *(For story, see p. 1477)*

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

A measure of the greatness of a powerful nation is the character of the life it creates for those who are powerless to make ends meet.

If we do not find the way to become a working nation that properly cares for the dependent, we shall become a welfare state that undermines the incentive of the working man.

The present welfare system has failed us—it has fostered family breakup, has provided very little help in many states and has even deepened dependency by all too often making it more attractive to go on welfare than to go to work.

I propose a new approach that will make it more attractive to go to work than to go on welfare, and will establish a nationwide minimum payment to dependent families with children.

I propose that the Federal Government pay a basic income to those American families who cannot care for themselves in whichever state they live.

I propose that dependent families receiving such income be given good reason to go to work by making the first 60 dollars a month they earn completely their own, with no deductions from their benefits.

I propose that we make available an addition to the incomes of the "working poor," to encourage them to go on working and to eliminate the possibility of making more from welfare than from wages.

I propose that these payments be made upon certification of income, with demeaning and costly investigations replaced by simplified reviews and spot checks and with no eligibility requirement that the household be without a father. That present requirement in many states has the effect of breaking up families and contributes to delinquency and violence.

I propose that all employable persons who choose to accept these payments be required to register for work or job training and be required to accept that work or training, provided suitable jobs are available either locally or if transportation is provided. Adequate and convenient day care would be provided children wherever necessary to enable a parent to train or work. The only exception to this work requirement would be mothers of preschool children.

I propose a major expansion of job-training and day-care facilities, so that current welfare recipients able to work can be set on the road to self-reliance.

I propose that we also provide uniform federal payment minimums for the present three categories of welfare aid to adults—the aged, the blind and the disabled.

This would be total welfare reform—the transformation of a system frozen in failure and frustration into a system that would work and would encourage people to work.

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Accordingly, we have stopped considering human welfare in isolation. The new plan is part of an over-all approach which includes a comprehensive new Manpower Training Act and a plan for a system of revenue sharing with the states to help provide all of them with necessary budget relief. Messages on manpower training and revenue sharing will follow this message tomorrow and the next day, and the three should be considered as parts of a whole approach to what is clearly a national problem.

Need for New Departures. A welfare system is a success when it takes care of people who cannot take care of themselves and when it helps employable people climb toward independence.

A welfare system is a failure when it takes care of those who can take care of themselves, when it drastically varies payments in different areas, when it breaks up families, when it perpetuates a vicious cycle of dependency, when it strips human beings of their dignity.

America's welfare system is a failure that grows worse every day.

First, it fails the recipient: In many areas, benefits are so low that we have hardly begun to take care of the dependent. And there has been no light at the end of poverty's tunnel. After four years of inflation, the poor have generally become poorer.

Second, it fails the taxpayer: Since 1960, welfare costs have doubled and the number on the rolls has risen from 5.8 million to over 9 million, all in a time when unemployment was low. The taxpayer is entitled to expect government to devise a system that will help people lift themselves out of poverty.

Finally, it fails American society: By breaking up homes, the present welfare system has added to social unrest and robbed millions of children of the joy of childhood; by widely varying payments among regions, it has helped to draw millions into the slums of our cities.

The situation has become intolerable. Let us examine the alternatives available:

- We could permit the welfare momentum to continue to gather speed by our inertia; by 1975 this would result in 4 million more Americans on welfare rolls at a cost of close to $11 billion a year, with both recipients and taxpayers shortchanged.
- We could tinker with the system as it is, adding to the patchwork of modifications and exceptions. That has been the approach of the past, and it has failed.
- We could adopt a "guaranteed minimum income for everyone," which would appear to wipe out poverty overnight. It would also wipe out the basic economic motivation for work and place an enormous strain on the industrious to pay for the leisure of the lazy.
- Or we could adopt a totally new approach to welfare, designed to assist those left far behind the national norm and provide all with the motivation to work and a fair share of the opportunity to train.

This Administration, after a careful analysis of all the alternatives, is committed to a new departure that will find a solution for the welfare problem. The time for denouncing the old is over; the time for devising the new is now.

Recognizing the Practicalities. People usually follow their self-interest.

This stark fact is distressing to many social planners who like to look at problems from the top down. Let us abandon the ivory tower and consider the real world in all we do.

In most states, welfare is provided only when there is no father at home to provide support. If a man's children would be better off on welfare than with the low wage he is able to bring home, wouldn't he be tempted to leave home?

If a person spent a great deal of time and effort to get on the welfare rolls, wouldn't he think twice about risking his eligibility by taking a job that might not last long?

In each case, welfare policy was intended to limit the spread of dependency; in practice, however, the effect has been to increase dependency and remove the incentive to work.

We fully expect people to follow their self-interest in their business dealings; why should we be surprised when people follow their self-interest in their welfare dealings? That is why we propose a plan in which it is in the interest of every employable person to do his fair share of work.

The Operation of the New Approach. We would assure an income foundation throughout every section of America for all parents who cannot adequately support themselves and their children. For a family of four with less than $1,000 income, this payment would be $1,600 a year; for a family of four with $2,000 income, this payment would supplement that income by $960 a year.

Under the present welfare system, each state provides "Aid to Families with Dependent Children," a program we propose to replace. The Federal Government shares the cost, but each state establishes key eligibility rules and determines how much income support will be provided to poor families. The result has been an uneven and unequal system. The 1969 benefits average for a family of four is $171 a month across the nation, but individual state averages range from $263 down to $39 a month.

A new federal minimum of $1,600 a year cannot claim to provide comfort to a family of four, but the present low of $468 a year cannot claim to provide even the basic necessities.

The new system would do away with the inequity of very low benefit levels in some states, and of state-by-state variations in eligibility tests, by establishing a federally financed income floor with a national definition of basic eligibility.

States will continue to carry an important responsibility. In 30 states the federal basic payment will be less than the present levels of combined federal and state payments. These states will be required to maintain the current level of benefits, but in no case will a state be required to spend more than 90 percent of its present welfare cost. The Federal Government will not only provide the "floor," but it will assume 10 percent of the benefits now being paid by the states as their part of welfare costs.

In 20 states, the new payment would exceed the present average benefit payments, in some cases by a wide margin. In these states, where benefits are lowest and poverty often the most severe, the payments will raise benefit levels substantially. For five years, every state will be required to continue to spend at least half of what they are now spending on welfare, to supplement the federal base.

For the typical "welfare family"—a mother with dependent children and no outside income—the new system would provide a basic national minimum payment. A mother with three small children would be assured an annual income of at least $1,600.

For the family headed by an employed father or working mother, the same basic benefits would be received, but $60 per month of earnings would be "disregarded" in order to make up the costs of working and provide a strong advantage in holding a job. The wage-earner could also keep 50 percent of his benefits as his earnings rise above that $60 per month. A family of four, in which the father earns $2,000 in a year, would receive payments of $960, for a total income of $2,960.

For the aged, the blind and the disabled, the present system varies benefit levels from $40 per month for an aged person in one state to $145 per month for the blind in another. The new system would establish a minimum payment of $65 per month for all three of these adult categories, with the Federal Government contributing the first $50 and sharing in payments above that amount. This will raise the share of the financial burden borne by the Federal Government for payments to these adults who cannot support themselves, and should pave the way for benefit increases in many states.

For the single adult who is not handicapped or aged, or for the married couple without children, the new system would not apply. Food stamps would continue to be available up to $300 per year per person, according to the plan I outlined last May in my message to the Congress on the food and nutrition needs of

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the population in poverty. For dependent families there will be an orderly substitution of food stamps by the new direct monetary payments.

•The new approach would end the blatant unfairness of the welfare system.

In over half the states, families headed by unemployed men do not qualify for public assistance. In no state does a family headed by a father working full-time receive help in the current welfare system, no matter how little he earns. As we have seen, this approach to dependency has itself been a cause of dependency. It results in a policy that tends to force the father out of the house.

The new plan rejects a policy that undermines family life. It would end the substantial financial incentives to desertion. It would extend eligibility to all dependent families with children, without regard to whether the family is headed by a man or a woman. The effects of these changes upon human behavior would be an increased will to work, the survival of more marriages, the greater stability of families. We are determined to stop passing the cycle of dependency from generation to generation.

The most glaring inequity in the old welfare system is the exclusion of families who are working to pull themselves out of poverty. Families headed by a non-worker often receive more from welfare than families headed by a husband working full-time at very low wages. This has been rightly resented by the working poor, for the rewards are just the opposite of what they should be.

• The new plan would create a much stronger incentive to work.

For people now on the welfare rolls, the present system discourages the move from welfare to work by cutting benefits too fast and too much as earnings begin. The new system would encourage work by allowing the new worker to retain the first $720 of his yearly earnings without any benefit reduction.

For people already working, but at poverty wages, the present system often encourages nothing but resentment and an incentive to quit and go on relief where that would pay more than work. The new plan, on the contrary, would provide a supplement that will help a low-wage worker—struggling to make ends meet—achieve a higher standard of living.

For an employable person who just chooses not to work, neither the present system nor the one we propose would support him, though both would continue to support other dependent members in his family.

However, a welfare mother with preschool children should not face benefit reductions if she decides to stay home. It is not our intent that mothers of preschool children must accept work. Those who can work and desire to do so, however, should have the opportunity for jobs and job training and access to day-care centers for their children; this will enable them to support themselves after their children are grown.

A family with a member who gets a job would be permitted to retain all of the first $60 monthly income, amounting to $720 per year for a regular worker, with no reduction of federal payments. The incentive to work in this provision is obvious. But there is another practical reason: Going to work costs money. Expenses such as clothes, transportation, personal care, Social Security taxes and loss of income from odd jobs amount to substantial costs for the average family. Since a family does not begin to add to its net income until it surpasses the cost of working, in fairness this amount should not be subtracted from the new payment.

After the first $720 of income, the rest of the earnings will result in a systematic reduction in payments.

I believe the vast majority of poor people in the United States prefer to work rather than have the government support their families. In 1968, 600,000 families left the welfare rolls out of an average caseload of 1,400,000 during the year, showing a considerable turnover, much of it voluntary.

However, there may be some who fail to seek or accept work, even with the strong incentives and training opportunities that will be provided. It would not be fair to those who willingly work, or to all taxpayers, to allow others to choose idleness when opportunity is available. Thus, they must accept training opportunities and jobs when offered, or give up their right to the new payments for themselves. No able-bodied person will have a "free ride" in a nation that provides opportunity for training and work.

• The bridge from welfare to work should be buttressed by training and child care programs. For many, the incentives to work in this plan would be all that is necessary. However, there are other situations where these incentives need to be supported by measures that will overcome other barriers to employment.

I propose that funds be provided for expanded training and job development programs so that an additional 150,000 welfare recipients can become jobworthy during the first year.

Manpower training is a basic bridge to work for poor people, especially people with limited education, low skills and limited job experience. Manpower training programs can provide this bridge for many of our poor. In the new manpower training proposal to be sent to the Congress this week, the interrelationship with this new approach to welfare will be apparent.

I am also requesting authority, as a part of the new system, to provide child care for the 450,000 children of the 150,000 current welfare recipients to be trained.

The child care I propose is more than custodial. This Administration is committed to a new emphasis on child development in the first five years of life. The day care that would be part of this plan would be of a quality that will help in the development of the child and provide for its health and safety, and would break the poverty cycle for this new generation.

The expanded child-care program would bring new opportunities along several lines: opportunities for the further involvement of private enterprise in providing high quality child-care service; opportunities for volunteers; and opportunities for training and employment in child-care centers of many of the welfare mothers themselves.

I am requesting a total of $600 million additional to fund these expanded training programs and child-care centers.

• The new system will lessen welfare red tape and provide administrative cost savings. To cut out the costly investigations so bitterly resented as "welfare snooping," the federal payment will be based upon a certification of income, with spot checks sufficient to prevent abuses. The program will be administered on an automated basis, using the information and technical experience of the Social Security Administration, but, of course, will be entirely separate from the administration of the Social Security trust fund.

The states would be given the option of having the Federal Government handle the payment of the state supplemental benefits on a reimbursable basis, so that they would be spared their present administrative burdens and so a single check could be sent to the recipient. These simplifications will save money and eliminate indignities; at the same time, welfare fraud will be detected and lawbreakers prosecuted.

• This new departure would require a substantial intitial investment, but will yield future returns to the nation. This transformation of the welfare system will set in motion forces that will lessen dependency rather than perpetuate and enlarge it. A more productive population adds to real economic growth without inflation. The initial investment is needed now to stop the momentum of work-to-welfare and to start a new momentum in the opposite direction.

The costs of welfare benefits for families with dependent children have been rising alarmingly the past several years, increasing from $1 billion in 1960 to an estimated $3.3 billion in 1969, of which $1.8 billion is paid by the Federal Government and $1.5 billion is paid by the states. Based on current population and income data, the proposals I am making today will increase federal costs during the first year by an estimated $4 billion, which includes $600 million for job training and child care centers.

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The "start-up costs" of lifting many people out of dependency will ultimately cost the taxpayer far less than the chronic costs—in dollars and in national values—of creating a permanent underclass in America.

From Welfare to Work. Since this Administration took office, members of the Urban Affairs Council, including officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Labor, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Bureau of the Budget and other key advisers have been working to develop a coherent, fresh approach to welfare, manpower training and revenue sharing.

I have outlined our conclusions about an important component of this approach in this message; the Secretary of HEW will transmit to the Congress the proposed legislation after the summer recess.

I urge the Congress to begin its study of these proposals promptly so that laws can be enacted and funds authorized to begin the new system as soon as possible. Sound budgetary policy must be maintained in order to put this plan into effect—especially the portion supplementing the wages of the working poor.

With the establishment of the new approach, the Office of Economic Opportunity will concentrate on the important task of finding new ways of opening economic opportunity for those who are able to work. Rather than focusing on income support activities, it must find means of providing opportunities for individuals to contribute to the full extent of their capabilities and of developing and improving those capabilities.

This would be the effect of the transformation of welfare into "workfare," a new work-rewarding system:

For the first time, all dependent families with children in America, regardless of where they live, would be assured of minimum standard payments based upon uniform and single eligibility standards.

For the first time, the more than 2 million families who make up the "working poor" would be helped toward self-sufficiency and away from future welfare dependency.

For the first time, training and work opportunity with effective incentives would be given millions of families who would otherwise be locked into a welfare system for generations.

For the first time, the Federal Government would make a strong contribution toward relieving the financial burden of welfare payments from state governments.

For the first time, every dependent family in America would be encouraged to stay together, free from economic pressure to split apart.

These are far-reaching effects. They cannot be purchased cheaply or by piecemeal efforts. This total reform looks in a new direction; it requires new thinking, a new spirit and a fresh dedication to reverse the downhill course of welfare. In its first year, more than half the families participating in the program will have one member working or training.

We have it in our power to raise the standard of living and the realizable hopes of millions of our fellow citizens. By providing an equal chance at the starting line, we can reinforce the traditional American spirit of self-reliance and self-respect.

RICHARD NIXON

TEXT OF MANPOWER MESSAGE

Following is the complete text of President Nixon's August 12 message to Congress on manpower training: (For story, see p. 1480.)

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

A job is one rung on the ladder of a lifelong career of work.

That is why we must look at manpower training with new eyes: as a continuing process to help people to get started in a job and to get ahead in a career.

"Manpower training" is one of those phrases with a fine ring and an imprecise meaning. Before a fresh approach can be taken, a clear definition is needed.

Manpower training means: (1) making it possible for those who are unemployed or on the fringes of the labor force to become permanent, full-time workers; (2) giving those who are now employed at low income the training and the opportunity they need to become more productive and more successful; (3) discovering the potential in those people who are now considered unemployable, removing many of the barriers now blocking their way.

Manpower training, in order to work on all rungs of the ladder, requires the efficient allocation by private enterprise and Government of these human resources. We must develop skills in a place, in a quantity and in a way to ensure that they are used effectively and constantly improved.

Today, Government spends approximately $3 billion in a wide variety of manpower programs, with half directly devoted to job training; private enterprise spends much more on job training alone. The investment by private industry—given impetus by the profit motive as well as a sense of social responsibility—is the fundamental means of developing the nation's labor force. But the Government's investment has failed to achieve its potential for many reasons, including duplication of effort, inflexible funding arrangements and an endless ribbon or red tape. For example:

- A jobless man goes to the local skill training center to seek help. He has the aptitudes for training in blue collar mechanical work, but no suitable training opportunities are available. At the same time, vacancies exist in a white collar New Careers project and in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. But the resources of these programs cannot be turned over to the training program that has the most local demand.
- A 17-year old boy wants to take job training. The only manpower program available to him is the Job Corps, but its nearest camp is hundreds of miles away. With no other choice, he leaves home; within 30 days he had become homesick or feels his family needs him; he drops out of the Corps and has suffered "failure" which reinforces his self-image of defeat.
- A big-city Mayor takes the lead in trying to put together a cohesive manpower program for the entire labor market area—tying together jobless workers in the inner city with job openings outside the "beltway." He finds it difficult to assemble a coherent picture of what's going on. Manpower programs funded by different agencies follow different reporting rules, so that the statistics cannot be added up. Moreover, there is no single agency which maintains an inventory of all currently operating manpower programs. He knows that help is available—but where does he turn?
- An unemployed high school drop-out in a small town wants to learn a trade in the electronics field. His local employment office tells him that there is not enough demand in his town for qualified technicians to warrant setting up a special training class in a local public school. He is also told that "administrative procedures" do not lend themselves to the use of a local private technical institute which offers the very course he wants. This youngster walks the streets and wonders what happened to all those promises of "equal opportunity."

This confused state of affairs in the development of human resources can no longer be tolerated. Government exists to serve the needs of people, not the other way around. The idea of creating a set of "programs," and then expecting people to fit themselves into those programs, is contrary to the American spirit; we must redirect our efforts to tailor government aid to individual need.

This government has a major responsibility to make certain that the means to learn a job skill and improve that skill are available to those who need it.

Manpower training is central to our commitment to aid the disadvantaged and to help people off welfare rolls and onto payrolls. Intelligently organized, it will save tax dollars now spent on welfare, increase revenues by widening the base of the tax-

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2 per 1000. The smaller-than-usual declines were concentrated in durable goods industries, particularly in transportation equipment where the automobile model changeover began somewhat later this year than usual.

Total accessions--new hires plus rehires and transfers from other establishments in the company--increased by 2 per 1000, after an allowance for usual seasonal changes.

The factory quit rate, which normally rises as job opportunities improve,remained in July at the June level of 24 per 1000 workers, seasonally adjusted. The quit rate in July was up substantially from a year ago, but remained below the post-Korean highs recorded in 1966.

Layoffs rose from 11 to 12 per 1000 in July, seasonally adjusted, mainly because of larger-than-expected layoffs in non-durable goods industries. However, layoffs were down from their July 1967 level.

# # #

f allow-ups — where in the South?

36,000 ON WELFARE IN 8 STATES
TO BE TRAINED FOR JOBS

WASHINGTON--Nearly 36,000 persons currently receiving welfare payments in eight States will have a chance for training and jobs, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

The eight States will provide training through 26 local WIN

(MORE)

(work incentive) projects. The States are Arizona, California, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia.

A total of $26,795,256 has been earmarked for the 26 projects with $5,362,655 worth of services or funds being supplied by the States. Projects will be administered in the States through the various State employment services.

Nearly 23,000 WIN training slots will be available immediately. The number of training opportunities and monies allocated for each State are: Arizona, 800, $1,094,986; California, 12,000, $16,500,000; Iowa, 700, $725,261; Kansas, 700, $845,667; Missouri, 1,800, $2,285,847; South Dakota, 400, $447,608; Utah, 800, $796,250; West Virginia, 4,440, $4,099,637.

This brings to 18 the number of States now participating in WIN programs and to 57 the number of projects. More than $36 million has been allocated for these projects.

By June 30, 1969, an estimated 92,000 training opportunities will have been made available as the States join the WIN program. A total of $100 million has been set aside for work and training projects for the year. Another $35 million is being provided for day-care facilities for children whose mother are participating in the program.

The program will be in operation in every State by July 1, 1969.

Under present legislation, unemployed fathers on public

(MORE)

assistance must be referred to a State WIN program within 30 days of the program's inception. In addition, priority will be given to welfare recipients presently enrolled in work training programs to avoid unnecessary gaps and delays in training.

Eligible for the WIN program are members of households receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, who are over the age of 16 and not in school full-time. The Exceptions are:

1) The sick, the incapacitated, and the elderly;
2) Those who live too far away from a WIN center to make practical;
3) Full-time students;
4) Persons whose continuous presence in the home is required because of the illness or incapacity of another member of the household.

A person referred to the WIN program who refuses to participate without good cause may have his portion of the family's welfare payments cut off. This action would be taken only after opportunity for hearings by an impartial body.

Secretary Wirtz said that large numbers of persons receiving public assistance are expected to volunteer for work training and job placement under the WIN program.

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industries. The decline in the transportation equipment industry (40,000 seasonally adjusted) was the result of the later-than-usual automobile model changeovers. The decline in primary metals (15,000) reflected lower steel production resulting from excessive steel inventories.

Average hourly earnings for rank and file workers on private payrolls were unchanged in August at $2.85. Because of the slightly longer workweek, however, average weekly earnings for these workers rose by 29 cents to $109.16. Over the year, average hourly earnings have risen by 16 cents (5.9 percent) and weekly earnings by $5.86 (5.7 percent).

# # #

Follow-up
(how many programs in the South, how long are funds available?)

1.9 MILLION DISADVANTAGED SERVED
BY HUMAN RESOURCES PROGRAM

WASHINGTON -- Over 1.9 million disadvantaged individuals, mostly from big-city slum areas, were assisted through the

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Department of Labor's Human Resources Development (HRD) program in one year, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

In the 12-month period from August 1967 through the end of July, 1968, more than 1.6 million of the hard-core unemployed and underemployed received a wide range of services through the HRD program and were referred to job openings. Over 840,000 were placed in jobs.

The Human Resources Development concept is applied throughout the Labor Department's public Employment Service system to all disadvantaged persons who are in need of job and training services. The key to HRD is "outreach". The program reaches out to all who are willing to work -- to help them find a good job. It is a person-to-person approach by the Federal-State Employment Service to reach, communicate with, and assist those who need job assistance the most.

Under the HRD concept, the hard-to-place jobless are screened into jobs -- not screened out by barriers beyond their control, Secretary Wirtz said.

Of the 1.9 million disadvantaged brought into contact with HRD, the majority were men under 22 years old, with 8 to 11 years of schooling. Specifically, 53 percent were men; 49 percent were 22 years of age, 15 percent were over 45 years old, with the rest

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between 22 and 44; 56 percent completed school between grades 8 and 11, 16 percent dropping out of school before eighth grade, and the rest having completed high school.

Special counseling techniques adaptable to the hard-core jobless have been used to determine the disadvantaged individual's ability, interests and assets. To this end, almost 1.2 million such counseling interviews were held nationwide during the 12-month period.

A total of 250,500 individuals served by HRD were referred by the Employment Service to a training facility for eventual referral to a job opening. Almost half of these individuals (more than 116,000) were enrolled in either on-the-job or classroom training under provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act. Others were enrolled in such programs as the Job Corps (about 35,000), the Neighborhood Youth Corps (over 69,000), and in work-training programs conducted under the Economic Opportunity Act (about 11,500).

Similarly, almost 110,000 disadvantaged were referred to supportive services for pre-employment help before possible referral by the Employment Service to job openings. These services included medical, dental, or psychiatric examinations or treatment (over 17,000), as well as rehabilitation services such

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as agencies for the blind (about 29,000), and welfare agencies which provide financial assistance, child care, and similar services (almost 15,000).

Charles E. Odell, director of the U.S. Employment Service, stressed the importance of the employability improvement services under the Human Resources Development program.

"Improving employability means developing those qualities and skills in a person that give him reasonable expectation of securing meaningful employment," he said. "Employability services are intended to help the person become a 'somebody', to achieve an occupational competence in job skills, job literacy and job attitudes which enables him to think of himself as a person of status and worth in the mainstream of the American economy."

Another feature of the HRD concept is job development. In many situations the hard-core unemployed do not qualify for specific job openings on file in Employment Service offices. Development of a job in terms of the potential and assets of the individual is an integral part of HRD.

Almost 370,000 such job development contacts with employers, employer organizations and labor unions were made by Employment Service offices during the 12-month period.

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HRD offices are located in areas most accessible to the people the program is trying to help -- usually in the heart of the ghettos of big cities. The facility housing HRD services is sometimes labeled Employment Service Opportunity Center, Manpower Center, Human Resources Development Center, or a similar identifying name.

Advanced Institute Southern Labor School

Nov. 17-22, 1968

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Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Guaranteed Income

GUARANTEEING INCOMES OR WAGES ? ? ? ? ? ?

AN ESSAY ON THE POLITICAL FEASIBILITY OF INCOME MAINTENANCE — AND A FEASIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE GUARANTEED INCOME

By JONATHAN KESSELMAN

EV— Circulate copy to M.S. JL PA RC. JW

CHICAGO TRIBUNE FEB 4, 1969

Paradox of Soaring Aid Costs Plagues Affluent U.S. Cities

BY CHESLY MANLY

The main question on which the future of American cities depends is whether enough welfare recipients can be helped to become productive citizens before they are transformed from a permanently dependent class to a revolutionary special interest class.

The paradox of constantly rising welfare costs despite unexampled affluence and minimal unemployment is a cliche, but it is true and it gets worse every year.

Total expenditures for social welfare programs — federal, state, and local—in fiscal year 1968 were 112.4 billion dollars, an increase of 12.9 billion over 1967. Increases in the two previous years were similar and the total increase, from fiscal 1965 to fiscal 1968, was 35.3 billion dollars. For the three years preceding fiscal 1966 the total increase was only 14.5 billion.

More Get Public Aid

Altho more than 24 million Americans — one out of every eight—were receiving social security checks and 868,000 were getting unemployment compensation last August, a total of 9,272,000 were on public assistance. This was an increase of 714,000 in the number of public assistance recipients in one year.

Daniel P. Moynihan, President Nixon's adviser on urban affairs, has said that "social welfare expenditures are quite low in the United States as compared with other western nations, and public assistance has consistently used up only about 1 per cent of the national income."

The cost of public aid in fiscal 1968 was 11 billion, 135.3 million dollars, and this was 2.5 billion dollars more than 1 per cent of the gross national product of goods and services [GNP], which was 860.7 billion dollars in 1968.

Moreover, the December issue of the Social Security Bulletin notes that all social welfare expenditures, including social insurance, public aid, health and medical programs, veterans' programs, education, housing, and other programs; amounted to 13.7 per cent of the GNP in fiscal 1968, as compared with 11.8 per cent in fiscal 1965. The federal government spent 61 billion dollars and the state and local governments spent 51.4 billion in fiscal 1968.

Welfare Costs Increase

In relation to total government expenditures, social welfare costs increased from 42.5 per cent in fiscal 1965 to 43.7 per cent in fiscal 1968. Welfare costs accounted for 32.7 per cent of the federal government's spending in fiscal 1965 and 35.1 per cent in fiscal 1968.

The cost of public aid almost tripled in eight years, rising 270 per cent from 4.1 billion in fiscal 1960 to 11.13 billion in fiscal 1968. Social insurance payments rose in the same period, from 19.3 billion to 42.85 billion, or 220 per cent.

Since the first social security payments were made in 1940, Congress has periodically increased monthly benefits to keep pace with the effects of inflation on the cost of living. A general increase of 13 per cent or more in February, 1968, was the sixth since 1940, and President Johnson's budget message for fiscal year 1970 recommended another 13 per cent increase, effective next Jan. 1.

Value of Dollar Down

Since the first payments were made, the value of the dollar, as compared with its purchasing power in 1940, had declined to 39.9 cents in August, 1968. The last increase in payments, according to the Social Security Bulletin, barely compensated beneficiaries for increases in living costs and did not equal wage gains and higher standards of living achieved by American workers.

In his campaign last fall, President Nixon advocated automatic cost of living increases in social security payments. In the December Social Security Bulletin, Wilbur J. Cohen, then secretary of health, education, and welfare, said the general benefit level should be raised by 50 per cent as quickly as possible.

Cohen also recommended increases in the amount of earnings subject to the payroll tax from the present $7,800 a year to $10,000 in 1970 and $15,000 in 1972, President Johnson recommended increasing the earnings base to $9,000 in 1970.

Finance Payment Hike

Cohen said the increased income resulting from a higher earnings base would go a long way toward financing the proposed increases in payments to beneficiaries. To keep the system self-financing, however, "the ultimate contribution rate paid by employers and employes . . . would have to be increased somewhat," Cohen said.

The present rate is 4.8 per cent each for employers and employes and President Johnson recommended increasing it to 5.3 per cent each in 1970. Under existing law the rate would increase gradually to 11.8 per cent—5.9 per cent each for employers and employes —in 1987, but Congress undoubtedly will accelerate the increases.

Payments Based on Need

In 1962, Abraham Ribicoff, then secretary of health, education, and welfare, said a 10 per cent payroll tax—5 per cent each on employers and employes—was about the limit that the people would stand for. That concept seems to have been forgotten.

Michael Harrington, chairman of the American Socialist party, and other proponents of income equalization already are clamoring for social security gardless of how much the beneficiary earned before retirement. They argue that payments geared to earnings during the recipient's working life are in inverse relation to need, that people who have been poor all their lives get smaller pensions than the rich, and so on.

The same income equalizers argue that people who are too poor to pay income taxes should receive housing subsidies equal to deductions allowed for interest paid by home owners on their mortgages and should receive a "negative income tax" equal to the $600 personal exemption allowed for taxpayers and their dependents. That is, a family of four with no income tax liability would get $2,400, or as much as would be required to bring its total income up to a minimum standard fixed by Congress.

Another variant of the income maintenance idea would simply guarantee each family a minimum amount, say $4,000 for a family of four. The amount would be greater in the larger cities.

System Is Bankrupt

Moynihan contends that the present welfare system is bankrupt and must be drastically revised. In an article titled "The Crises in Welfare" in The Public Interest [Winter, 1968, he says:

"The true issue about welfare is not what it costs the taxpayers but what it costs the recipients. Evidence — as usual—is practically nonexistent, but the probability is strong that the present welfare system is serving to maintain the poorest groups in society in a position of impotent fury. Impotent because the system destroys the potential of individuals and families to improve themselves. Fury because it claims to do otherwise."

Moynihan says the system undermines the stability of family life among the poor, particularly the urban Negro poor. He ascribes this evil effect particularly to the AFDC [aid to families of dependent children] program.

Number Drops Sharply

He notes that between 1953 and 1961 the number of white AFDC families in which the father was not married to the mother dropped sharply and the total number of white AFDC families increased only slightly, because families with unemployed parents were made eligible for AFDC assistance. In the same period, Moynihan says, the number of nonwhite AFDC families "more than doubled and much of the increase came from the fatherless family segment, which itself more than doubled."

Moynihan also asserts that "militant civil rights activists [regardless of their own color] are in revolt, not only against white American society but also against the established Negro leaders . . . these militants are seeking to transform welfare recipients into a powerful interest group that will no longer be forced to accept whatever bargain the welfare establishment could strike with the larger society but rather will themselves become a party to the negotiations."

Notable among the "militant activists" is Prof. Richard A. Cloward of the Columbia School of Social Work. Moynihan says Cloward "proposes a 'strategy for crisis' based on the proposition that twice as many persons are eligible for welfare benefits as those who actually receive them and that by organizing the poor to demand their rightful benefits a crisis can be induced in state and local government revenues of such magnitude as to force the national government to guarantee an annual income.

Readily Adapted Strategy

"It should be noted, however, that while Cloward's objective — the inclusion of the poor in the larger, affluent society — is conservative, his strategy is readily adapted to the desires of many who would wish such a crisis to bring down the whole system."

Moynihan advocates "a strategy of income equalization." Altho he says "the negative income tax and similar arrangements would divide the

Continued on Page 4

NEGRO CAMERAMAN STARTS BALL ROLLING

TV-Radio School for Blacks to Open at USC

BY JACK JONES
Times Staff Writer

When Bill DuBois, 34-year-old black cameraman for NBC television, was in Watts filming the Harry Dolan play "Losers Weepers" in 1966, he found himself surrounded by youngsters and adults wanting to know how one got into the business.

The constantly repeated question really meant: "How does a black person get in?"

DuBois had only recently come from New York and found that the number of Negroes working behind the scenes—in all aspects of technical and production work in television, radio and recording — was abysmally small.

"I had always wanted to do something about getting more Negroes and Mexican-Americans into the technical end," DuBois says. "That experience in Watts really motivated me."

DuBois began talking to Stan Duke, Negro sportscaster for KNXT and a former cameraman and audioman, to James Randolph, radio station KGFJ program manager, and to Michael Jones, a Los Angeles and Pasadena businessman.

Now, after a year of effort and what DuBois calls enthusiastic response from the communications industry and unions, the Watts Training Center for the Television, Film, Radio and Recording Industry is about to be launched.

With the cooperation of Dr. Edward W. Borgers of USC's Department of Telecommunications, the first class of 15 students will begin work Feb. 12 on the USC campus, with instructors and equipment made available by the industry itself.

The Watts Training Center—which will not be in Watts and which will also stress training of Mexican-Americans—hopes to move to a former supermarket at Western Ave. and Imperial Highway when it can raise $100,000 of the $1 million it will eventually cost, completely outfitted.

Already, KABC-TV has contributed $100,000 worth of recording equipment to aid in the initial training for radio work.

As a nonprofit corporation whose active and honorary trustees include numerous big names in community affairs, business and the entertainment industry, the Watts Training Center seeks to raise funds from private foundations, donations and in-kind contributions like that from KABC-TV.

(An unrelated project, New Communicators, Inc., currently teaching filmmaking to 19 poor persons—predominantly Negroes and Mexican-Americans—is operating under a one-year, $253,000 research and demonstration grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

(That program, directed by Jack Dunbar in leased quarters at Hollywood Blvd. and Argyle Ave., has the cooperation of more than 20 non-theatrical film companies which will provide on-the-job training for students, many of whom are interested in social commentary, documentary and educational films.

(Dunbar describes his program as one aimed at "setting up conditions to allow communications to flow out of minority communities to the outside world.")

As for DuBois and his group, their primary interest is to increase the number of minority-group individuals with the technical qualifications necessary to hold the jobs beginning to open up in the television, radio and recording industries.

Although unions and the industries have begun to recognize the urgency of the situation, it has not always been thus.

Only last July, the Federal Communications Commission issued a strong warning to broadcasters that discrimination of hiring behind the cameras and microphones as well as in front of them might jeopardize licenses.

And the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has scheduled a March 12 hearing here into minority hiring practices of the communications industry as well as the aerospace industry.

Just Don't Exist

"The problem," says Duke, "is that qualified technicians don't exist in the minority communities. Why would you train for something you don't think you can get into? It's like me training to be an astronaut."

Although the talent areas have taken on a highly visible integration, "only 3% of all performers really make a steady living at it," says Duke. "Training for acting is just a waste of time."

DuBois adds, "We're only interested in getting people into steady jobs."

DuBois indicates he is pleased with the cooperation he has received from almost everyone contacted.

Brownlee Haydon of the RAND Corp. helped the group outline its program proposal. Other help came from the staffs of City Councilman Thomas Bradley and Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Los Angeles).

Recruiting Program

While professional people—both black and white—have given their time and effort, groups like the Watts Community Coordinating Council and the Watts Labor Community Action Committee have been drawn in to help recruit students and make community participation an integral part of the project.

While the initial class will be a small one concentrating on radio technician work, the group hopes to have up to 150 trainees in all technical fields within a short time—and, hopefully, to have its own center open.

The plan includes placing trainees with the networks and cooperating independent stations on summer relief stints leading to future and permanent jobs.

DuBois says, too, that in addition to radio-TV and motion picture training, the center will attempt to spin off self-sustaining companies such as a recording firm under a Watts label.

"We want to help build a stable community," he says.

Continued on Page 6

SOARING AID
(continued)

nation between those who receive the benefit and those who pay for it," he recommends a system of family allowances as a means of "redistributing income in such a way as to benefit the child-rearing portion of a nation's population."

"The advantages of a family allowance are many," Moynihan writes. "It is paid automatically, requiring no means test, nor a great burocracy. It is provided not for adults, but for children, in response to the one fact that any group can be brought to agree on, namely that kids cost money."

Tactics Invite Slurs

In the same article Moynihan says "a most powerful member of the United States Senate, the man in charge of the legislation involved, openly refers to the poverty-rights mothers as 'Black Brood Mares, Inc.' and in truth their tactics have invited such racial slurs." Moynihan does not explain why a family allowance system offering cash inducements for procreation would not have the same effect.

Moynihan proposes a modest beginning, with monthly payments of $8 for each child under 6 and $12 for each child between 6 and 17. Other proponents of a family allowance system have not been so modest, and the social security administration already has calculated the probable annual cost of four separate plans.

The bulletin for March, 1968, estimates that it would cost 20.9 billion dollars to pay $25 a month for every child, 6.7 billion to pay $25 a month for each child after the second, 41.2 billion to pay $50 a month for every child, and 13.3 billion to pay $50 a month for each child after the second.

Welfare Engage 7/1/69

Welfare reform is high on this nation's agenda for today.
By asserting in its "Shapiro" decision the right of poor people to move. . .

The Supreme Court Has Helped a Little Bit

by GROVER C. BAGBY

In our affluent society, we have devised dozens of ways for projecting our hostility on poor people. In a nation where success is heavily identified with financial achievement, the poor are tagged as losers. Generally speaking, the US gives the back of its hand to the needy and at the same time praises itself for its generosity.

However, ours is the only country among the Western industrial nations which has failed to adopt a general system of child or family allowances. Among thirteen Western European nations, in the period 1958-1960, social welfare expenditures as a percentage of gross national product ranged from a high of 17 per cent in West Germany to a low of 8.9 per cent in Ireland. In the US, during the same period, the figure was 7 per cent, lower than any.[1]

The reasons for comparatively low achievement in the welfare field are complex in the United States. Children's allowances are not the only possible approach to a rational welfare system. Nevertheless, the irrationalities of the present scheme[2] are surely in part an expression of the fact that the citizens on Main Street, for the most part, view people in poverty with distaste and resentment.

The general citizen's attitude toward poor people bases itself largely on the assumption that most of them are lazy, or irresponsible, and somehow themselves solely to blame for their financially deprived condition. There is little in fact to justify such assumptions.

Poor Families in Labor Force

Most poor families are already in the labor force, but are being paid too little to put them on the minimum subsistence level. Out of 7.2 million poor families reported in 1963, 4.6 million were headed by working people. 3.6 million of these worked full time. All 4.6 million, however, were living below the poverty line as defined by the Social Security Administration.[3]

The major share of the non-working poor cannot be in the labor market—they are too young or too old or too sick or too handicapped. Of the 2.6 million poor families headed by non-workers, it is important to note that 1.5 million of these are headed by persons 65 years of age or older, and that 2 million families are headed by women.[4]

These facts, however, have not yet penetrated the mind and conscience of the average American. The vast underlying assumption in grassroots America appears to be that in most cases the poor don't deserve public aid because they are themselves somehow at fault for their own deprivation.

To observe this critically is not to deny the reality of irresponsibility in human beings, poor or otherwise. Simple observation, however, enables one to question whether the level of irresponsibility among the poor, taken as a class, is greater than it is among the rest of the people. The incidence of theft by employees, of goldbricking on jobs, of corporation milking, of embezzlement, of price-fixing, of exorbitant profit taking, and of the production of goods of inferior quality—these add up to far greater losses to society than do all the real and imagined economic failures of the poor taken together. Nevertheless, the non-poor in the US generally regard the poor as failures through their own fault.

For example, the high geographical mobility of the modern American family has been noted widely as a factor in social and economic upward movement. From the time of Horace Greeley's famous dictim, "Go west, young man," until the

present, it has been thought highly commendable for Americans to move for the sake of improving their condition. In the case of those on welfare, however, the commendation has turned to condemnation. For a generation it has been almost universal practice in the US to discourage poor people from moving from one state to another by denying them welfare benefits to which they would otherwise be entitled, solely because they had moved interstate recently. For some reason, the search for a higher income is regarded as illegitimate when carried on by the poor, although that same search is regarded as highly legitimate for the rest of us. This is so in spite of the fact that the need for higher income among the poor is greater, relatively and absolutely, than is that of anyone else.

For some reason, the search for a higher income is regarded as illegitimate when carried on by the poor, although that same search is regarded as highly legitimate for the rest of us. This is so in spite of the fact that the need for higher income among the poor is greater.

Court Reminds of Rights of Citizens

Now at long last comes the Supreme Court of The United States to remind us of our own most central governmental principles concerning the rights of citizens. On April 21, 1969, in a 6-3 decision, (*Shapiro v. Thompson,* etc.), the Court moved to eliminate this particular impairment of the rights of welfare recipients to move their place of residence. In a decision immediately affecting forty states, the Court found that it is unconstitutional for a state to require a period of residency as a condition for the granting of welfare aid.

The Court said: "... the waiting-period requirement is unconstitutional because it 'has a chilling effect on the right to travel.' "[5]

The Court also found that the residence requirement for. welfare aid constituted an unjustifiable distinction between classes of state citizens–those who had lived within the state more than a year, and those who had not. Since national citizenship is primary, under the Constitution, and since state citizenship consists essentially of state residence by US citizens, it is clear, said the Court, that *length of residence* cannot legitimately be added to the Constitutional specification of *residence* itself as a qualification for the reception of state-established benefits for its citizens. A reading of Section 1 of Amendment XIV makes this clear:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any persons of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The Supreme Court asserted that potential welfare recipients are denied equal protection of the laws if they are denied aid solely because of length of state residency. That is, their rights as citizens within the state are operative from the moment they establish residence in the state. Chief Justice Warren, in a dissent, expressed concern that this decision would set an unfortunate precedent in respect of other residency requirements. His question is legitimate and deserves consideration. Residency requirements, where they impair basic rights of citizens, ought to be struck down. Where they uphold legitimate ends of democratic and responsible government, they may be maintained. Our Court system is designed to make distinctions of just this kind.

The Supreme Court, to this writer's knowledge, has never yet taken the position that the Congress, under its Constitutional authority to provide for the general welfare (Article 1, Section 8), is under mandate to grant financial aid to the poor, any more than the states are under mandate to do so. There can be little question that in modern industrial society such provision is absolutely essential to effective provision for the general welfare, but the Constitution has not yet been interpreted as requiring such financial provision from the public treasury. However, on the general recognition that such provision is necessary, and although present provisions are in most cases niggardly, insufficient, and hedged about with a spate of destructive conditions, all the states and territories, with a significant assist from the national treasury, do make such provision, because Constitutionally it is in their power to do so.

Arguments Justifying Residency Period

Arguments before the Court seeking to justify the period of residency qualifications for welfare aid included the following: (1) that state welfare

budget predictability is facilitated, (2) that determinations of residency are made more efficient, (3) that welfare application fraud was safeguarded against, and (4) that job seeking is encouraged. The Court had no difficulty in showing that (1) and (2) were unrelated to the facts, that (3) could be achieved by less drastic means, and that (4) was inappropriate when limited to new residents, since, if true, it would apply just as properly to long-term residents.

There is little hard evidence to show that any significant number of welfare recipients have moved out of state in the past simply and solely to receive higher welfare payments, in spite of the fact that ten states now do not impose a waiting period after the establishment of residence. Nevertheless, this is now the big fear. Present aid levels vary greatly as between particular states. In 1968 average monthly payments in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program ranged from $67.85 per person in Massachusetts to $8.50 in Mississippi.

Secretary Finch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has stated that the Court's decision in this case makes "inevitable" the establishment of a minimum national standard for welfare. Present extraordinary variations in welfare levels have long been condemned by professionals and students in the field. It is unconscionable that children of poverty in one state must live near starvation, while those lucky enough to be born in another state have at least the benefit of a life at minimum subsistence. US citizenship ought to mean something better and more consistent than this. Especially is this so in view of the fact that the greater share of funds in categorical welfare programs are provided from the national treasury.

A Great Welfare Migration?

Will a great welfare migration not take place as a result of the Court's decision? Evidence from previous experience is singularly lacking for this. California, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut have no term-of-residency requirements, and their experience does not support the notion of a mass migration.[6] Nevertheless, some state officials in the North are worried. The push for a national minimum standard of welfare support will gather steam steadily from now until its adoption. The Nixon Administration is currently debating the major outlines of such a proposal, along with other needed welfare reforms.

The immediate impact of the Court's decision has been estimated by government officials and reported by James G. Driscoll: "Today, about 9,000,000 persons in the nation are welfare recipients, with the number increasing by 10 per cent a year. Federal officials estimate that the [Court's] decision will add 100,000 to 200,000 poor people to the welfare lists immediately, at a cost of at least $125,000,000 a year."[7]

In view of the fact that the total welfare budget is now. $5.7 billion dollars (December, 1969 figures), an increase in the amount of $125 million is no reasonable cause for a cry of alarm. As a matter of fact, the price seems pretty insignificant when measured against the amount of human misery and deprivation which has heretofore been perpetuated unconstitutionally by the regulations the Court has now struck down. High on the agenda for today is welfare reform, and in its *Shapiro* decision, the Supreme Court has helped a little bit.

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[1] See James C. Vadakin, *Children, Poverty, and Family Allowances,* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968, p. 138, Table 26. Statistics drawn from the International Labour Organization publication, *The Cost of Social Security,* Geneva, Switzerland, 1964.

[2] The irrationalities and inadequacies of the present system have been brought to public attention in recent years in highly publicized and responsible reports. See, for example, *The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* New York: New York Times Co., 1968, pp. 457-466.

The Report of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, June, 1966, "Having the Power We Have the Duty." Washington, D. C.: US Government Printing Office.

See also James Tobin's article "Raising the Incomes of the Poor," in *Agenda for the Nation,* Kermit Gordon, ed., The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1968, pp. 100ff.

[3] Note that these 7.2 million families represent nearly 30 millions persons. See Christopher Green: *Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem,* The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 4; source: based on Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," *Social Security Bulletin,* Vol. 28 (January, 1965), Table 2, p. 12. Orshansky's data were derived from special tabulations by the Bureau of the Census for the Social Security Administration.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Shapiro v. Thompson, SUPREME COURT OF THE U. S., Nos. 9, 33, and 34.–October term, 1968. Mr. Justice Brennan for the majority, p. 3. Quoting from the decision of the US District Court for the District of Connecticut (270 F. Supp. at 336, 1967).

[6] See report by James G. Driscoll in *The National Observer,* April 28, 1969, "Residency Rules Junked: What Now for the States?"

[7] *Ibid.*

THE PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLES

Americans, who are adding $80 billion to a national income of over $850 billion and giving less than $2 billion to world development, need to begin to see the world as a single system in which the wealth of each is dependent upon the wealth of all.

by BARBARA WARD

The developing nations today are not static or stagnant. With an average growth rate of 4.8 per cent a year they are growing more rapidly than did the Atlantic world in its decades of development a century ago. They are positively leaping forward compared with the full stop to all growth which took place in the depressed '30s. Yet two heavy anxieties cloud a picture which is, in essence, much more encouraging than popular judgment often supposes.

1. The 4.8 per cent rate of growth has been sustained by critically important inputs of foreign exchange—of dollars and marks and francs and sterling—made available either by ordinary investment, which however does not reach the poorest lands, or by economic assistance, which shows more and more alarming signs of falling away, or by international trade, which is pretty well rigged in favor of the rich nations showing few signs of being willing to lessen the bias in their own favor.

Parents exercise "responsible parenthood" when the preconditions of development -- health, schools, jobs, hopes -- are becoming a reality.

2. Although 4.8 per cent is better than the Atlantic nation's traditional 3 per cent, it is not enough. The reason is well known. In most of the developing countries, population growth, unleashed by the control of epidemics and the beginnings of public health, is driving forward by not much less than 3 per cent a year. This leaves too small a margin for all the required investment in new technologies and for the food, health, and schooling people need to modernize themselves.

Much of the pessimism freely expressed about the prospects of the poor nations springs from the belief that Thomas R. Malthus, who 150 years ago prophesied that rising population would always swallow up the resources needed for investment and growth, may have been wrong in the 1800's but is right now. Is he? The fact that he was wrong before suggests that he may be wrong again and there is, in fact, reason to suppose that the present situation, though difficult, is not hopeless. We now know from history that peoples as diverse as the Japanese, the French, the Italians, the Scandinavians and the British do have smaller families when their standards of living and education begin to rise.

Stabilization of Population

If no population had ever become stabilized, if birth rates had always remained at 3 per cent instead of Europe's and Japan's 1 per cent, the despair would be in order. World population—at 3.5 billions today—cannot go on doubling every twenty-five years without exhausting the resources of our little planet. But the growth rate in developed nations has become more stable and this is precisely because they are developed.

When parents know that most of their children will survive the first five years, when a large family is not the only source of labor on the farm—a tractor represents quite a sizeable unit of "child

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1970

Welfare I: A Winter Day in Brownsville

By STEPHEN MACDONALD

NEW YORK—To Mayor Lindsay welfare is "an astronomical problem." To the taxpayers of this city it's the biggest item in the budget, more than a billion dollars spent to support a million people last year. To the House Ways and Means Committee in Washington it's enough witnesses' statistics and analysis of President Nixon's complex reform proposal to fill seven books. But to the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, where half the residents are on relief, welfare is just the humdrum routine of daily life. In Brownsville a welfare caseworker is as familiar a sight as a postman.

Peggy has been a caseworker, or "investigator" as the welfare recipients persist in calling them, "off and on" for the past five of her twenty-five years. At present she is the sole official link between the welfare establishment and 80 Brownsville families, and as such her loyalties are divided. At a minimum she must serve the state by establishing and periodically re-establishing her clients' eligibility and by verifying that they have paid their utility bills and rent, which is where the "investigator" notion comes from.

In addition, if she feels inclined, she can fight the bureaucracy on behalf of her clients, handle their complaints, counsel them, inspire them, push them and refer them to any services she thinks might be helpful. The job offers plenty of latitude. A lazy caseworker can confine his field trips to checking the receipts and his office work to faking reports. Peggy insists she is fairly conscientious, and she puts it down to efficiency born of experience that at least once a week her workday is over well before noon.

On a recent slushy morning Peggy bummed a ride to Brownsville with a curious reporter. Mayor Lindsay has said of the neighborhood, "By every number we have to measure the suffering of a community—narcotics addiction, welfare dependency, sickness and malnutrition—Brownsville is a leader." With that as an introduction, a first-time visitor's initial reaction is likely to be surprise, especially if he is expecting congested tenement buildings oozing misery. Brownsville is more open, and most families occupy one floor of a typical two-story frame house.

But up close it is a dreary place. The streets are deserted, even in daytime, and an elevated railroad track casts a dank gloom on the ground below. Many houses have no heat, and some are without water. On the worst blocks nearly half the houses have only jagged glass edges in the window sash, a sign that paying tenants have departed and left the premises to heroin shooters and other nocturnal opportunists. The occupied houses are shut tight and their shades drawn full down, and almost every family seems to keep a scrawny mongrel to yelp the alarm. By mid-afternoon, when school is out, Peggy prefers to be gone.

Fear and Bare Rooms

Whenever Mrs. A. and her three children are to be visited Peggy schedules them first, so she can be exactly on time. Mrs. A. is afraid to open the door except by precise prearrangement, even though she might recognize her visitor. She would be a poor candidate for robbery, because there is nothing in her apartment to steal. The walls are entirely bare, and no decorative object of any kind is visible. There is nothing that could be called comfortable furniture. The kitchen, which triples as entry hall and living room, contains a row of drooping tin cabinets, a metal table and four straight chairs. Three small bedrooms opening off the kitchen appear to have beds, dressers and one television set, which is on.

For these accommodations welfare pays Mrs. A.'s monthly rent of $115 plus her regular $308 allotment, which is partly determined by the number of children she has. (She, like all New York welfare clients, receives some benefits besides money. One is a monthly surplus-food distribution that includes butter, cheese, flour and canned meat such as Spam. "The distribution is a bureaucratic mess," Peggy said, "but it's good stuff if they can get it." The other important benefit is Medicaid, which absorbs most, but not all, medical expenses. "The service tends to be poor, and I could tell you a few real horror [illegible]," said Peggy.)

thing to do at the time, but that was a long time ago. I'd like to go back and get my diploma now, but I'm afraid I couldn't do the work. School has changed so much, you know. I look at my kids' homework and it's so different from what we used to do. I just don't think I could pass."

"You could pass," replied Peggy. "It isn't that hard. At least you could try, and if you had a diploma you could get a better job, maybe as a teller in a bank. That would be $125 a week in a few months, and more later."

Mrs. B. promised to think about it. Then Peggy pulled out a long form that had to be filled in and began reading the questions. Besides name and address, some of the questions were "How old are you?" "Where is your husband?" "When did you see him last?" "What color is his hair?" Both women handled their roles gracefully and soon the job was finished. They chatted about children and the vicissitudes of the antipoverty program for a few minutes, and then Peggy left.

"She's in good shape," said Peggy. "I try to talk to her about the children, to reinforce her self-confidence in raising them, and I think they'll be all right too. Their home life is good. The only problem is that right outside is one of the country's worst slums."

Right outside across the street is Mrs. C., who lives on the upper floor of yet another two-story frame house and who would make an excellent hate-object for people who loathe the very notion of public assistance. Mrs. C. breeds children for a living. So far she has nine, every one guaranteed to become a social menace. The two eldest, boys in their late teens, were dozing fully clothed on two beds when Peggy arrived for her mid-morning visit. A puffy-faced ninth-grade daughter leaned sleepily against one wall—Mrs. C. and Peggy occupied the apartment's only two chairs—and glared at the visitors. Assorted smaller children, their faces vacant, wandered joylessly from room to room. The apartment, utterly without furnishings, was dingy and dirty. A small kitchen stove supplied the only heat.

Mrs. C.'s rent is $150. She gets that and $391 more a month from the welfare department.

Though Peggy's approach is deliberately unintimidating, Mrs. C. let on that she felt intimidated. Starchy food has turned her to fat, and she sagged into the straight-backed chair across from Peggy, held her head with one hand, stared blankly at the wall and grunted answers to Peggy's questions about the family's health and the lack of heat. Finally Peggy gestured toward the two slumbering young men and said, "You know, you really ought to kick them out, get them to try a little work. You could use the money."

Grunt.

"I'm supposed to reduce your check if they contribute to the family income, but I wouldn't. I think you need the extra money."

Mrs. C. drew herself up. "Are they gonna cut my check again? They just got done cutting it."

Peggy ignored this and turned to the girl. "And what are your plans?" she asked.

"Huh?"

"Do you go to school?"

"Yeah."

"Often?"

"Sometimes."

"Do you know about birth control?"

"Yeah."

Then, to Mrs. C., Peggy said, "Make sure she knows about birth control. That's very important." Then she picked up the receipts and left.

"There's hard-core for you," Peggy said outside. "They're all sick. She has a compulsion to pick bad landlords. We finally got her out of the last place because there was no heat, and now she's in here and there's no heat. She'll be on welfare forever and so will her kids. The girl is 13, and probably sleeping around already, and pretty soon she'll have kids on welfare too.

"Most welfare clients are honest, and most want to work if they can. Not Mrs. C. She wants to sit around and collect money. Can you imagine a normal person wanting to sit around on the stoop all day? She's really sick."

Peggy made three other calls that day—on a husband and wife who are both too ill to work and on two other single women with children.

On the way home she offered a few thoughts. "Two big problems with welfare are the bureaucracy, which everyone knows is a mess, and the caseworkers themselves. Their motivation in taking the job is often negative—people who have failed elsewhere, boys with ego problems, barely-qualified people who need the security of a municipal bureaucracy. These people can't do a good job.

"Of course there are some conscientious, competent caseworkers, but they don't often last. You can keep the treadmill running, but you're not likely to see many accomplishments, and a lot of them don't understand that. They get discouraged and finally destroyed, and they quit."

Blaming the President

Peggy is wary of President Nixon's welfare proposal, even though she knows almost none of its details, because she is wary of President Nixon. For example, she holds him responsible for the New York state legislature's decision last year to reduce welfare payments. "Not that he did it personally, but it was a result of the backlash atmosphere in this country after he was elected. So now blind people don't get taxi money any more, and epileptics don't get a telephone allowance. And the red tape has been increased. Now it takes me a whole day of carrying forms around to do one little job, like getting an emergency check authorized."

Peggy's remedies tend to the short-range pragmatic and the long-range utopian.

"There isn't much you can do very soon, if you're talking about getting people off welfare. The stuff about making them work is no good because there aren't enough jobs, which I suppose has something to do with the unions. Some of the money that was cut should be restored. Beyond that, about all that can be done is what I try to do—give them advice, like where to go to school, how to get a job, how to get medical care, how to shop, how to get a man to support you—how to get access to all the little things that middle-class people take for granted. Part of their lack of freedom is that they don't know about these things.

"As you can see, I'm a coddler. Other workers in my unit are more for pushing them. I push if I think pushing will help—that's a small percentage of cases.

"It took me a long time to come up with my long-range 'answer' because basically I'm pessimistic. But if we're ever going to get people off welfare, I think the only way will be by intensive individual psychiatric therapy, and I'm talking about three or four decades. It would be cheaper in the long run than what we're doing now. I've mentioned this to a few people, and hardly anyone agrees with me, but we have to get at why these people are on welfare, what the real reasons are. At present there's absolutely no effort to deal with the fundamental problems, which have to do with things like race, sex and family. I'm aware of the studies showing that intensive casework doesn't help, but I'm talking about 30 years, with qualified people. Nothing like that has ever been tested.

"And it probably won't be. You'd have to get rid of the backlash, which means re-educating the public. Even at the welfare center a lot of the people, especially some of the clerks that see all those checks going out, they actually hate the clients. Do you know what I mean?"

In a subsequent issue another member of the editorial-page staff will examine President Nixon's welfare proposals.

blocks nearly half the houses have only jagged glass edges in the window sash, a sign that paying tenants have departed and left the premises to heroin shooters and other nocturnal opportunists. The occupied houses are shut tight and their shades drawn full down, and almost every family seems to keep a scrawny mongrel to yelp the alarm. By mid-afternoon, when school is out, Peggy prefers to be gone.

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Poverty and extreme fearfulness are not the whole of Mrs. A.'s difficulties. In addition she is mentally retarded, a condition that demands much patience from anyone trying to talk to her. Peggy first inquired about the children, because she thinks they are the best hope in the A. family, but the mother was taciturn. Then Peggy explained some details of Mrs. A.'s lease, tried to persuade her to see a doctor about an old complaint and, as she always does, urged her to be conscientious about birth control. Mrs. A. was not unfriendly or uncooperative, but it was a one-sided conversation. After about 15 minutes Peggy collected the rent and gas receipts and said goodbye.

Outside she explained, "Her mother lives nearby and takes pretty good care of her. There's not much I can do. She's too retarded to work, or even to take proper care of the children. She's afraid to leave the house, so they never get outdoors. She doesn't talk much, so they don't talk much. I'd like to find a program for the kids, but so far I haven't been able to." (A week later, after having been told again and again by her supervisor that no such program existed, she happened on one operated by a private agency.)

A Startling Difference

One block down the street is an almost identical two-story house, the top floor of which is rented by Mrs. B. and her six children. Knowing just this, and having come from Mrs. A.'s home, a visitor would be startled. Mrs. B.'s apartment is straight out of a Sears & Roebuck catalog. Mrs. B., a trim and voluble woman in her late 20s, showed Peggy to a cozy wood-paneled dining nook and offered her a cup of instant coffee. The kitchen was spotless, and so was the big modern refrigerator-freezer.

Mrs. B. is obviously better off than most welfare clients, and one reason is that she is, as Peggy says, "a together person"—bright, well-organized and reasonably free of neurosis. Another reason is that she works as a part-time stenographer for an antipoverty agency, supplementing her $470 monthly welfare payment. Her rent takes $130 of that. The current incentive program allows a working mother to keep the first $30 a month of what she earns and one-third of the rest, and it provides money for a baby-sitter.

Peggy expects Mrs. B. to work her way off welfare eventually, but because her family is so large it will take time. "I've had clients earning $200 a week," she said. "If you have eight children that still puts you below standard."

Mrs. B. would be more attractive to prospective employers if she had a high school diploma, but she lacks one semester of study. "I dropped out the spring of my senior year," she said. "I thought that was a pretty smart

across from Peggy, held her head with one hand, stared blankly at the wall and grunted answers to Peggy's questions about the family's health and the lack of heat. Finally Peggy gestured toward the two slumbering young men and said, "You know, you really ought to kick them out, get them to try a little work. You could use the money."

Grunt.

"I'm supposed to reduce your check if they contribute to the family income, but I wouldn't. I think you need the extra money."

Mrs. C. drew herself up. "Are they gonna cut my check again? They just got done cutting it."

Peggy ignored this and turned to the girl. "And what are your plans?" she asked.

"Huh?"

"Do you go to school?"

"Yeah."

"Often?"

"Sometimes."

"Do you know about birth control?"

"Yeah."

Then, to Mrs. C., Peggy said, "Make sure she knows about birth control. That's very important." Then she picked up the receipts and left.

"There's hard-core for you," Peggy said outside. "They're all sick. She has a compulsion to pick bad landlords. We finally got her out of the last place because there was no heat, and now she's in here and there's no heat. She'll be on welfare forever and so will her kids. The girl is 13, and probably sleeping around already, and pretty soon she'll have kids on welfare too.

to get access to all the little things that middle-class people take for granted. Part of their lack of freedom is that they don't know about these things.

"As you can see, I'm a coddler. Other workers in my unit are more for pushing them. I push if I think pushing will help—that's a small percentage of cases.

"It took me a long time to come up with my long-range 'answer' because basically I'm pessimistic. But if we're ever going to get people off welfare, I think the only way will be by intensive individual psychiatric therapy, and I'm talking about three or four decades. It would be cheaper in the long run than what we're doing now. I've mentioned this to a few people, and hardly anyone agrees with me, but we have to get at why these people are on welfare, what the real reasons are. At present there's absolutely no effort to deal with the fundamental problems, which have to do with things like race, sex and family. I'm aware of the studies showing that intensive casework doesn't help, but I'm talking about 30 years, with qualified people. Nothing like that has ever been tested.

"And it probably won't be. You'd have to get rid of the backlash, which means re-educating the public. Even at the welfare center a lot of the people, especially some of the clerks that see all those checks going out, they actually hate the clients. Do you know what I mean?"

In a subsequent issue another member of the editorial-page staff will examine President Nixon's welfare proposals.

Res — copy to EV

Welfare II: The Nixon Plan Assessed

By Robert L. Bartley

NEW YORK—Everyone knows that if the typical welfare mother goes out and gets a job today, her benefits will be cut by whatever she earns. And everyone knows that under President Nixon's new welfare proposals she will get to keep half her wages, and for the first time will have incentive to work.

So as Congressional and public debate on the Nixon proposals approaches, everyone will do well to remember what Socrates or somebody pontificated: It's not what you don't know that gets you into trouble, it's knowing all those things that ain't so.

In fact, the mother who takes a job already gets to keep $30 a month in earnings plus a third of anything above that figure. Here in New York, where the typical welfare mother typically lives, the Nixon plan would give her $60 plus a third of the balance. Since she is already keeping a third of the second $30, the next incentive about which the President waxed so eloquent amounts to $20 a month.

The insignificance of this sum by no means proves there's no case for the Nixon proposals, or even that the plan wouldn't help some in getting recipients into the labor force. It does warn, though, against relying too much on face value in evaluating the program—and especially in balancing the implicit bargain in which it has been packaged: That liberals would get a guaranteed income floor and conservatives would get a new emphasis on work.

Taking anything about welfare at face value, for that matter, is hardly prudent. Nothing about the subject is simple or straightforward. What's more, the current law is already in a state of flux, descending into confusion that must be endured to be appreciated. Take for example, what seems a simple question: Whether a welfare recipient gets to keep any earnings if he or she goes out and gets a job, without bothering to enroll in any special program.

Ask this while sitting with three officials working full-time with welfare. One says no, another says yes and the third says come to think of it she'd be curious about that herself. They call a fourth official more directly involved, and he has to look it up. The answer is that a mother is entitled to keep a portion of her earnings, but for reasons of legal mickeymouse, the father of an intact family is not.

Defining the Confusion

Most of the confusion, which is by no means isolated to any single group of officials, results from the Social Security Amendments of 1967, large portions of which became nationally effective only last July 1. These amendments, written by the House Ways and Means Committee headed by Rep. Wilbur Mills, foreshadowed the emphasis on work in the Nixon plan. They established incentive payments for families headed by mothers, expanded work training, allocated more funds for day-care of children of working mothers, and required that "appropriate individuals" be referred for either work or training.

The Nixon proposal would do all the same things, on a somewhat larger and slightly simplified scale. It proposes to spend $600 million on work-training and day-care, for example, compared to $164 million in the 1967 act. In broadening coverage to include all families earning less than given limits, it abolishes categorical distinctions such as the one currently barring incentive payments to fathers. It would require all recipients to be referred for work or training except the disabled, mothers of pre-school children and a few others.

The Nixon plan would guarantee a family of four an income of about $2,350—$1,600 in Federal cash payments and about $750 worth of food stamps redeemable at grocery stores. States would be required to maintain present benefits, which means all but a few of them would be supplementing the Federal grant. Under its work-incentive provisions, $60 a month in earnings would be disregarded. For every dollar in earnings above that the Federal grant would be reduced 50 cents and the state supplement reduced 17 cents. In other words, working recipients would for the most part keep 33 cents on a dollar of earnings, the same as under the 1967 law.

In evaluating the prospects that the Nixon plan will reduce welfare dependency by putting people to work, it's logical to inquire what the effect of the 1967 law has been so far. In many cases it's simply too soon to tell; few if any parts of it have been effective long enough to reflect anything but inevitable start-up difficulties. Even so, there is a body of experience suggesting at least some of the problems involved. And while that experience can scarcely be called conclusive, it certainly can't be called encouraging either.

New York City, as it happens, has a bit more than usual experience with the employment incentive idea. Even before the 1967 law, it started a demonstration project offering work incentives to the 200,000 families receiving aid to dependent children. The incentives were larger than those either in the 1967 law or in the Nixon plan. Over the two years of the demonstration project, heads of about 8,000 families went to work. Each case represents some net benefit both to the state and the family. But the number of cases closed due to increased earnings, that is, the number who actually worked themselves entirely off the welfare rolls, was 235.

A few rules peculiar to the demonstration project limited enrollment somewhat, but Max Waldgeir, deputy commissioner of the Department of Social Services here, says this was not the major factor. "A whole lot of other things are related to the ability or lack of ability for the welfare mother to work," he says, "It's not just the employment incentive; it depends on other social-service facilities, day-care, the health of the children. You don't have a large reservoir of ready-to-go-to-work people."

The Nixon plan hopes to provide not only incentive but day-care and training, of course, expanding on similar provisions in the 1967 amendments. But again, experience is not encouraging. In fiscal 1969 Congress allocated $22.6 million for day-care nationwide. With transfers to other programs, lapsed appropriations, carry-overs into future years, the states actually managed to spend only $4 million of this. So far at least, the obstacles would not appear to be the kind that can be overcome by larger spending.

In fact, perhaps the chief obstacle to rapid expansion of day-care facilities is local licensing and building-code requirements, which set standards for such facilities that are nearly impossible to meet, especially in slums. Much of the day-care actually provided is "in-home," meaning welfare departments provide money for baby-sitters. There is also the problem of economic feasibility. Day-care costs approach $2,000 per child per year, and if a mother has three children it costs less to pay her welfare than to send her to work and pay day-care.

Training welfare recipients for higher-paying jobs would help, of course, and this approach is incorporated in the 1967 law's work-incentive, work-training program (WIN). It works like this: Caseworkers are instructed to assess their clients to see which might be "appropriate" for training or work. The ones selected are referred for medical exams to be certified for work. The caseworker draws up the paperwork, which is reviewed and passed along by his supervisor, a WIN clerk at each welfare center and the WIN central office. When the papers reach the state employment service, it sends a letter inviting the recipient in for an interview.

Each recipient is assigned to a five-man team responsible for fitting individuals in proper jobs or training. After an interview or a few of them, the recipient is assigned to a WIN "component"—an orientation course on work habits, an eighth-grade equivalency course, a high school equivalency course, training in such occupations as secretary, practical nurse or auto mechanic.

No 'Dead-End' Jobs

At some point the recipient may be referred directly to work, provided the job in question is not a "dead-end" one in the judgment of the employment service. Neither WIN nor the Nixon proposals would force recipients to take unskilled jobs such as janitors or domestics, though recipients who voluntarily take them are entitled to incentive payments. In the New York City employment incentive demonstration project some 40% of the total working recipients were holding unskilled jobs.

(In fact "family splitting and refusal to take unskilled and semi-skilled jobs" were cited as primary reasons for the rise in the city's welfare caseload in a report released Tuesday by the Center for New York City Affairs at the New School for Social Research here. Many welfare mothers could work, it contended, "but are disinclined to take the jobs available to them because the monetary gain does not outweigh the inconvenience of working.")

WIN has only been operating about a year, and Maurice Robinson, deputy director for administration of the city social services department, is doubtless correct when he says it's too early to judge its effectiveness. But because of such problems as delay with enrollees in "holding time" between components, fewer than 150 recipients have actually been placed in jobs through WIN here in the city. Mr. Robinson adds, "There is at least an equal number who've gone out and got jobs on their own. I think that's encouraging, when clients get so fed up with the process they go out and get a job."

The WIN program has been somewhat more successful in other cities, suggesting that although New York City has over 10% of the national welfare caseload, what happens here is not necessarily a precise indicator of what may happen nationwide. Unlike some other local departments, for example, New York has taken the position that no mother is "appropriate" for WIN referral unless she volunteers. Spokesmen for the city have traditionally been among the leaders in seeking higher benefits for welfare recipients and less coercion of them.

The Nixon plan would include a number of bureaucratic adjustments to reduce state-to-state variations in administration. Discretion on what individual is "appropriate" for training and work, for example, would be replaced by a few closely defined categories. The referral process would be taken out of the hands of the states and placed under the Federal Social Security Administration. The plan does have a formal requirement that to maintain benefits most recipients must accept training or "suitable" employment, and the Administration says this clause means the plan is not a guaranteed annual income.

The Nixon Administration's heavy rhetorical emphasis on work may in itself have some effect on the attitudes of the relevant bureaucracies. More money will be available on day-care and training where that would help.

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The Nixon Administration's heavy rhetorical emphasis on work may in itself have some effect on the attitudes of the relevant bureaucracies. More money will be available on day-care and training where that would help. Work incentives would be available to more people and earlier, before they sink into complete dependency. Sometimes such subtle changes prove powerful, and possibly they mean the plan will, just as the President says, help get more people off welfare rolls and on payrolls.

An Iffy Proposition

That seems a highly iffy proposition, though, given the recent experience. Even if there are significant numbers of people on the welfare rolls who can work, it seems quite clear that the principles of work incentives, training day-care and whatnot are not self-realizing. Making them work will at best require a prodigy of administration. And so far as work is concerned, the principles in the Nixon plan really do not go far beyond the principles Mr. Mills and the rest wrote into the law back in 1967.

The new principle in the plan, and one subject to expansion in future years, is a national income floor. The advantages of the plan have less to do with incentive than with equity: Recipients in the few states that pay less than the plan's Federal floor would be treated more fairly. Those who earn low wages really should get more money than the non-working welfare recipient, and the Nixon plan would give them some Federal money. Families headed by fathers would be treated equally with those headed by mothers.

These are real advantages, of course, even if they are not the ones called up by Presidential rhetoric. They are not the advantages of more work but of more welfare, and on this the Nixon proposals ought to stand or fall.

This is the second of two articles about

Week of March 9, 1970 3/10/70

Welfare

HOUSE BODY TAKES 'IMPORTANT' STEP TOWARD REFORMING NATIONAL WELFARE PROGRAM, SHULTZ SAYS

WASHINGTON -- Labor Secretary George P. Shultz has praised the House Ways and Means Committee for "acting with dispatch" on President Nixon's Family Assistance Program.

He said the Committee has taken "an important step toward reforming the Nation's welfare program and moving persons from welfare rolls to payrolls."

The text of Mr. Shultz' statement on the Committee's action on the measure follows:

The House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means has taken an important step toward reforming the Nation's welfare program and moving persons from welfare rolls to payrolls.

The Committee and its Chairman -- Congressman Wilbur Mills -- are to be congratulated for acting with dispatch on President Nixon's Family Assistance Program.

This program represents a sound and rational approach for solving a critical national problem -- a public assistance program that is perpetuating rather than ending dependency.

As President Nixon has said, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program is a "colossal failure."

The President's welfare reform bill is a fresh approach that stresses work.

-- It provides financial incentives to go to work.

-- It requires adults <u>who should do so</u> to register with the Employment Service and accept suitable training and employment. The "escape" clauses in existing AFDC law are eliminated.

(MORE)

-- It covers the working poor, thus rewarding work rather than penalizing it.

-- It provides for a larger training effort for welfare recipients -- a quarter of a million additional training opportunities during the first year.

-- It corrects basic inequities among the States that encourage movement to crowded urban slums.

-- It expands child-care opportunities by half a million, so that mothers will be freed to train and take jobs.

The Family Assistance Plan requires a substantial initial investmnet, just as does every successful business enterprise. But it is an investment that will bring substantial returns in the future by ending the cycle of public dependency that traps generation after generation.

We cannot afford the mounting cost of AFDC when it means less money for education, adequate housing, and safe streets.

We have an economy that can generate the jobs its citizens need. Employment is a reasonable -- and achievable -- solution to providing adequate income.

I urge that Congress continue to act in this vital matter with the sense of urgency demonstrated by the House Ways and Means Committee.

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WELFARE WAITING RULES in two states were unconstitutional, the High Court held.

Acting without a hearing, the Supreme Court affirmed lower court judgments that laws requiring a one-year waiting period for welfare aid in New York and Connecticut are unconstitutional. Both states reacted to the ruling by calling for a federal take-over of welfare costs and said they faced fiscal crises. In another case, the Justices skirted a test of the power of Texas officials to bar the sale of underground newspapers on state university campuses. And they called for reargument in two cases, one involving the government's attempt to prosecute former Sen. Brewster (D., Md.) on bribery charges.

1/25/72

The court's welfare-case action indicates that, despite the addition of four Nixon appointees, it isn't about to reverse its 1968 ruling that states can't deprive migrants of welfare.

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Court enforcement of job-bias laws, sought by the Nixon administration, was rejected, 43-41 by the Senate in favor of giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission power to issue cease-and-desist orders. But two hours later, the upper house voted to reconsider its decision. Whether the EEOC or the courts would enforce equal-opportunity laws has been a key issue in strengthening the panel.

California Faces HEW Warning on Losing Welfare Funds Unless Ethnic 'Bias' Ends

2/5/72

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Health, Education and Welfare Department's civil-rights enforcers are about to make their first move to counter discrimination against ethnic minority groups.

Within a few weeks, HEW is expected to warn California that it stands to lose more than $900 million in federal welfare funds unless it ends what federal officials consider discriminatory treatment of Mexican-American poor.

The California controversy centers on whether the state's failure to hire sufficient numbers of Spanish-speaking welfare workers deprives Mexican-Americans of their rights under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. If it does, by depriving them of welfare services or payments, the penalty would be a cutoff of all federal financial support or court action by the Justice Department to force compliance.

California previously faced an aid cutoff because of welfare-law violations, but this will be its first major confrontation over civil-rights issues. The outcome could have important implications for all state welfare programs.

Examining Welfare Compliance

In response to complaints by Mexican-American and poverty-group lawyers, HEW agents are examining civil-rights welfare compliance in the California counties of Los Angeles, Sonoma, Tulare, San Joaquin, San Mateo, Santa Clara and San Diego. These counties contain more than 80% of the state's 4.2 million Mexican-Americans.

HEW has found that Mexican-Americans constitute only about 8% of California's welfare work force, while making up 20% of the state's population. "We are saying we want California to employ bilingual (Spanish-speaking) people in welfare, not for employment, but because it relates to equal delivery of welfare," explains J. Stanley Pottinger, director of HEW's Office of Civil Rights.

The formal investigation will be completed in early March. But California officials already have been told they have a problem on their hands. HEW would like the proportion of Spanish-speaking supervisory, policy-making and public-contact welfare workers to be as great as the proportion of Mexican-Americans among potential recipients.

HEW interviewed 200 to 300 state employes and submitted a questionnaire to 11,000. "Even the state's own personnel admit they are unable to serve Spanish-speaking people," reports one HEW man.

HEW civil-rights experts hope the California case will serve as a precedent to compel similar steps by welfare departments in other states. "California is the largest state in terms of Spanish-speaking minority and probably the most difficult to do it in," comments one federal specialist. The key requirement would be hiring workers who are familiar with the language and customs of the ethnic groups served. Technically, such a regulation could be enforced by HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service through its powers to approve or disapprove state welfare plans.

The requirement for equal delivery of services to ethnic groups also will be extended by HEW civil-rights officials to federal health programs.

Confined to Education

Currently, the major HEW effort is confined to education. Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the department has charged 15 school districts in Texas and one in Arizona with discriminating against Spanish-speaking students. The ultimate penalty would be cutoff of federal funds, which make up 25% to 30% of the budgets of many districts. But HEW expects to go to the mat with only Uvalde, Texas, a small rural community.

The department argues that the failure of these school districts to provide instruction in Spanish means students are often discriminatorily assigned to slow-learning classes or otherwise deprived of equal educational services. As proof, federal experts cite evidence that school achievement of the minority-group students falls increasingly behind their white counterparts as they progress through the schools.

Investigation of ethnic minority school-discrimination complaints has been broadened to include several dozen other school systems, including Buffalo, N.Y.; East Chicago, Ind., and Boston.

Welfare Recipients In California to Work Or Face Cutoff of Aid

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Nixon Administration Permits 3-Year Trial of Reagan Plan To Put 'Able-Bodied' in Jobs

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SACRAMENTO — California Gov. Ronald Reagan said the Nixon administration will permit an experiment requiring 58,000 "able-bodied" welfare recipients in most California counties to perform public work part-time, or face a welfare cutoff.

At a press conference, the governor said the three-year trial program would begin April 1 and would involve all "employable" welfare recipients in 35 of the state's 58 counties. "Employable" means all welfare recipients between 18 and 65 years old, unless they are mothers of children under six, hold other part-time jobs, take some kind of training or are physically unable to work.

Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, approved the experiment by waiving certain statutory requirements for HEW demonstration projects.

Gov. Reagan said he was convinced "that the concept of community work experience by the able-bodied on welfare holds enormous promise for the future. It can reintroduce the principle of the work ethic to our way of life."

He also said he discussed the program with President Nixon at the Western White House last year. The President "assured me that he wanted to see it put into effect on a scale large enough and broad enough to give the concept a fair and accurate test," Mr. Reagan said.

Hopefully, 30,000 of the 58,000 eligible welfare recipients will be placed in jobs by state and local governments at year-end, the governor added. The part-time jobs would include such positions as janitors, playground monitors, messengers, clerks, typists and geriatric aides.

In reply to a newsman's question, Gov. Reagan said he anticipates legal challenges to the experiment by welfare rights organizations and similar groups.

New, Tougher Federal Welfare Work Rules To Begin July 1 Seen Causing Controversy

6/22/72

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Tough new federal welfare work rules, which take effect July 1, are sure to stir controversy, even though their overall impact isn't clear.

The requirements, adopted last year by Congress, embody many of the principles contained in the Nixon administration's much broader welfare reform proposal still pending before the lawmakers. The adopted requirements call for nationwide registration for work by most recipients of Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC); a cutoff of benefits if they refuse to accept jobs or training, and creation of public service jobs if other employment alternatives aren't available.

Controversy will center over:

—How adamantly the Labor Department insists that women with school-age children accept employment, particularly if the jobs available are menial ones;

—The administration's reluctance, for budgetary reasons, to expand the program much beyond the current level of 130,000 recipients a year—only a fraction of its potential, advocates argue; by next June, enrollment is expected to rise to only 160,000;

—The preference provided male welfare recipients over females for job training and jobs—a rash of court suits are anticipated to challenge this principle constitutionally;

—The need for costly bureaucratic procedures to register up to 2.5 million welfare recipients and interview 750,000, although federal funds are available to help only a handful.

Welfare Job Training Program

The new program would make significant changes in the federal government's five-year-old attempt to train welfare recipients, known as the WIN for work incentive, program.

Registration and work, if available, would be mandatory for most adult AFDC recipients, including mothers of school-age children. There are certain exceptions, such as women with children under the age of six, but, ironically, pregnant mothers must register for work and will be given high priority for job placement. As soon as their babies are born, however, they no longer need to work. "We'll have to find them jobs fast," comments one Labor Department man.

The Labor Department's manpower administration will be given the predominant role in the WIN program, rather than sharing control with the Health, Education and Welfare Department. The Labor Department's major emphasis will be on placing welfare recipients directly into jobs or on-the-job training, rather than the past policy of classroom instruction.

Public service jobs, such as hospital aides, will be created if other private employment isn't available. Labor Department specialists say this provision will start on a small scale with 8,000 jobs in the coming fiscal year, at least 50 per state. HEW enthusiasts had wanted to establish 12,000 but cost was an obstacle.

Public service employment, fully subsidized by the federal government, is estimated to cost $5,000 to $5,500 a person annually. On-the-job training, in which the employer bears a portion of the expense, costs $2,000. Classroom instruction, the least expensive form of welfare job training, runs about $1,300. But congressional advocates of the new program claim such training courses are useless if jobs aren't available after graduation, a major weakness in the current WIN program.

The administration is asking Congress to allocate an extra $250 million to the welfare work program, more than doubling the budget to $455 million in the coming fiscal year. But reductions in HEW and Labor Department spending for other purposes will avoid any overall expenditure increase, Nixon administration officials say. Most of the added WIN money will be needed to provide medical aid, day care and other social services to prepare welfare recipients for work.

Issue of Welfare Mothers

There's little complaint from liberals over the need for administrative streamlining of the WIN program or more emphasis on jobs. But the big hassle will arise over its compulsory aspect, particularly for welfare mothers. Currently, only five states require mothers to register for work. "Is it right for the federal government to mandate that women leave their kids? This is an issue that hasn't been faced up to," says one HEW specialist.

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Welfare rights and poverty law groups are likely to stimulate the struggle against the work requirement. Welfare recipients, particularly mothers, could refuse to register or accept work and demand hearings in an attempt to retain their federal grants. They could argue the jobs are too distant, too dangerous or pay less than their welfare grant.

The Labor Department expects the number of appeals could be substantial: Estimates for the coming fiscal year range from 33,000 to 90,000. In the past, there were only a handful of such contests, labor officials note.

The key consideration will be the type of jobs Labor Department experts turn up for welfare recipients. In the past, these have been few and far from satisfactory. "Under no condition would someone have to take a job that gives him less than welfare," assures one Labor Department specialist.

Paying the Minimum Wage

The law permits payment of the minimum or prevailing wage, which might be lower. But Labor Department specialists argue there is little justification for placing welfare recipients in jobs that don't pay the minimum wage of $1.60 an hour. Assigning welfare recipients to domestic jobs has been a pet goal of Sen. Russell B. Long (D., La.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and one of the chief supporters of the legislation. But federal bureaucrats resist. "I don't see that (housework) increasing a woman's employability potential," argues one.

Some officials worry that pressure to produce results and get recipients off the rolls could lower the Labor Department's standards for matching jobs with workers. "If work is available they (Labor officials) will tend to require people to take it. Proof that you had a high school education and that it is a dead-end job or had a better job before wouldn't be sufficient grounds for refusing employment," argues one welfare expert.

In addition, each state is required after July 1, 1974, to refer at least 15% of its registered AFDC recipients to the Labor Department for work, otherwise, the state could lose up to 15% of its federal AFDC funds. This requirement could generate greater political pressure for pushing welfare recipients into whatever jobs are available.

The ultimate key to the program's success probably will be the course of the economy in coming months. If employment picks up, then job opportunities are likely to open for welfare recipients. If not, the WIN program may remain in as much trouble as ever, despite the extra emphasis and additional money. In the past, it has managed to place little more than 10% of its participants in jobs. "The labor market will either make us heroes or goats. If there aren't jobs out there for these people, the program is going to be a failure," insists one federal official.

Auto-Train Corp. R

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between the U.S. chess master and Russia's Boris Spassky, the current champion, was adjourned after 4½ hours of play.

W-S-J * * 7/12/72

Finding welfare cheaters through the use of local credit bureaus is being studied by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Richard P. Nathan, the Nixon administration's chief welfare planner, confirmed that HEW was discussing use of credit agencies to prevent fraud. A Cincinnati, Ohio, welfare agency was reported to have given Retail Credit a list of its hardest-to-find absent welfare fathers. The firm's investigators found 30% of the missing men.

W-S-J * 7/12/72

Michigan plans "emergency" appeals of two federal court desegregation rulings, said

THE BROOKINGS Bulletin

Volume 9, Number 3: Summer 1972

Do the Poor Want to Work?

MOST SUCCESSFUL AMERICANS would agree that a steady job is a good thing, providing not only money but self-respect and a purpose in life. Dismayed by the failure of thousands of poor people to hold steady jobs, they often assume that the poor stay on welfare because they don't like to work—in short, because they are lazy. This assumption colors several aspects of federal welfare programs, yet few have asked whether it is a valid guide for policymakers. The title of a recently published study by Leonard Goodwin gets to the point: *Do the Poor Want to Work?*

This question has a direct bearing on governmental efforts to reduce poverty and unemployment through work-training programs aimed at replacing welfare with "workfare," and on proposals to institute some form of guaranteed annual income. Goodwin notes that work-training programs will fail if the poor have little interest in work, while a guaranteed income might induce them to leave the work force. If, on the other hand, poor people do want to work, a guaranteed subsistence income wouldn't discourage them from working, and the current difficulties of work-training programs would have to be explained by something other than the psychology of the poor.

Goodwin, a member of Brookings' Governmental Studies staff, has sought answers to questions underlying what is generally called the "welfare mess." Do poor people have outlooks on work basically different from those of regularly employed persons? Do poor mothers really prefer to stay on welfare rather than work to support their families? Is there a caste system or "culture of poverty" that distinguishes poor from middle-class families?

In his search for the link between a person's psychological makeup and his performance in the job market, Goodwin measured what he calls "work orientations"—psychological attributes reflected in questionnaire items that cluster together statistically and have psychological meaning. Four of these orientations are particularly important. *Life aspirations* are derived from questionnaire items such as "having a nice place to live" and "having a regular job" rated on a four-point scale ranging from "best way of life" to "worst way of life." Other major orientations are the *work ethic*, or degree to which a person identifies his self-esteem with work; *lack of confidence*, or belief that "luck" or "knowing the right people" determines success; and *acceptability of welfare* as a source of income.

During the course of Goodwin's study, the work

Do the Poor Want to Work? A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientations, by Leonard Goodwin. Published June 1972, 178 pages, $6.50 cloth, $2.50 paper.

Welfare Refm Atl J. + Const 10/15/72

NICK KOTZ

Bill Filled With Trouble for Poor

Washington

WELFARE REFORM is dead for this session of Congress but measures are very much alive that would eliminate legal aid for the poor, make welfare recipients work for nothing, reduce work incentives and reduce medical aid.

While the Senate's attention was focused on rival welfare reform plans (all of which were defeated), the Senate's Ominbus Social Security Bill was loaded with provisions that will make life harder for poor people.

Nick Kotz, a writer for The Washington Post, is a special correspondent of The Atlanta Journal.
Jack Spalding is on vacation.

The bill is now in a Senate-House Conference Committee where the provisions will prevail unless they are resisted vigorously by Reps. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., James Burke, D-Mass., Martha Griffiths, D-Mich., and by the Nixon administration.

A FEW OF THE provisions harmful to the poor are:

—A provision that prohibits legal service attorneys from representing the poor in welfare cases, while at the same time they are required to help husbands of welfare recipients. This provision would eliminate the only source of legal aid for most poor people with welfare problems.

—Permission for states to require welfare recipients to "work off" their welfare payments by working on government projects at no pay. At present, work without pay is permitted in only two highly controversial experimental projects.

—Requirement that medically indigent persons qualifying for Medicaid now be required to pay part of their medical costs.

—Elimination of the Social Security law that requires states by 1975 to have a fully adequate medical services program under medicaid.

—Permission for states to cut back services provided by the medicaid program.

—Reduction of the amount of work-related expenses that can be kept by a welfare recipient who is in a work-training job designed to get him off welfare.

—Provision for welfare residency requirement laws. This represents an attempt to legalize state laws which the Supreme Court has ruled unconstitutional three times in three years.

—Elimination of the requirement that states provide free welfare manuals to low income groups and legal service programs. The requirement was designed to help the poor understand the welfare laws.

OTHER AMENDMENTS would create a federal child support program in which the U.S. attorney general and FBI would be involved in enforcing civil and criminal penalties against absent fathers, and would establish federally funded blood typing laboratories to determine paternity of welfare children.

These provisions affecting mothers and their children in the aid to dependent children program have received little attention in a massive bill that also contains a variety of increased social security and welfare benefits for the elderly.

Seeking an explanation of why Congress is aiding the elderly and punishing dependent children and their mothers, Rep. Sam Gibbons, D-Fla., said: "Nobody's mad at the elderly. Maybe it's because we have so many of them around here (in Congress)."

Whatever the explanation, the Senate Amendments (many of which were brought up without notice late at night and were approved by narrow margins) would make life much more difficult for many poor people.

The provision which would bar legal service aid to the poor is opposed by every major association of lawyers in the country, including the American Bar Association and American Trial Lawyers Association.

In urging Congress not to deprive the poor of free legal assistance in welfare cases, ABA President Robert W. Meserve quoted the words of President Richard Nixon. On May 5, 1971, the President said: "The legal problems of the poor are of sufficient scope that we should not restrict the right of (legal service) attorneys to bring any type of civil suit. Only in this manner can we maintain the integrity of the adversary process and fully protect the attorney-client relationship so central to our judicial process."

THE AMERICAN Trial Lawyers Association said the principle of "equal justice under law" is seriously violated by denying legal aid to poor people.

The bar groups also vigorously opposed and branded as "perverse" the amendment which would require the legal defenders of the poor to become, instead, their prosecutors in paternity cases.

The Senate provision requiring the poor to work for nothing to keep their welfare checks would nationalize a pilot project originally approved as a political sop to California Gov. Ronald Reagan. Federal officials say the California program has flopped because state officials soon learned it didn't make much sense to pay day care costs for a woman's children while she worked without earning any money.

The conference committee will act soon. But there is still time for President Nixon to say he continues to believe the poor are entitled to legal aid, and for Elliot Richardson, the secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to say he still doesn't personally believe in work projects that provide a poor person with nothing but greater despair.—(c1972.)

Justices Hold Existing U.S. Welfare Rules Don't Let States Deny Strikers Benefits

10/17/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court held that existing federal regulations don't permit states to deny welfare benefits to strikers.

However, the Health, Education and Welfare Department told the court it intends to "clarify" its regulations so that states can bar such payments.

In other actions, the Supreme Court:

—Upheld an Interstate Commerce Commission ruling that truckers classified as heavy haulers can't compete with general freight truckers in hauling so-called "palletized" shipments. The ICC decision had come under attack from the Justice Department's Antitrust Division, which had called the policy anticompetitive.

—Turned down Morton International Inc.'s plea to review a lower court decision that rejected a damage suit Morton had brought against Southern Pacific Co.

The Welfare Case

In the welfare case, the high court summarily affirmed a lower court ruling that existing HEW regulations don't permit the state of Maryland to withhold welfare payments to otherwise-eligible strikers. Thus, although the case had attracted wide attention as a constitutional test, the Supreme Court didn't decide a striker's claim that the Constitution entitles strikers to welfare or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's claim that such payments are barred by the Constitution.

Under the welfare program at issue, the federal government provides financial aid to participating states that assist needy families with dependent children when the father is unemployed. Present HEW regulations simply define unemployment in terms of the maximum number of hours a father may have worked in a month and remain eligible.

Maryland eligibility rules comply with the work-hours standard, but also bar benefits for strikers and for fathers who have been fired for "gross misconduct."

Two Marylanders, one on strike and the other fired for alleged misconduct, sued state officials after being denied benefits. They claimed that the Maryland rules were invalid because HEW regulations didn't specifically sanction such denial of benefits and because the rules violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution.

A three-judge federal district court in Maryland rejected the constitutional argument but held that the rules were invalid under HEW regulations.

HEW didn't appeal the decision to the Supreme Court, although it had argued in the district court that its regulations weren't intended to prevent the states from varying their programs on the basis of factors other than hours. Instead, the department said it would "clarify" its rules to "remove any doubt concerning the validity" of the Maryland regulations.

Maryland, however, asked the high court for a full-dress hearing. The Chamber of Commerce also appealed for high court review, arguing that the supremacy clause of the Constitution requires the state and federal governments to deny welfare to strikers. The chamber argued that federal labor law is intended to assure evenly balanced collective bargaining and said that "subsidization" of strikers would "impair, if not destroy," the bargaining position of employers.

The Truck Case

The truck regulation case began nearly a decade ago as narrow controversy over the kinds of freight an ICC-licensed heavy-haul trucker, Ace Doran Hauling & Rigging Co., could transport. The issue broadened, however, into a battle in which the Justice Department accused the ICC of "protectionism (that) doesn't comport with the national transportation policy," as written by Congress.

The court case was legally separate from the Nixon administration's proposals to Congress for rolling back the ICC's legal power to regulate truckers. However, the Justice Department in recent years increasingly has been challenging specific ICC decisions that the department contends are anticompetitive.

The issue before the high court was whether the ICC violated national transportation policy when it ruled in the Ace Doran case that heavy haulers—those restricted to freight that requires special loading equipment because of its size or weight—generally can't haul "palletized" shipments in competition with truckers licensed to haul general commodities. Palletized shipments, which represent a technological advance in freight movements, consist of smaller freight items that are bundled on pallets and mechanically loaded onto trucks.

A three-judge federal district court in Pennsylvania upheld the ICC, on the ground that courts have only limited authority to review regulatory agency decisions.

In appealing for Supreme Court review, the Justice Department asserted that the decision rested on the ICC's "acceptance of the proposition that there is a public need to protect general commodity haulers from competition." Further, the department asserted that the decision doesn't comply with the national transportation policy, which directs the ICC "to promote safe, adequate, economical and efficient service for shippers."

Arguing against high court review, the ICC said it is a "well settled principle that promotion of competition needn't control the commission's exercise of discretion."

The Supreme Court without comment summarily upheld the ICC's position by affirming the lower court.

The Morton Case

The high court also without explanation refused to hear Morton's damage suit, which charged that Southern Pacific has caused injury to Morton's plant on the Great Salt Lake in Utah.

Morton's plant, on the southern end of the lake, has been extracting salt from the lake waters since 1888. In 1956, Southern Pacific was granted an easement by the state for construction of a railroad causeway running east and west across the lake. Morton charged that the causeway has caused a dimunition of salinity in the southern portion and a concentration of salt in the northern portion. The saturation in the north part has caused the loss of millions of tons of salt through precipitation, Morton alleged.

Claiming injury of more than $1 million and warning that its plant will be abandoned in the next few years, Morton sued Southern Pacific for damages and other remedies. The Utah supreme court rejected the suit, holding that Morton "has no vested claim to a beneficial use of the water." Morton unsuccessfully sought high court review of the state court's decision.

Congress to Tackle Social Security Tax, Spending Bills Today

10/17/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—Congress will try today to dispose of measures setting a spending ceiling and raising Social Security taxes—the last two big items blocking adjournment.

House-Senate conference committees reached agreement on the two bills Saturday night. Conferees' work normally is accepted with little controversy, but the Senate possibly may balk at the spending-ceiling compromise.

That bill would limit spending to $250 billion for the fiscal year ending next June 30, and would raise the federal debt limit to $465 billion from $450 billion. The measure restricts President Nixon's discretion in choosing where to cut the more than $6 billion required to keep federal spending below the ceiling. Some Senators believe, however, that the restrictions should be much tighter.

The Social Security bill would raise next year's maximum Social Security tax, paid by both employe and employer, to $631.80 from the current maximum of $468. Further increases would occur in future years.

Missing from the bill is any major overhaul of the nation's welfare system, although the legislation began in 1969 as a proposal by President Nixon for sweeping welfare revision. The legislation does contain a variety of expanded Social Security and Medicare benefits.

Steinberg's Says Profit Rose to About $14 Million In Its Year Ended July 31

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

[From Fla State Group Sorenson Greiger Spring 1973]

Welfare Reform and Rural Poverty In the South: The Alternatives

Introduction and Statement of Purposes:

In recent years the need to reform the welfare establishment has emerged as one of our most frequently discussed domestic issues. Reform proposals such as the Family Assistance Plan, child allowances, the Freedman-Tobin negative income tax, the cash-supplement approach and other like schemes have stirred vigorous debate in the Congress, the federal agencies, and the academic community. At the heart of the issue is the question of what type of welfare structure is both best suited to inducing able-bodied recipients to go to work and to providing an adequate income to those unable to engage in productive labor. In a real sense, the defeat of the family assistance plan closed an important door on welfare reform. But the need for a major revision of the program is too pressing for the issue to lie dormant for long. Pressures for reform will build as the costs of welfare continue to rise.

While no single research project is likely to provide a panacea for the complex problems that surround welfare reform, we believe that the research objectives set forth below will be highly useful to policy-makers engaged in seeking new directions for welfare policy. The purpose of this research is to formulate a set of proposals designed to reform the delivery systems providing aid to southern rural areas and to provide data on their cost-effectiveness. To do this, we must first obtain better information on the sources of cash and non-cash incomes of rural families.

The need for such data is illustrated by the findings of a nationwide survey of poverty-stricken neighborhoods (including some rural areas). This study, directed by Representative Martha W. Griffiths, found substantial evidence of undercounting of incomes by the Census Bureau. According to Representative Griffiths," Some families can get more out of this 'non-system' than they could possibly earn, or more than a high percentage of people in the area are earning. But other equally needy families get little or no aid."

By developing better measures of the income received by rural families and by conducting survey research to determine the full extent of federal, state, and local aid received by the poor we can provide public planners with a better idea of both the abuses and the inadequacies of existing aid programs. Moreover, by coupling our findings with an analysis of the successes and failures of the public aid programs proposed in the Sixties, we would expect to recommend a set of proposals for reforming the existing patchwork of programs.

The five major objectives of this research proposal may be expressed as follows:

(1) To estimate the actual incomes (including government and private transfers and income-in kind) received by rural households. To use these estimates to provide better information than is currently available on both the extent and location of poverty in the rural South. To evaluate the extent to which public aid programs affect the distribution and incidence of poverty.

(2) To identify those households which might be removed from the welfare rolls by measures designed to increase their employability.

(3) To provide a comprehensive evaluation of the dependency reducing programs studied during the Sixties along with a set of recommendations as to which of these might be most effective in alleviating rural poverty.

(4) To involve federal, state, and local officials in the design of a rural poverty survey in order to insure that the data will be useful to social planners.

(5) To conduct a series of policy conferences which will make our research results widely available to federal, state, and local officials concerned with the problems of the rural South.

We believe that the objectives outlined above are consistent with the program goals of the RANN program and that they will be of use to a variety of public agencies. Officials from 3 Southern governor's office have already expressed an interest in the outputs of our study and we expect to receive similar commitments from other states. Several federal agencies have also expressed a desire to both participate in our study and to utilize our results. These include officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of the Census, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the U.S. Department of Labor. We have also received expressions of support from a number of Southern Congressmen and from several regional bodies such as the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Governor's Conference. Additional user linkages will be developed as our work progresses.

The Need:

The research proposed in this document has an immediate relevance to social policy-makers for at least three reasons. First, the Nixon administration has increasingly moved in the direction of exploring means for reducing welfare dependency. To do this, policy-makers must have better data on the welfare population and on the effectiveness of various strategies designed to reduce dependence. Second, more responsibility is being decentralized among the separate federal agencies. Thus, there is an increased need for measures which indicate the total effect of federal aid programs. Third, the shift of responsibility for some social programs from the federal government to the various state and local governments makes it more important than ever before that these levels of government have a complete and up-to-date source of information on the incomes of the poor. They must also be appraised as to which programs are most effective in reducing dependence on public aid and which public aid programs are most efficiently run.

In a recent radio address to the nation, President Nixon spelled out three criteria which are to govern future Federal activities in the social area: (1) Control over decisions should, insofar as possible, be placed in the hands of those directly affected by the decisions, (2) The dollars spent on welfare must be used most effectively to benefit those for whom assistance is intended and, (3) Services should be provided in a manner which fosters self-reliance rather than dependency among recipients.

To carry out these goals, policy-makers will require more detailed information than is currently available. Our detailed search of existing data sources failed to reveal any federal or state data source which provides extensive information on the federal, state, and local subsidies to households. Monthly census documents, such as the Current Population Series, and the Census document itself primarily measure cash income payments from public programs. The dollar value of such income supplements as food stamps, medicaid, housing subsidies, and a host of other services are not included in the census definition of income. Yet households receive almost $3 billion in food stamps plus many other "almost cash" benefits every year.

The extensive research currently underway in connection with the 1971 Survey of Consumer Expenditures (SCE) will not include many of the non-monetary payments made by federal aid agencies to households. Moreover, because of its long lead time and its small sample (17,000 for the entire country), the SCE is unlikely to be of much use to Southern governers interested in developing social action programs designed to combat welfare dependency in their state. There is a distinct need for a state-by-state breakdown of the actual values of public aid payments to the rural poor and this need is unlikely to be met by any federal or state studies in the near future.

The importance of developing a complete accounting of federal aid programs to the poor is further emphasized by the reorganization of federal social action programs so as to place them into separate agencies. Under the recent reorganization scheme, research activities in education, child care and health will be assumed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, along with certain operational health delivery programs. The Department of Labor will begin to supervise "manpower experimentation" as well as programs designed to assist migrant workers, and housing research will be brought under the Department of Housing and Urban Development. With the decentralization of the various social activities of the federal government the need for an overall accounting for the subsidies of the federal government is likely to grow. As the experience of the Family Assistance Program so aptly points out, a program of welfare reform cannot be undertaken in the absence of a complete understanding of the consequences that the reform will have on the other aid programs received by the poor. Yet, the decentralization of social aid programs makes it less likely that the necessary expenditure data will be obtained by a single agency. The inter-agency nature of the project makes it essential that an outside organization be brought in to do the job.

Moreover, with the advent of revenue-sharing and the shift of control over dollars and program priorities away from Washington it is increasingly important to supply state and local officials with reliable and comprehensive data on aid payments to those living in rural areas. We have no prior conception of whether such data will lead to an increase or a decrease in state welfare rolls. We do know that they will provide policy planners with a more comprehensive picture of what is being done to help the poor than has thusfar been possible. Moreover, by providing a description of the findings on the effectiveness of various social aid programs conducted during the Sixties we expect to provide a valuable aid for the state and local planners making the decisions required of them under the President's new criteria for social programs.

Welfare

Labor Hails New Rules On Welfare

The AFL-CIO gave its "enthusiastic endorsement" to public welfare reforms which the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare predicts will bring greater efficiency, economy and dignity to programs to help the needy.

Federation Pres. George Meany wrote HEW Sec. Wilbur J. Cohen that the new regulations his department has proposed would make "more humane a system which has in many ways been geared to punishing the most disadvantaged in our country."

The chief change would be to require states to rely on first-hand information obtained from applicants in determining whether they are eligible for public assistance.

There would be controls and checks to guard against abuse. But the intent is to end the "snooping" type of home investigation which has placed a stigma on the needy and helpless.

"Besides offering a measure of dignity and self-respect to those who must turn to public assistance," Meany stressed, "the new procedures will release many professional people to do what they have been trained to do—that is, to offer rehabilitation and other social services to people who badly need them."

The other change endorsed by Meany as in line with a policy resolution adopted by the last AFL-CIO convention would make legal help available to welfare recipients who believe their payments have been unjustly reduced or terminated. Payments would continue while the claim was being adjudicated.

Cohen announced the proposed changes Nov. 20, with a 30-day period for comments by interested parties. If finally approved, the new procedures would be binding on states after July 1, 1969. The bulk of the money for the programs—to help needy children, the aged and the disabled—comes from the federal government.

In his announcement, Cohen noted that several states already use the simplified declaration system for determining eligibility and spot checks have found that abuses are no higher—and often lower—than in states which rely on home investigations.

Caseworkers now spend 70 to 95 percent of their time determining who is eligible for assistance payments, the HEW noted. The time, the announcement suggested, could better be spent "helping peo-

(Continued on Page 8)

HEW Backed On Reform of Welfare Rules

(Continued from Page 1)

ple solve problems and become more self-reliant and self-supporting."

Meany noted that the indignities to which welfare recipients are subjected too often serve to discourage people in need from obtaining help.

"We applaud the elimination" of eligibility investigations, Meany said. "The controls which are built into the new regulations, we feel, are more than adequate to insure continued good results."

The help to recipients appealing reduction of benefits, Meany added, would change "a paper right" into "a real right for families and individuals faced with reduction or elimination of their only source of income."

Meany concluded: "The AFL-CIO, therefore, strongly supports the proposed regulations and urges their implementation at the earliest possible date."

To Be Equal

Welfare Reform

Column No.18

PUNISHING THE POOR

by

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

It looks as though the war on the poor is escalating. The long-sought-for reform of the rotting welfare system was delayed and replaced by proposals that were punitive and unfair. But now, even the inadequate cloak of welfare reform has been stripped away, replaced by a system of forced labor that makes one think of a Siberian labor camp.

If you think that's an exaggeration, Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson publicly called the plan for a "must-work" welfare system that emerged from the Senate Finance Committee, a move to "convict-type labor."

In effect, the new "welfare reform" would create a vast pool of forced labor that would have to work at below-market wages. Over one million people, 90 percent of whom are mothers whose children are over 6, would either have to find jobs or take whatever jobs are assigned them by a federal employment corporation.

Under this plan, welfare recipients would be split into three groups. The first would consist of those able to find jobs in the private market at the minimum wage, currently an inadequate $1.60 per hour. The second group would be those who would work for private employers at -- believe it or not -- $1.20 per hour, and who would get an additional small subsidy from the government.

The last group -- those unable to find any job at all -- would be assigned to jobs by a federal authority that would pay them $48 a week for a full week's work. Most would be hired out to private employers as maids and domestics.

There is so much that's evil about this system, one hardly knows where to begin to attack it. But it seems clear that the main intent of the proposal is to punish the poor and to set up a nation-wide system of forced labor that has its only parallel in totalitarian dictatorships.

It would create a vast pool of imposed cheap labor that will drive down the regular wage structure. The whole point of a minimum wage is to set a decent floor below

...MORE...

which working people should not fall. That is now so shot full of holes that too many people actually have to work for less than the minimum wage. Now, there is the threat that over a million people, most of them women, will be thrown onto the job market without protection of the minimum wage, leading to depressed wages for all workers.

We can pretty well forget about the first category under the new plan -- those who get jobs at the minimum wage. There are over 5 million people who can't find work today. If that many people are unemployed, there's no chance that present welfare recipients can get non-existent jobs.

So we are faced with the prospect of putting up to a million people on the federal payroll who would be forced into degrading and unwanted employment as servants of the whom the system favors. Perhaps the good law makers should be told about the Emancipation Proclamation!

This is just another example of how the old habit of blaming the victim has taken vicious turn. We've got to face the fact that the economic system has malfunctioned. The technological revolution has driven people from the farms to the cities in search of work and the system has not been able to create the jobs and economic stability that would create equal opportunities for all.

It's the system that's failed, not individuals who happen to be poor. The answer is to reform the system, not to punish the poor. Forcing people into low-status, dead-end jobs and creating a sullen army of forced laborers is about as good a way to spark a revolution as can be devised.

Since this plan would even cost more money than previous reform proposals, it doesn't even have the saving grace of having any common sense at all behind it. It is just a mean-spirited attempt by backward-looking people to restore the cruelties and inhumanity of a 1972 version of slavery.

# # #

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72-TBE-18
5/3/72

Southern Rural Welfare Association

Reply To: H. L. MITCHELL

Box 43
Reserve, La. 70084

Dear Friend:

Dr. Frank P. Graham has asked me to send you a copy of a letter he wrote recently concerning a new book just published by the University of North Carolina Press. The full text of the letter is as follows:

> Dear Mitch:
>
> Thank you for giving me that remarkable book Cry From The Cotton which was made especially dear to me by your autograph. Professor Grantham has written a very meaningful foreword and Professor Donald H. Grubbs has made all of us in his debt for his very scholarly, interesting, and comprehensive review of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the New Deal. His significant history of the sharecroppers movement in these later days adds to our interest in being associated with that movement through the National Sharecroppers Fund.
>
> In addition to its many other values, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union had a vital part in focusing national attention on the tragic plight of the Southern sharecroppers and tenants and contributed vitally to the establishment of the Farm Security Administration.
>
> In the course of his story many heroic actions stand out associated with such noble souls as H. L. Mitchell, Gardner Jackson, Howard Kester, Norman Thomas, and their associates. Also I was interested to run across the important roles of some very dear friends such as Professor Calvin Hoover of Duke University, Rupert Vance, a longtime colleague, Arthur Raper, a former student, and Will Alexander of the Rosenwald Fund. By the way, what finally became of Mr. Frank Weems?
>
> Please pardon my delay in writing this letter. I have for several reasons gotten far behind in my reading and correspondence. With deep appreciation and best wishes,
>
> Sincerely and gratefully yours,
>
> (Signed) Frank P. Graham

Please note the announcement on the reverse side of this letter concerning the microfilming of the "Archives of the Rural Poor - or the STFU Papers.

Sincerely,

H. L. Mitchell

H. L. Mitchell

Via Labor

Archives of the Rural Poor

Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers 1934-1959

AVAILABLE SOON!

A complete microfilm edition of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers will soon be available from Microfilming Corporation of America, a subsidiary of *The New York Times*. The collection 1934-1959 should prove invaluable to historians working in the fields of labor relations, 20th century Southern history and the civil rights movement in America. The papers contain a great deal of information on the battle against rural poverty from the New Deal to the programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson. In addition to the papers of leaders of the movement, such as H. L. Mitchell, Norman Thomas and Howard Kester, there is an extraordinary wealth of letters and documents from poor people involved in the activities of the Union, people from whom the historian rarely obtains written evidence.

A quarter century of views, policies and activities in a major segment of agricultural America

The STFU began in 1934 among black and white sharecroppers on the cotton plantations of eastern Arkansas; the movement later spread to Mexican-American farm workers on the West Coast. The Union succeeded in drawing national attention to the plight of the sharecropper, who was plowed up along with his cotton by unanticipated reactions to the New Deal subsidy program (AAA). Its successor organizations focused similar publicity on the exploitation of "wetbacks" (illegal immigrants from Mexico) by corporate farm owners in California and other Western states.

The work of the STFU and its successors led to the formation of two presidential commissions: President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Commission on Farm Tenancy, which gave birth to the Farm Security Administration, an agency of government unique in its effort to aid the rural poor; and President Harry S. Truman's Commission on Migratory Labor in American Agriculture. The latter inspired the AFL-CIO to undertake the organization of migrant farm workers in California under the leadership of Cesar Chavez. The historian will also find a connection between the STFU and the War on Poverty, launched by the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations to cope with the misery stemming from the mass migration of rural people to our urban ghettos, a migration which had its origins in the agricultural policies of the 1930s.

The STFU also deserves considerable credit for the creation of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee in the United States Senate, which turned the spotlight on anti-labor terrorism and contributed to the success of the C.I.O.

A hard copy guide to the microfilm collection of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers will be included with the microfilm collection.

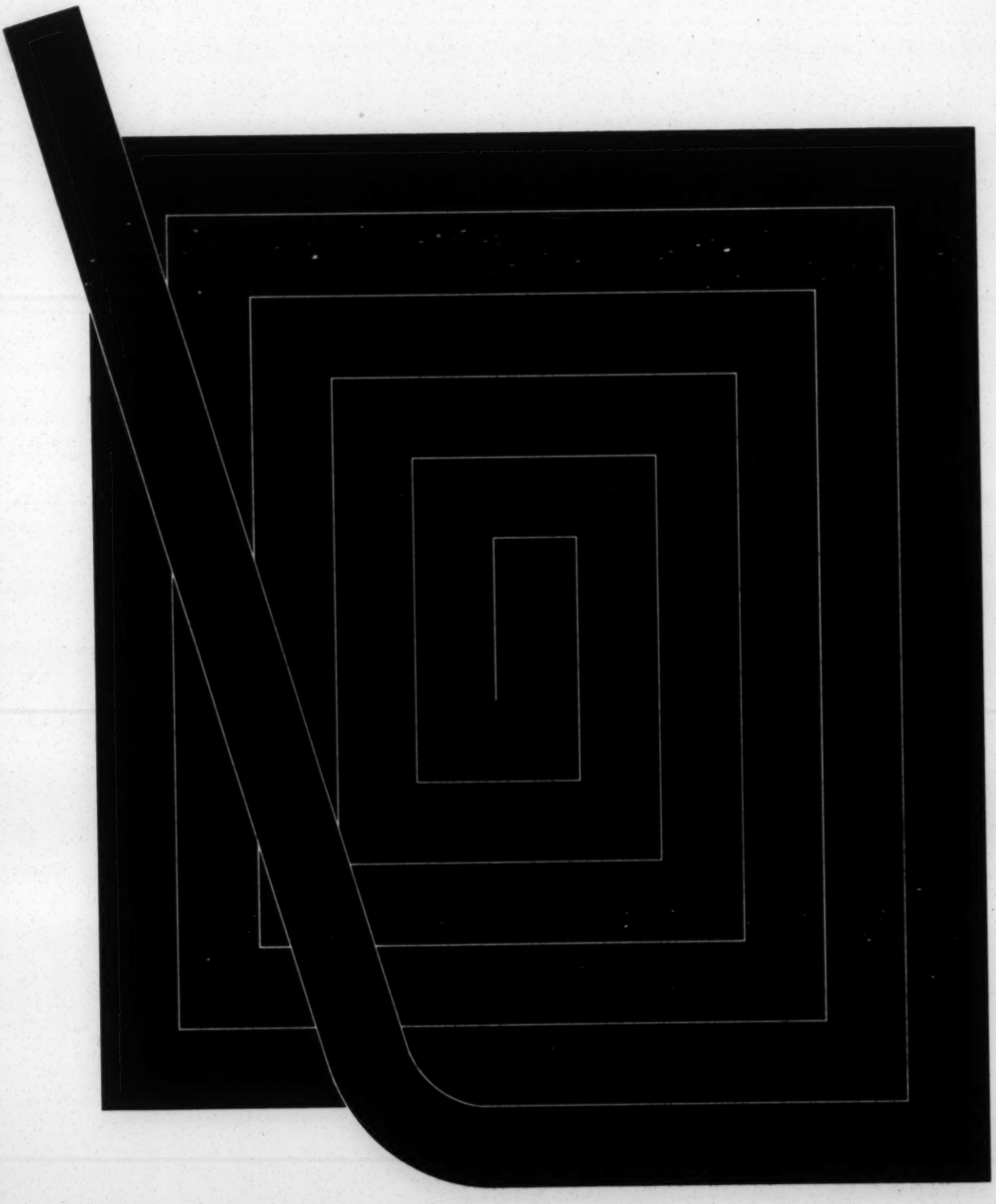
Further information on the microfilm edition can be obtained from Microfilming Corporation of America, 21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452.

FROM . . . H. L. Mitchell

Co-Founder Historic Southern Tenant Farmers Union

Toward A Full Opportunity

Guaranteed Income



State Asked To Increase Aid to Poor

Welfare Florida

Miami Herald 3-23-69

By GEORGIA MARSH
Herald Staff Writer

A Senate subcommittee has recommended that Florida almost double its spending on medical welfare programs for the poor.

The proposal would make the state eligible for federal funds under the Medicaid program. The state would get about $3 in federal funds for every one it spends.

It also would prevent the state from losing $12 million in federal funds it already receives to provide medical care for the poor.

A BILL calling for a state appropriation of $16 million to implement the Medicaid program has been prefiled in Tallahassee by State Sens. Kenneth Myers, Dade; Louis de la Parte, Hillsborough; and David Lane; Broward, members of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Health, Welfare, and State Institutions.

The full committee met Saturday in Miami to hear testimony from public health and welfare and nursing home officials concerning the need for Medicaid.

WELFARE PAYMENTS TOP FEDERAL AID FOR SECOND YEAR

Public assistance payments, primarily for welfare, climbed 23 percent in fiscal 1968 and for the second year in a row comprised the largest federal grant-in-aid program, according to U.S. Treasury Department figures.

Foreseeing a continuing trend, President Nixon has proposed changes in the welfare system and other reforms which would overhaul the grant-in-aid system.

Public assistance grants in fiscal 1968 totaled $5,371,543,710—more than one-fifth of the total cost of the $25.1 billion grant-in-aid program. The public assistance share rose approximately $1.1 billion above the fiscal 1967 figure of $4,201,019,238.

These findings emerged from the annual Congressional Quarterly study of federal grants in aid. The basic figures are collected by the Treasury Department from various agencies. CQ then compiles the many individual categories (139 programs in the current study) into larger groupings such as education, health and conservation. The standing of the different programs according to size is the result of CQ's grouping of figures; the Treasury Department does not rank the programs.

Prior to 1967, federal grants for highway construction, maintenance and related activities were the largest category in every compilation by the Treasury Department. In 1967 public assistance for the first time became the largest catagory.

The public assistance category includes several items, but the one which accounts for all but a few million dollars of the total is welfare payments. In Fiscal 1968, this item totaled $5,318,646,825 and included such programs as old-age assistance, aid to the blind and disabled, and aid to families with dependent children.

Since the 1968 fiscal year, which ended June 30, 1968, the trend toward larger total welfare payments had continued. It is expected with or without welfare reform, the public assistance category will remain one of the largest of the grant-in-aid programs for the indefinite future.

In his Aug. 8 speech outlining the "New Federalism," President Nixon announced proposals aimed at relieving the central problem behind increased public assistance costs. Mr. Nixon proposed to turn about the public assistance program by stressing a work requirement, by introducing work incentives, by increasing manpower training opportunities and by offering more child-care services for welfare mothers. *(For text, see p. 1517.)*

By adding assistance to the working poor, the Administration plan would more than double the number of recipients on public assistance. Any reduction in public assistance costs would be due to the "boot-strap" effects over the long run as assistance recipients were able to help themselves off the welfare rolls. *(For welfare costs, see Weekly Report p. 1407, 1490.)*

In addition to the public assistance proposals, the President proposed a revenue-sharing program to Congress. Critics of the federal grant-in-aid program have long called for a simpler system. Revenue sharing has been one of the most often mentioned means of overhauling the system. President Nixon's program of federal revenue sharing with the states would begin in the second half of fiscal 1971. A total of $1 billion in federal revenues would be returned to the states in the first full year with increases in five annual steps. "This cuts into

(Continued on p. 1499)

TABLE I

Recent Trends in Federal Aid

(in millions of dollars; by fiscal years)

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965*	1966*	1967*	1968*
Total Grants	$ 9,590	$ 9,175	$ 9,826	$ 10,386	$ 10,976	$ 12,854	$ 15,340	$ 17,820	$ 21,864	$ 25,107
To state, local govts.	6,457	7,011	7,102	7,895	8,597	10,061	10,904	12,833	15,193	18,601
To individuals	3,134	2,163	2,724	2,491	2,380	2,793	4,436	4,987	6,671	6,506
Increase or Decrease Since Preceding Year										
Total Grants	—	- 4%	+ 7%	+ 6%	+ 6%	+17%	+19%	+16%	+23%	+15%
To state, local govts.	—	+ 9%	+ 1%	+11%	+ 9%	+17%	+ 8%	+18%	+18%	+22%
To individuals	—	-31%	+26%	-9%	- 4%	+17%	+58%	+12%	+34%	-2%
Increase or Decrease From 1959										
Total Grants	—	- 4%	+ 2%	+ 8%	+14%	+34%	+60%	+86%	+128%	+162%
To state, local govts.	—	+ 9%	+10%	+22%	+33%	+56%	+69%	+99%	+135%	+188%
To individuals	—	-31%	-13%	-21%	-24%	-11%	+42%	+59%	+113%	+108%
Federal Tax Collections	$79,798	$91,775	$94,401	$94,329	$104,495	$106,317	$114,400	$134,480	$149,591	$153,676
Portion of federal taxes returned to states as grants	12%	10%	10%	11%	11%	12%	13%	13%	15%	16%

* *The figures for these years include certain farm program payments which, although in existence for several years, were not previously part of the grant-in-aid statistics.*

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TABLE II

Federal Aid for Fiscal 1968 . . .

	Public Assistance 1	Highways 2	Education 3	Agricultural Conservation, Extension Work and Research 4	Anti-poverty 5	Public Health Research and Services 6	Food Distribution 7
Alabama	$101,930,243	$72,605,821	$73,891,922	$89,991,005	$44,124,822	$22,280,556	$27,011,594
Alaska	4,278,348	36,943,110	20,897,628	710,099	7,277,304	2,368,720	874,974
Arizona	25,112,212	68,016,741	49,482,936	45,935,237	28,882,776	12,198,689	6,647,035
Arkansas	67,843,869	42,489,188	59,119,757	97,708,497	23,608,800	16,314,556	17,445,202
California	893,769,611	428,656,989	381,544,044	109,895,528	135,406,593	170,363,334	49,955,653
Colorado	57,666,951	56,854,180	62,200,251	59,630,626	19,607,012	25,257,028	9,669,419
Connecticut	49,218,288	70,533,953	50,926,531	2,019,311	18,005,288	25,509,848	8,638,757
Delaware	9,231,969	18,394,904	12,331,149	2,312,551	3,549,870	2,847,175	2,286,547
D. of C.	18,112,519	36,763,828	65,861,409	7,649	41,433,941	20,745,026	3,535,883
Florida	125,306,525	80,772,386	108,774,267	20,445,190	41,596,664	39,304,390	23,681,045
Georgia	123,318,951	88,052,576	97,749,065	79,446,716	45,882,030	31,317,463	28,370,146
Hawaii	12,975,936	23,858,662	24,667,745	11,760,768	4,731,211	8,119,635	3,805,290
Idaho	13,727,321	30,064,424	15,912,693	40,336,736	3,448,274	4,776,530	2,229,192
Illinois	218,293,448	191,996,542	186,615,659	96,315,441	89,131,370	78,541,210	32,173,024
Indiana	35,992,185	119,836,277	73,274,279	83,404,570	18,122,860	29,259,326	17,826,094
Iowa	63,621,614	53,290,550	54,499,142	135,802,706	13,951,409	19,601,553	12,930,182
Kansas	46,330,718	37,339,245	48,710,304	211,064,346	8,831,587	16,562,638	8,691,628
Kentucky	106,323,385	98,688,504	83,656,023	45,811,318	56,517,994	20,528,110	25,343,256
Louisiana	161,888,383	81,394,129	66,730,867	56,088,576	39,135,677	25,854,833	25,908,908
Maine	21,671,277	20,812,858	18,184,445	3,426,304	6,821,567	7,057,564	3,478,004
Maryland	71,569,084	53,819,235	80,157,820	6,998,475	26,619,756	41,272,617	12,392,967
Massachusetts	197,048,995	74,694,987	126,011,732	2,219,441	42,423,389	103,214,971	17,203,481
Michigan	178,347,474	145,802,535	122,815,561	60,049,681	47,896,003	57,685,611	28,220,212
Minnesota	90,416,515	119,794,184	68,974,296	94,988,123	26,963,904	39,246,640	16,306,642
Mississippi	54,523,938	40,852,041	64,682,371	136,616,911	57,778,804	14,213,099	37,323,024
Missouri	121,872,401	82,570,727	88,381,500	118,343,177	41,969,613	42,834,373	17,837,123
Montana	10,592,195	48,081,692	18,386,198	72,080,596	6,541,171	4,376,367	3,192,610
Nebraska	27,644,680	31,157,548	27,829,719	127,689,166	9,371,203	13,195,600	5,632,639
Nevada	7,469,592	27,401,405	12,249,240	2,540,313	4,556,096	5,371,379	799,278
New Hampshire	8,007,235	21,590,620	15,241,299	1,515,056	5,825,176	5,916,789	2,446,947
New Jersey	88,779,900	115,320,324	104,298,167	5,707,866	55,537,107	20,708,800	15,057,711
New Mexico	31,159,330	44,596,282	47,948,409	34,576,225	16,166,044	9,820,270	8,713,217
New York	934,142,438	206,007,595	294,867,037	23,963,322	179,265,529	196,151,580	59,031,243
North Carolina	83,899,009	58,629,132	119,592,104	64,840,131	52,830,562	49,594,891	31,062,927
North Dakota	17,750,190	29,189,597	18,053,729	132,660,361	4,911,785	2,798,831	3,417,979
Ohio	153,681,834	209,786,408	138,654,740	75,662,850	64,086,877	54,146,407	44,857,594
Oklahoma	145,817,722	48,527,634	64,417,491	111,842,786	20,342,731	15,889,006	17,711,430
Oregon	31,920,643	62,678,997	48,828,813	24,774,290	12,097,110	23,065,708	8,432,096
Pennsylvania	216,689,376	217,306,860	175,545,945	25,969,026	86,268,411	99,569,520	43,534,488
Rhode Island	27,856,751	29,918,737	22,712,513	717,196	8,645,615	6,767,208	2,692,187
South Carolina	26,542,459	41,567,160	64,423,179	56,820,459	27,041,755	11,447,320	15,662,144
South Dakota	14,617,857	37,380,166	22,279,486	69,335,309	8,048,203	4,569,138	3,257,894
Tennessee	77,109,824	92,929,110	84,947,163	75,675,233	43,847,282	33,641,466	26,785,324
Texas	271,788,888	226,575,124	208,693,601	450,643,382	81,426,696	72,975,688	35,220,712
Utah	19,982,432	51,795,984	32,569,613	12,341,855	6,172,892	14,448,819	5,204,209
Vermont	12,574,914	33,322,944	11,055,766	2,278,563	3,853,248	8,641,192	1,698,021
Virginia	35,637,762	111,748,067	94,536,724	20,648,384	42,427,588	24,011,369	16,724,568
Washington	68,882,202	97,343,724	66,142,892	53,673,417	19,219,865	36,493,361	12,885,665
West Virginia	45,903,255	70,435,500	39,199,676	6,248,404	34,200,032	9,026,915	16,022,343
Wisconsin	106,117,491	57,967,998	67,278,102	44,448,040	17,601,513	36,433,617	16,228,178
Wyoming	4,105,400	39,068,491	10,864,133	15,284,515	2,671,308	1,707,327	1,408,735
Puerto Rico	31,512,404	9,952,054	2,993,150	15,714,583	33,758,518	6,544,503	25,276,209
Virgin Islands	425,826	——	51,383	13,136	1,132,396	11,723,832	482,386
Other Territories [2]	539,941	——	45,616,594	——	2,057,308	10,553,041	882,205
Undistributed	——	2,310,874	35,626,000	12,445,122	71,385,412	-1,056,053	36,139,755
TOTALS	$5,371,543,710	$4,197,488,603	$4,000,956,262	$3,151,438,568	$1,815,007,951	$1,665,809,386	$900,245,976

1—The figures presented in each column are the totals of numerous separate programs. The component parts of each column are listed in Table III.

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. . . State Breakdown of 14 Largest Programs[1]

TABLE II

	National Guard	Urban Development and Public Works	Unemployment Insurance	Veterans Benefits	Conservation Practices	Vocational Rehabilitation	Child Care
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Alabama	$12,191,644	$6,719,281	$9,011,417	$8,039,552	$6,224,292	$8,232,436	$6,475,251
Alaska	3,951,434	13,964,047	3,920,691	367,770	10,529,990	574,924	553,306
Arizona	5,756,989	1,538,578	8,399,563	6,278,383	4,030,745	3,150,701	1,894,354
Arkansas	7,416,294	5,786,515	5,927,113	3,606,130	5,622,558	6,900,422	2,740,840
California	28,005,999	72,353,692	90,085,459	67,982,654	20,239,498	24,089,161	18,204,386
Colorado	6,626,423	1,756,242	6,653,026	8,539,073	6,628,071	4,133,162	5,834,260
Connecticut	7,857,345	28,351,141	9,856,673	10,161,567	2,201,556	3,145,044	2,918,221
Delaware	4,386,879	1,695,827	1,474,892	652,462	1,360,357	744,921	676,099
D. of C.	3,768,587	5,735,976	7,067,884	17,190,669	339,900	2,411,563	3,940,410
Florida	7,349,385	14,875,481	12,477,636	19,687,361	6,218,873	10,638,057	9,199,816
Georgia	12,476,224	13,993,072	9,367,667	9,548,359	7,054,566	12,353,646	6,923,174
Hawaii	11,982,938	3,560,610	3,953,569	2,000,287	1,679,889	1,111,848	1,564,724
Idaho	5,038,668	377,016	4,167,584	1,609,099	3,688,860	766,493	952,234
Illinois	15,083,443	29,496,311	28,877,473	37,282,368	2,721,410	13,312,316	11,919,403
Indiana	9,953,250	10,328,165	10,033,651	7,629,299	4,778,779	2,620,297	3,716,945
Iowa	9,005,836	7,690,963	5,844,331	4,312,451	3,671,261	4,881,612	3,111,009
Kansas	7,263,603	4,720,704	4,894,058	4,490,805	5,926,798	1,772,440	2,769,981
Kentucky	4,840,557	14,930,604	7,771,464	4,520,497	4,657,493	3,924,997	4,103,615
Louisiana	6,582,874	2,497,919	9,038,488	6,803,314	4,237,029	6,087,287	3,783,667
Maine	4,864,064	4,353,739	3,038,438	1,322,308	2,336,872	965,835	1,258,880
Maryland	9,617,450	11,287,274	9,738,300	8,120,840	2,923,526	5,414,571	8,260,106
Massachusetts	14,233,696	49,565,314	19,505,384	13,368,067	1,616,439	6,022,942	8,239,292
Michigan	13,823,500	25,580,051	29,247,234	15,826,068	3,407,564	8,847,031	11,400,790
Minnesota	10,214,274	11,354,526	10,002,962	9,997,412	3,031,755	5,625,776	5,172,702
Mississippi	11,647,468	1,777,042	5,570,543	2,960,934	8,211,434	4,846,175	2,995,973
Missouri	12,738,901	19,141,373	12,897,167	9,050,775	3,941,210	5,451,442	5,590,613
Montana	4,442,271	749,575	3,271,511	1,710,552	5,731,668	1,085,275	841,888
Nebraska	4,876,688	1,549,254	3,160,392	4,364,198	3,382,285	2,554,584	3,170,527
Nevada	2,377,270	2,744,402	3,893,532	873,014	3,139,713	901,938	658,152
New Hampshire	3,306,713	2,548,176	2,021,151	1,221,386	1,706,845	604,318	757,330
New Jersey	16,790,234	31,836,210	22,866,549	10,693,682	3,924,991	7,821,097	3,714,409
New Mexico	4,210,304	1,535,690	4,706,918	3,225,565	14,144,006	1,017,400	1,457,325
New York	27,935,709	79,310,384	79,215,405	33,590,123	6,318,175	15,533,255	19,631,964
North Carolina	6,968,542	12,753,792	11,076,492	6,999,230	3,689,844	9,977,586	7,260,475
North Dakota	4,278,065	877,799	2,562,029	1,561,171	2,723,860	1,042,578	725,875
Ohio	20,843,930	43,234,989	24,647,381	28,024,454	6,882,178	8,675,909	11,877,947
Oklahoma	8,006,347	6,954,214	7,860,802	8,317,266	9,324,342	5,985,950	1,990,486
Oregon	6,478,600	3,526,584	8,730,918	5,900,202	45,479,544	3,382,271	2,089,517
Pennsylvania	22,140,734	65,986,793	41,900,828	34,874,168	5,029,626	24,634,503	13,547,600
Rhode Island	4,417,779	2,690,786	5,330,688	2,431,817	1,133,325	1,893,897	1,744,413
South Carolina	7,225,647	1,147,665	6,023,847	3,550,875	2,958,585	8,342,256	3,547,838
South Dakota	4,598,744	1,228,731	1,906,079	1,369,868	1,841,959	1,387,151	561,674
Tennessee	11,098,458	14,659,864	10,166,476	7,138,827	10,631,359	5,354,849	5,366,692
Texas	18,683,556	15,976,665	25,317,085	25,940,982	12,447,689	14,201,718	9,672,259
Utah	5,624,734	1,211,026	6,943,213	3,516,728	5,237,462	1,779,330	1,286,347
Vermont	4,664,868	434,939	1,773,230	644,536	1,458,390	1,036,224	645,716
Virginia	9,101,953	7,633,809	6,780,573	5,935,382	3,913,592	7,819,413	5,697,210
Washington	8,998,467	8,089,025	15,035,392	10,161,090	10,390,215	4,898,586	3,890,178
West Virginia	5,243,019	2,668,911	5,333,733	2,694,791	3,768,747	5,780,407	2,202,854
Wisconsin	11,586,795	7,974,037	10,925,362	10,984,758	4,585,394	9,582,500	3,544,507
Wyoming	2,869,093	122,439	1,812,429	691,193	17,776,737	880,421	526,026
Puerto Rico	6,052,758	2,979,435	6,270,895	3,986,423	490,029	3,778,554	6,469,776
Virgin Islands	——	465,453	246,941	——	12,427,325	68,283	561,523
Other Territories[2]	——	——	44,550	4,030,224	149,857	247,011	1,168,278
Undistributed	344,259,367	1,743,046	9,781,178	——	-842,947	——	14,203,359
TOTALS	$823,783,906	$686,065,156	$658,428,246	$505,781,009	$327,125,520	$298,292,363	$263,012,196

2—Includes American Samoa, Canal Zone, Trust Territory of the Pacific, and certain foreign countries.

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TABLE III

Federal Aid Programs

Following are the 130 federal grant-in-aid programs with fiscal 1968 spending totals, as arranged by CQ into categories:

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Public Assistance	$5,318,646,825
Administration on Aging	5,679,668
Aid for Refugees in the United States	46,737,396
Aid for Repatriated U.S. Nationals	479,821
	$5,371,543,710

HIGHWAYS

Federal-Aid-Highway Trust Fund	$4,117,140,952
Beautification and Control of Outdoor Advertising	24,433,581
Forest and Public Land Highways	37,719,269
Highway Safety	3,695,743
Landscaping and Scenic Enhancement	14,499,078
	$4,197,488,603

AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION, EXTENSION WORK AND RESEARCH

Basic Scientific Research Grants	$ 4,928,638
Cooperative Agricultural Extension Work	84,942,196
Cooperative State Research Service	56,117,045
Agricultural Conservation Program	216,345,343
Cotton Domestic Allotment Program	855,185,868
Feed Grains Program	832,232,096
Wheat Program	726,484,774
Wool Act Program	65,542,605
Conservation Reserve Program	121,801,612
Cropland Adjustment Program	83,380,965
Cropland Conversion Program	3,126,970
Emergency Conservation Measures	5,403,016
Great Plains Conservation Program	11,854,676
Indemnity Payments to Dairy Farmers	264,128
Sugar Act Program	83,828,636
	$3,151,438,568

EDUCATION

Arts and Humanities Educational Activities	$ 902,567
Colleges of Agricultural and the Mechanical Arts	2,550,000
Assistance to Public Schools (impacted areas)	34,750,384
Higher Education Facilities	342,925,472
Cooperative Vocational Education	257,512,512
Educational Improvement for the Handicapped	40,936,595
Educational Television	6,588,949
Elementary and Secondary Education Activities	1,476,306,244
Equal Education Opportunities Program	6,127,695
Higher Education Activities	384,548,987
Libraries and Community Services	161,675,746
Schools in Federally Affected Areas	471,408,875
Manpower Development and Training Activities	315,891,777
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	11,527,727
Grants, Fellowships and other Aid (Atomic Energy Commission)	10,785,007
Foreign Language and Area Studies	14,581,609
Research and Training	80,647,126
Research Grants and Fellowship Awards (National Science Foundation)	381,288,990
	$4,000,956,262

PUBLIC HEALTH (research)

Communicable Disease Activities	$ 13,708,973
Air Pollution	9,642,453
Allergy and Infectious Disease Activities	53,289,764
Arthritis and Metabolic Disease Activities	98,326,345
Chronic Disease	19,625,888
General Medical Sciences	123,497,746
General Research and Services	63,928,940
General Research Support Grants	41,211,597
Injury Control	992,601
National Cancer Institute	81,581,870
National Heart Institute	111,623,484
National Institute of Dental Research	17,012,509
National Library of Medicine	4,613,172
Neurology and Blindness Activities	78,578,231
Occupational Health	1,543,799
Radiological Health	3,300,492
Urban and Industrial Health	7,630,015
	$ 730,107,879

PUBLIC HEALTH (services)

Consumer and Marketing Service—Meat Inspection	$ 982,838
Rural Water and Waste Disposal Grants	29,369,111
Air Pollution	7,368,972
Chronic Disease	1,545,427
Community Health Services	38,389,037
Comprehensive Health Planning and Services	62,504,172
Hospital, Health Education and Health Research Facilities (construction)	351,274,477
Control of Tuberculosis	3,008,451
Control of Venereal Disease	828,068
Dental Services and Resources	2,858,761
Health Manpower Education and Utilization	33,487,418
Mental Health Research and Services	175,769,050
Regional Medical Services	20,998,049
Urban, Industrial and Radiological Health	3,584,935
Miscellaneous Health, Education and Welfare Programs	8,190,531
Water and Sewer Facilities	44,444,447
Waste Treatment Works (construction)	118,777,552
Water Supply and Pollution Control	21,751,222
Environmental Health Services	10,568,989
	$ 935,701,508

PUBLIC HEALTH RESEARCH AND SERVICES TOTAL	$1,665,809,386

ANTIPOVERTY

Appalachian Regional Development	$ 87,127,151
Adult Work Training and Development	76,396,363
Community Action Programs	971,738,588
Neighborhood Youth Corps	279,006,723
Work Experience and Training Programs	95,808,050
Teacher Corps	16,019,351
Low Income Housing Demonstration Program	1,388,237
Low Rent Public Housing	283,171,846
Job Corps	4,351,642
	$1,815,007,951

NATIONAL GUARD

Army	$ 469,311,896
Air Force	354,472,010
	$ 823,783,906

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TABLE III

FOOD DISTRIBUTION

Value of Commodities Distributed	$ 168,418,720
Value of Commodities Donated	236,632,251
Food Stamp Program	177,227,689
School Lunch Program	214,861,550
School Milk Program	103,105,766
	$ 900,245,976

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Unemployment Compensation and Employment Service Administration (trust fund)	$ 551,530,905
Unemployment Compensation for Federal Employees and Ex-Servicemen	106,897,341
	$ 658,428,246

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

Accelerated Public Works Program	$ 4,356,388
Model Cities Program	1,612,578
Neighborhood Facilities	4,636,897
Open Space Land Grants	33,317,961
Urban Mass Transportation	67,726,278
Urban Planning Assistance	25,163,466
Urban Renewal	474,550,645
Federal Airport Program	74,700,943
	$ 686,065,156

VETERANS BENEFITS

Veterans Administration	$ 12,872,600
Automobiles, etc., for Disabled Veterans	3,467,763
Readjustment Benefits and Vocational Rehabilitation	489,440,646
	$ 505,781,009

CONSERVATION PRACTICES

Forest Protection, Utilization and Restoration	$ 18,654,612
National Forest and School Funds (shared revenues)	44,146,967
National Grasslands (shared revenues)	463,728
Watershed Protection, Flood Prevention and Resource Conservation and Development	65,798,587
Flood Control Lands (shared revenues)	2,462,762
Commercial Fisheries Research and Development	5,383,496
Special Funds (shared revenues)	36,541,659
Fish and Wildlife Restoration and Management	30,297,162
Land and Water Conservation Fund	51,040,147
Mineral Leasing Act (shared revenues)	48,187,496
National Wildlife Refuge Fund	1,410,064
Water Resources Research	7,638,845
Tennessee Valley Authority (shared revenues)	13,096,932
Water Resources Council	1,860,201
Commercial Fisheries Management and Investigation of Resources	142,862
	$ 327,125,520

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Vocational Rehabilitation Administration	$ 298,292,363
	$ 298,292,363

CHILD CARE

Maternal and Child Health and Welfare Services	$ 218,308,305
Child Health and Human Development	44,703,891
	$ 263,012,196

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT AND AREA REDEVELOPMENT

Development Facilities Grants	$ 96,280,128
Technical and Community Assistance	6,986,989
State Technical Services	3,990,982
Economic Development Administration	414,982
Planning and Research (EDA)	7,449,249
	$ 115,122,330

OTHER PROGRAMS

Following are the nine programs not included in the broad categories listed above:

Cooperative Projects in Marketing	$ 3,287,921
Civil Defense	32,022,787
Payments to States Under Federal Power Act (shared revenues)	95,704
Disaster Relief and State and Local Preparedness	30,950,489
American Printing House for the Blind	1,235,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs	12,708,080
Law Enforcement Assistance	6,099,341
Miscellaneous Grants *	240,070,161
National Historical Grants	376,672
	$ 326,846,155

** Primarily federal payments to the District of Columbia, tax collections for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, payments to certain U.S. territories and undistributed funds for higher education activities.*

(Continued from p. 1495)

the Federal Budget," Mr. Nixon said, "but it represents relief for the equally hard-pressed states."

The payout would rise from one-sixth of 1 percent of taxable income in fiscal 1971 to 1 percent in fiscal 1976 and thereafter. The monies would be divided among the states on a formula based upon each state's share of national population adjusted for the state's relative effort to raise revenue. A "pass-through" formula would ensure that each city and county within a state would receive a portion of the funds in proportion to their relative tax effort within the state.

1968 Grant-in-Aid Figures

CQ's study of the 1968 federal aid payments showed that grants-in-aid to state and local governments and to individuals increased 15 percent from 1967 payments to a total of $25.1 billion. It was the eighth consecutive annual increase in the total amount of federal grants, but a noticeably smaller increase than the 23 percent rise in 1967. *(See table I.)*

Of the total 1968 grants in aid, $18.6 billion (an increase of 22 percent) went to state and local governments, while $6.5 billion (a decrease of 2 percent) went to individuals.

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Total federal tax revenues in fiscal 1968 amounted to $153.7 billion. The $25.1 billion in federal grants in aid returned 16 percent of these revenues to the states. In fiscal 1967, federal grants in aid returned 15 percent of tax revenues to the states.

All but four states received increased payments per capita in 1968 from what they received in 1967. Iowa and Nebraska showed decreases in total funds granted and in the amount granted per capita. (Iowa was down from $428,941,000 and $156 per capita in 1967 to $393,514,000 and $142 per capita in 1968; while Nebraska received $317,236,000 or $221 per capita in 1967, compared with $266,858,000 or $185 per capita in 1968. Nevada received an increase in the amount it was granted in 1968 but not enough to offset a population increase as per capita income from the grants was down one dollar to $170 in 1968. Kansas received enough of an increase to offset its population increase and hold the per capita grant level at $179.

For the first time in recent years, grants in aid to education overtook agricultural grants to become the third largest category. Aid for education was $4 billion, a 30-percent increase during fiscal 1968. The biggest gains were for higher education activities from $33 million in 1967 to $385 million; and for elementary and secondary school activities from $1.2 billion to $1.5 billion.

Some of the other highlights of the fiscal 1967 figures are summarized below:

- Aid for highways increased $175 million to $4.2 billion, mostly from a $198 million increase in highway trust funds as other programs generally saw a slight decrease in funds.
- Aid for agricultural conservation, extension work and research increased $300 million to $3.5 billion despite a 45-percent decrease, to $832 million, in the feed grain program. Increases in agricultural aid were spread generally throughout the other programs.
- Antipoverty aid programs increased 32 percent to $1.8 billion. The largest increase was $322 million for community action programs, but the most dramatic and the second largest gain was the increase in Appalachian Regional Development funds from $6 million to $87 million.
- Aid for business development and area redevelopment showed a 475 percent increase to $115 million. Of the total $95 million increase, $71.5 million additional funds went for development facilities grants. Another $7.4 million was provided for a new program in planning and research.
- Aid for veterans benefits increased 65 percent to $505.8 million during the year. The increase came primarily for readjustment benefits and vocational rehabilitation.

Simplifying Aid, Revenue Sharing

For years state and local government heads have grumbled that the federal grant-in-aid system was a bureaucratic jungle, too complicated to assist in the way it was intended. The system has been marked by rapid growth in payments and programs. Payments grew from $6.5 billion in fiscal 1957 to $25.1 billion in fiscal 1968. The system expanded in programs until, in 1968, the Federal Government was administering more than 400 different federal aid programs. Many of these programs overlapped in purpose but had different eligibility re-

TABLE IV

State Allocations of Federal Aid

States	1967 Total Grants	1967 Est. Population	1967 Per Capita Grants
ALABAMA	$ 491,629,000	3,558,000	$138
ALASKA	118,559,000	274,000	433
ARIZONA	274,039,000	1,663,000	165
ARKANSAS	367,914,000	1,986,000	185
CALIFORNIA	2,525,554,000	19,200,000	131
COLORADO	332,677,000	2,043,000	163
CONNECTICUT	291,170,000	2,963,000	98
DELAWARE	62,152,000	534,000	116
D. of C.	308,580,000	809,000	381
FLORIDA	521,730,000	6,151,000	85
GEORGIA	569,017,000	4,568,000	125
HAWAII	121,977,000	780,000	156
IDAHO	128,179,000	703,000	182
ILLINOIS	1,036,270,000	10,991,000	94
INDIANA	427,928,000	5,061,000	85
IOWA	393,514,000	2,774,000	142
KANSAS	410,463,000	2,293,000	179
KENTUCKY	488,166,000	3,220,000	152
LOUISIANA	508,515,000	3,726,000	136
MAINE	100,981,000	976,000	103
MARYLAND	349,795,000	3,754,000	93
MASSACHUSETTS	680,149,000	5,469,000	124
MICHIGAN	753,947,000	8,739,000	86
MINNESOTA	518,861,000	3,647,000	142
MISSISSIPPI	449,964,000	2,344,000	192
MISSOURI	585,307,000	4,625,000	127
MONTANA	184,358,000	693,000	266
NEBRASKA	266,858,000	1,439,000	185
NEVADA	76,449,000	449,000	170
NEW HAMPSHIRE	74,743,000	702,000	106
NEW JERSEY	504,533,000	7,093,000	71
NEW MEXICO	229,220,000	1,006,000	228
NEW YORK	2,162,919,000	18,078,000	120
NORTH CAROLINA	522,947,000	5,122,000	102
NORTH DAKOTA	224,013,000	627,000	357
OHIO	890,980,000	10,588,000	84
OKLAHOMA	477,087,000	2,520,000	189
OREGON	289,080,000	2,008,000	144
PENNSYLVANIA	1,081,513,000	11,728,000	92
RHODE ISLAND	124,538,000	914,000	136
SOUTH CAROLINA	277,573,000	2,664,000	104
SOUTH DAKOTA	174,201,000	656,000	266
TENNESSEE	503,665,000	3,975,000	127
TEXAS	1,480,905,000	10,977,000	135
UTAH	170,994,000	1,034,000	165
VERMONT	84,460,000	425,000	199
VIRGINIA	393,569,000	4,595,000	86
WASHINGTON	421,939,000	2,276,000	129
WEST VIRGINIA	255,260,000	1,802,000	142
WISCONSIN	407,689,000	4,221,000	97
WYOMING	100,111,000	315,000	318
TERRITORIES	383,233,000		
UNDISTRIBUTED	527,070,000		
TOTAL	$25,106,947,000	199,861,000	$126

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quirements, application procedures and funding practices, because they were administered by different agencies.

After a six-year study by a Senate subcommittee and after much Presidential prodding, Congress in October 1968 passed the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act (PL 90-577) designed to improve the program of administering federal grants-in-aid to local governments.

Organizations representing local government officials cited the Act as a step in the right direction. Other observers noted that it was being administered by the Bureau of the Budget and said this indicated more caution than innovation. Included in the Act were titles providing for improved administration of grants in aid to the states; directing the President to establish federal inter-governmental coordination for grant administration; and providing for a periodic review of federal grant-in-aid programs. Some backers of the Act said it was critical that provisions left out would have consolidated federal grant-in-aid programs and established uniform federal relocation and land-acquisition assistance.

President Nixon April 30 asked Congress for power to consolidate closely related federal assistance programs and place them in a single agency. The President said that only closely related programs would be merged and limits of the grants would be changed as little as possible. The House Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental relations began hearings on the proposal in June. The Subcommittee has not completed hearings on the matter. *(For hearings, see Weekly Report p. 1512.)*

Revenue Sharing. In January 1968, the Republican Coordinating Committee, warned in a report that the trend of federal-state relations was leaning more and more toward "virtual monopoly of power in Washington." The report further charged that if the trend continued until 1973 when federal grants in aid were estimated to reach $60 billion, state, local and municipal governments would be reduced "to subdivisions which take most of their orders from the federal administrators who hand out the money." *(1968 Almanac p. 508)*

President Nixon in his "New Federalism" speech Aug. 8 said, "For a third of a century, power and responsibility have flowed toward Washington—and Washington has taken for its own the best sources of revenue. We intend to reverse this tide—not as a way of avoiding problems, but as a better way of solving problems." The President sent his revenue-sharing message to Congress Aug. 13.

Since an 1836 revenue-sharing attempt in which Congress divided most of the Treasury surplus among the states, revenue sharing has been relegated to a small part of the federal grant-in-aid system. It usually has consisted of limited funds—such as from the sale of timber—normally earmarked for a special purpose. Several revenue-sharing bills have been offered in Congress since 1958. Republicans have generally favored revenue-sharing plans with few strings attached to replace present financing of state and local governments. Democrats, on the other hand, have generally favored revenue sharing to supplement existing financing. Among opponents of revenue-sharing proposals in the past has been Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.), of the House Ways and Means Committee. President Nixon's proposal will be referred to that committee. *(For further background and information, see 1968 Almanac p. 505, 508, and Weekly Report p. 159.)*

How Programs Work

Many factors account for the uneven distribution of aid payments, both within programs and between programs. Allocation formulas vary greatly from one program to the next. Some, like the public assistance programs, are intended to provide greater federal participation to low-income states which generally have a proportionately high number of needy persons and low assistance payments. Such a program has the effect of redistributing income from high-income to low-income states.

Other programs, like benefits paid to veterans, result in allocations that vary mostly according to population.

Other types of programs tend to benefit some states much more than others because of the special character of the need that is met. This is true especially of payments to farmers under agricultural programs which benefit primarily the South and Midwest while grants for urban renewal and public housing benefit the more urban sections of the country.

TABLES

Further details about federal aid programs appear in the accompanying tables.

Table I. Shows the amounts from fiscal 1959 through fiscal 1968 for total payments, payments to state and local governments and payments to individuals, together with the percentage increase or decrease for each category over the previous year and since 1959. Amounts listed as tax collections are actually internal revenue collections and do not include customs receipts and some other items. They to not include Social Security payroll taxes, nor do federal payments include Social Security benefits paid out. Thus the ratio of payments to taxes is only a rough indication of the relationship in any single year.

Table II. Shows each state's allocations under the largest payments programs conducted by the Federal Government. The allocations are arranged to conform with the descending size of the programs. Individual programs have been combined into 14 special categories to convey the scope of federal aid in major areas of legislation. The data is taken from Treasury Department reports. However, the designation of the 14 categories and the placement of Treasury data in each category is done by Congressional Quarterly. The categories used by CQ are broad groupings in order to show the general pattern of federal aid activities. As a result, many specific grant programs could be included in more than one category; CQ attempts to place them in a category that is closest to the basic purpose of the grant.

Table III. Lists the component parts of each of the 14 columns in Table II.

Table IV. Shows for each state total payments, estimated population, and per capita share of payments for fiscal 1968. Payments in fiscal 1968 averaged $126 per person compared with $110 in fiscal 1967. The state receiving the highest per capita aid was Alaska with $433. The state receiving the lowest per capita aid was New Jersey with $71. Alaska and New Jersey have represented the high and low of per capita federal aid since fiscal 1959, the first year of Alaska's statehood.

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Welfare Reform

RECOMMENDED PRINCIPLES - WELFARE COMMITTEE
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

The Welfare Committee of the Community Council recommends these principles to guide establishment of a national income maintenance program to protect all citizens against the risk of poverty. The main emphasis in any such programs should be an improved way to deliver income.

1. The system established should be federally financed and federally administered. (Equity cannot be achieved through state financing; the forces which create the problem of poverty are national in scope and the levels of assistance adopted create implications for the entire Nation.)

2. Levels of cash assistance should be sufficient to meet reasonable standards of adequacy. (The current poverty index of $3553 is two-thirds of the level declared minimally adequate for a non-farm family of four.)

3. Both the working and non-working poor should be covered. (Large numbers of children live in families where parents work all year but are still below the poverty level. Wages have no relation to size of families or cost of living.)

4. Any related work or work-training requirements should guarantee meaningful jobs at wage levels which are not so low as to undermine the goals of minimum wage statutes.

5. Cash assistance should be undergirded by services designed to enhance individual and family functioning, such as day care, family planning, protective services, legal assistance, counseling, vocational rehabilitation, homemaker and consumer education, job training and placement, etc.

6. Provision should be made to allow reasonable exemption of earned income so that individuals and families are not discouraged from seeking to supplement total family cash by working. (Work should be rewarded.)

7. The importance of parenting should be stressed by not requiring mothers with dependent children to work outside the home. The levels of assistance must be high enough for a parent to remain in the home to care for children.

CCAA, Inc.
3/24/70

institute for research on poverty

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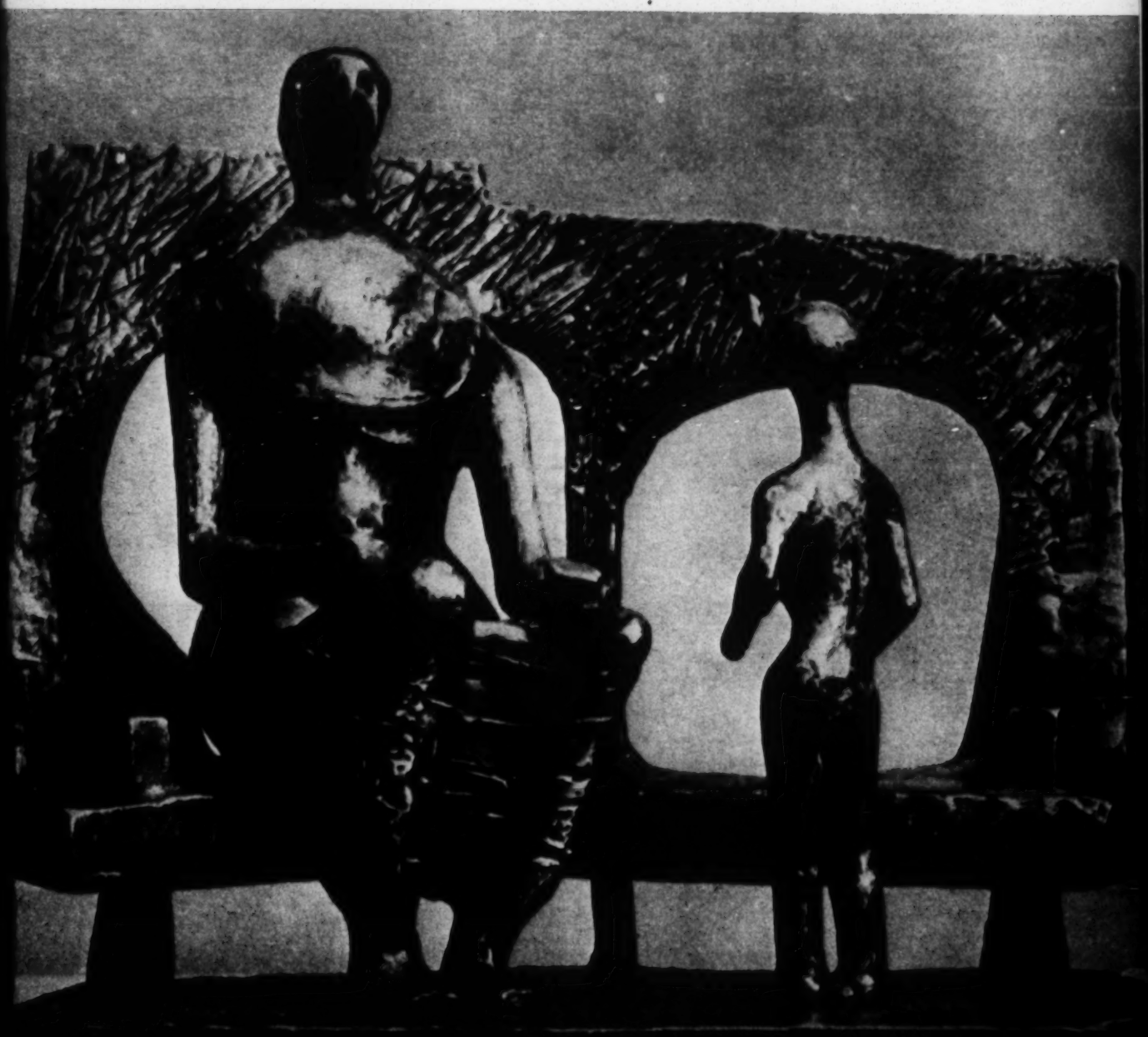

WORK, WELFARE, AND THE NIXON REFORM PROPOSALS

Joel F. Handler and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth

Reprint 60

1972 Welfare Costs Compared to Estimated HR 1 Costs

(in millions)

	Existing welfare system, all programs 1		HR 1 (Administration revision)		Net Change	
	Federal	Non-Federal (state and local)	Federal	Non-Federal	Federal	Non-Federal
Alabama	$ 126.5	$ 34.7	$ 163.6	$ 31.4	$ 37.1	—$ 3.3
Alaska	5.0	10.9	6.9	9.9	1.9	— 1.0
Arizona	34.7	25.3	42.1	23.6	7.4	— 1.9
Arkansas	64.7	16.4	88.2	14.9	23.5	— 1.5
California	1,051.9	1,051.8	1,205.4	955.8	153.5	— 96.0
Colorado	60.7	44.7	69.6	40.5	8.9	— 4.2
Connecticut	59.1	58.9	73.3	53.6	14.2	— 5.3
Delaware	10.6	7.6	12.1	6.9	1.5	— .7
District of Columbia	41.1	40.9	49.3	37.5	8.2	— 3.4
Florida	147.0	164.8	193.2	155.0	46.2	— 9.8
Georgia	157.8	48.0	225.6	43.6	67.8	— 4.4
Hawaii	20.5	19.8	23.4	18.1	2.9	— 1.7
Idaho	15.2	6.9	17.8	6.3	2.6	— .6
Illinois	254.7	254.6	291.7	232.2	37.0	— 22.4
Indiana	48.4	30.4	64.4	27.7	16.0	— 2.7
Iowa	59.7	48.4	70.9	44.1	11.2	— 4.3
Kansas	45.5	33.3	50.7	30.5	5.2	— 2.8
Kentucky	92.6	29.2	126.5	26.4	33.9	— 2.8
Louisiana	156.9	55.9	197.2	50.9	40.3	— 5.0
Maine	34.9	16.1	38.5	14.7	3.6	— 1.4
Maryland	62.7	59.0	79.2	53.5	16.5	— 5.5
Massachusetts	213.2	213.2	241.1	194.1	27.9	— 19.1
Michigan	192.1	192.2	223.0	174.8	30.9	— 17.4
Minnesota	91.1	68.8	102.5	62.7	11.4	— 6.1
Mississippi	79.5	16.3	131.8	14.8	52.3	— 1.5
Missouri	125.5	53.5	136.4	48.3	10.9	— 5.2
Montana	9.6	5.3	11.3	4.8	1.7	— .5
Nebraska	18.5	12.9	23.9	11.7	5.4	— 1.3
Nevada	6.9	3.3	12.7	3.0	5.8	— .3
New Hampshire	19.2	13.1	22.1	11.9	2.9	— 1.2
New Jersey	207.6	207.5	240.3	189.4	32.7	— 18.1
New Mexico	32.7	14.3	44.0	13.1	11.3	— 1.2
New York	700.2	700.1	801.6	633.7	101.4	— 66.4
North Carolina	96.1	36.4	120.6	33.1	24.5	— 3.3
North Dakota	10.7	4.6	12.1	4.2	1.4	— .4
Ohio	156.2	121.8	192.7	110.8	36.5	— 11.0
Oklahoma	99.3	46.9	110.9	42.2	11.6	— 4.7
Oregon	48.1	35.7	54.7	32.5	6.6	— 3.2
Pennsylvania	357.9	287.8	406.3	261.3	48.4	— 26.5
Rhode Island	23.4	23.0	27.1	20.9	3.7	— 2.1
South Carolina	35.8	8.9	65.5	8.1	29.7	— .8
South Dakota	14.9	6.5	17.9	6.0	3.0	— .5
Tennessee	121.5	38.5	168.0	35.0	46.5	— 3.5
Texas	274.9	93.3	316.5	84.7	41.6	— 8.6
Utah	24.6	10.4	29.5	9.4	4.9	— 1.0
Vermont	12.7	6.8	13.9	6.2	1.2	— .6
Virginia	71.0	39.9	91.4	36.4	20.4	— 3.5
Washington	76.1	76.2	89.7	69.1	13.6	— 7.1
West Virginia	43.9	18.6	53.6	17.0	9.7	— 1.6
Wisconsin	55.6	43.3	67.7	39.3	12.0	— 4.0
Wyoming	4.4	2.9	5.0	2.7	.6	— .2
Guam	.7	.5	.8	.4	.1	— .1
Puerto Rico	20.5	20.4	53.9	18.5	33.4	— 1.9
Virgin Islands	.5	.9	1.1	.8	.6	— .1
TOTAL	$5,795.1	$4,481.6	$6,979.1	$4,078.0	$1,184.0	—$403.6

1 Aid to Families With Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Old-Age Assistance

SOURCE: Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures used in committee print, House Ways and Means Committee, Feb. 24, 1971

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 92d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 6, 1971

Mr. RANGEL (for himself, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CLAY, Mr. COLLINS of Illinois, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. METCALFE, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. NIX, Mr. STOKES, Mrs. ABZUG, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. MINVA, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROYBAL, and Mr. RYAN), introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

H. R. 7257

A GUARANTEED ADEQUATE INCOME FOR EVERY AMERICAN

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to assure a guaranteed adequate income for every American.

I am recommending that the present welfare system be replaced by a guaranteed adequate income system and that any welfare reform which fails to establish a time table for reaching income adequacy be opposed. A guaranteed adequate income system must assure a minimum of $6,500 a year for a family of four from this new plan, wages or both.

I am proposing a $6,500 minimum for the following reasons:

A. The minimum a family of four needs is $3,500 to live at a minimum standard of health and decency. This figure is based on studies conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics that show what a family of four actually spends to get by at a low standard of living.

B. Studies conducted by the Department of Agriculture show that lesser amounts including the so-called poverty level are totally adequate as a measure of what people need to live.

C. Jobs available to people without high school and extensive technical education do not provide an income sufficient to meet people's needs, and this income must be supplemented.

D. This country has the resources available to provide this minimum level of health and decency to all Americans. A guaranteed adequate income would initially cost only five percent of the gross national product. By putting substantial amounts in the hands of poor people the country would assure itself of considerable economic growth because poor people will pour their income right back into the economy.

A recent Gallup poll reports that the American public believes the smallest amount a family of four needs to make ends meet is $126 a week. Earnings of $126 a week is $6,552 a year.

The bill represents the structure and procedures recommended by the National Welfare Rights Organization. This group, with 200 affiliates in 50 States, is an organization of welfare recipients and other poor people. The group speaks for those who know first hand the deficiencies and frustrations of the present systems. The time has come for America to solve the welfare crisis and that time is now.

The NWRO Bill

National Welfare Rights Organization
1410 "H" Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

THE ADEQUATE INCOME ACT OF 1971. HR 7257

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1971

20 in House Seek Welfare Plan Giving $6,500 to a Family of 4

By WARREN WEAVER, JR.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 6 — A welfare program that would guarantee a family of four an annual income of $6,500 was proposed today by 20 members of the House, including a dozen blacks and one Republican.

The new plan, supported by the National Welfare Rights Organization, would continue paying Federal benefits to a family until its total income reached $11,000 a year and would add between $50-billion and $60-billion to the budget in its first year of operation.

Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of Manhattan, told a news conference that the Nixon Administration's welfare reform plan and the bill approved tentatively by the House Ways and Means Committee would "mean a return to the dark ages."

Both these programs would provide a Federal floor of $2,400 a year for a family of four. They would not, however, require states that now maintain higher benefit levels to contique them or provide any more Federal money to help those that chose to do so.

It appeared unlikely that Congress would approve anything approaching a $6,500 benefit level, but the introduction of what was called the Adequate Income Act of 1971 might help House liberals in their campaign to increase the Federal welfare investment in the Ways and Means bill.

George A. Wiley, executive director of the National Welfare Rights Organization, predicted that the sponsors of the new measure would vote against the committee's bill on the floor if its income floor were not raised from $2,400 to $6,500.

Representative Parren J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maryland, said that he was inclined to vote against the Ways and Means bill but circumstances could change. Mr. Rangel said that it would create "a very serious problem" if the House had no choice except the plan of Representative Wilbur D. Mills, the committee chairman, or no welfare reform at all.

Representative Bella S. Abzug, Democrat of Manhattan, said that the country had spent "billions on welfare for the wealthy in the form of oil depletion allowances, tax loopholes for millionares and farm subsidies to the undeserving."

Members of the Black Congressional Caucus cosponsoring the welfare bill, in addition to Representatives Rangel and Mitchell, are Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn, William L. Clay of Missouri, George W. Collins and Ralph H. Metcalfe of Illinois, John Conyers Jr. and Charles C. Diggs Jr., of Michigan, Ronald V. Dellums and Augustus F. Hawkins of California, Louis Stokes of Ohio and Robert N. C. Nix of Pennsylvania. All are Democrats.

The sole Republican sponsor is Seymour Halpern of Queens. Other Democratic sponsors besides Mrs. Abzug are Herman Badillo of Manhattan-Bronx-Queens; Benjamin S. Rosenthal of Queens, and William F. Ryan of Manhattan, Ken Hechler of West Virginia, Abner J. Mikva and Melvin Price of Illinois and Edward R. Roybal of California.

National Welfare Rights Organization
1419 "H" Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

APR 16, 1971

CQ On the Issues

WELFARE: PROPOSED CHANGES FACE STIFF OPPOSITION

Under the pressure of rising welfare costs and caseloads, the House appears ready to give President Nixon a new welfare system. He first proposed such a move in August 1969.

The legislation may bear little resemblance, however, to the Administration's original Family Assistance Plan.

The House Ways and Means Committee hopes to approve by the end of April a bill which retains the Administration's guaranteed annual federal benefit for poor families and coverage for the working poor.

But the bill tentatively set a higher benefit level ($2,400) than the original Administration recommendation ($1,600). It called for greater federalization of the system and eases requirements for state spending on welfare.

The new program could cost the federal government $2.8-billion more than it expected to spend on welfare in fiscal 1972.

States pressed by soaring welfare budgets could save from $2.1-billion to $2.5-billion. But if the states add to the federal payment to ensure that no welfare recipient gets less money than he currently is receiving, the state savings could shrink to $1.7-billion.

The Administration was expected to accept the package. In his January 1971 State of the Union message, President Nixon listed welfare reform as one of his "six great goals" for action by the 92nd Congress.

The ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, John W. Byrnes (Wis.), told Congressional Quarterly he believed President Nixon was satisfied with the plan. The bill was in the "basic framework" of the President's recommendations, Byrnes said.

Even with Administration support, the committee bill faced roadblocks in Congress.

House opponents of the proposal—several of whom are members of Ways and Means—argued that the poor in 45 states would get less help, not more. This could happen, they said, because the proposal does not require states to supplement the $2,400 federal benefit and because food stamps would be eliminated in favor of the higher cash payment. States paying more than $2,400 currently could reduce their own spending by merely passing on to the poor the federal payment, without adding to it.

States with the highest welfare costs would save little money under the committee proposal if they kept benefits up to present levels, opponents said. While Mississippi could have 100 percent of its costs covered by the federal government, they said, New York State would save only about 9 percent.

Another obstacle for the bill was the Senate Finance Committee where the original Family Assistance Plan died at the end of 1970.

Liberals on the Finance Committee argued that $1,600 for a family of four was too low and that the work requirements were too stiff. Conservative committee members said the bill would increase welfare rolls by 12 million persons.

Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long (D La.) objected to the bill so strongly that he sent it back to the White House in May for reworking after three days of hearings. He was insistent on tough work requirements, a position he continued to hold in 1971.

Long told Congressional Quarterly he opposed a "guaranteed annual income for not working." The Family Assistance Plan would "undermine the moral fiber of this country," he said.

References. *Lobbying on welfare bill, Weekly Report p. 618; 1970 Senate action, Weekly Report p. 4; 1970 House passage of Family Assistance Plan, 1970 Weekly Report p. 1103.*

The Existing System

Public assistance covers four programs for the poor—Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Old-Age Assistance. The last three programs are called the "adult" categories of public assistance.

Each state sets its own standards for the programs and administers them, with the federal government reimbursing the states for their payments. States with low per capita income receive higher federal matching funds than states with high per capita income.

For aid to dependent children, the federal share is five-sixths of the first $18 for each recipient and from 50 percent to 65 percent of the remainder, up to a maximum of $32 per recipient. For the adult categories, the federal share is $31 of the $37 in payments and 50 percent to 65 percent of the remainder.

Another federal-state public assistance program is medical assistance for the needy (Medicaid). The federal share for Medicaid varies from 50 percent to 83 percent. States may choose the Medicaid formula for federal reimbursement for welfare. That formula could give a state more federal dollars if the state paid higher average benefits under Medicaid than under the other programs.

New York State pays $4,032 annually to a family of four with no income, of which the federal share is 50 percent. Mississippi pays $972 to a family of four, with the federal government picking up 83 percent of the cost.

Caseloads. Welfare caseloads have risen sharply in recent years. Two million persons were added to the rolls from February 1970 to November 1970, bringing the total on public assistance to 13.5 million persons.

The largest increases have been in the aid to dependent children program. From October 1970 to November 1970, the increase in the program was 282,000. Total number of persons receiving AFDC payments in November 1970 was 9,390,000, of whom 6,849,000 were children. A year before, the total had been 7,124,000.

State Costs. States and localities (counties and some cities) pay for the non-federal share of public assistance. Many Governors have said their budgets no longer can meet the strain of skyrocketing welfare expenses.

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State and Local Welfare Costs

(in millions of dollars)

Fiscal '72

State	Existing Law	Committee Bill*
Alabama	$ 34.7	$ 8.4
Alaska	10.9	8.4
Arizona	25.5	1.5
Arkansas	16.4	——
California	1,051.8	754.2
Colorado	44.7	16.6
Connecticut	58.9	64.2
Delaware	7.6	.8
District of Columbia	40.9	14.8
Florida	164.8	1.1
Georgia	48.0	4.0
Hawaii	19.8	9.3
Idaho	6.9	4.5
Illinois	254.6	176.2
Indiana	30.4	15.4
Iowa	48.4	19.9
Kansas	33.3	13.9
Kentucky	29.2	1.5
Louisiana	55.9	3.0
Maine	16.1	15.9
Maryland	59.0	.8
Massachusetts	213.2	190.1
Michigan	192.2	117.1
Minnesota	68.8	55.1
Mississippi	16.3	——
Missouri	53.5	44.2
Montana	5.3	.7
Nebraska	12.9	11.2
Nevada	3.3	2.1
New Hampshire	13.1	12.8
New Jersey	207.5	216.9
New Mexico	14.3	.2
New York	700.1	581.9
North Carolina	36.4	——
North Dakota	4.6	4.1
Ohio	121.8	2.8
Oklahoma	46.9	1.4
Oregon	35.7	9.0
Pennsylvania	287.8	240.1
Rhode Island	23.0	15.7
South Carolina	8.9	——
South Dakota	6.5	8.6
Tennessee	38.5	5.8
Texas	93.3	——
Utah	10.4	1.9
Vermont	6.8	8.4
Virginia	39.9	30.8
Washington	76.2	64.6
West Virginia	18.6	.1
Wisconsin	43.3	3.4
Wyoming	2.9	1.3
Guam	.5	.3
Puerto Rico	20.4	——
Virgin Islands	.9	——
TOTALS	$4,481.6	$2,764.7

SOURCE: Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Figures represent Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Old-Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled.

**Assumes states maintain present benefit levels.*

Faced with a $1-billion budget deficit, California Gov. Ronald Reagan (R) has tried to cut welfare and Medicaid spending. The state is threatened with the loss of nearly $700-million in federal funds for welfare programs for not meeting provisions in a 1967 federal law calling for increases in benefit levels proportionate to rises in the cost of living.

President Nixon April 2 postponed the cutoff of federal funds to allow California more time to comply with the federal law. But the situation was typical of actions in other states. Indiana and Nebraska faced the loss of federal money when they failed to increase their standards of need for dependent children in relation to rising living costs.

New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) has proposed tightening eligibility for welfare to limit rises in caseloads. He recommended a one-year residency requirement before individuals would be eligible for welfare and a ban on welfare benefits to employable persons unless they were working or in training.

The problems have grown for large cities. A February 1970 survey by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare showed that more than 15 percent of the Boston population was on welfare. In New York City, more than 13 percent of the residents were getting welfare checks.

Nationally, 5.7 percent of the population received public assistance payments in February 1970. The rate was 8.6 percent in the central cities or counties in which the central cities are located.

New York City Mayor John Lindsay (R) Feb. 24 filed a lawsuit against the federal and state governments to have mandated welfare costs declared unconstitutional. Under existing law, the city was required to pay $549-million to welfare recipients in fiscal 1971 and $600-million for fiscal 1972. Lindsay said the welfare expenses would bankrupt the city.

House Ways and Means Committee

A crucial factor in the outcome on welfare legislation is the House Ways and Means Committee and its chairman, Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.). Mills was lukewarm in his support of the Administration's Family Assistance Plan when it first was proposed in 1969.

But after months of deliberation, the committee in March 1970 sent a bill (HR 16311) to the House floor which was similar to the Administration recommendation. Mills said he was concerned about the "runaway growth" in caseloads and costs under the AFDC program.

The bill passed the House April 16, 1970, by a 243-155 roll-call vote.

HR 16311, the Family Assistance Act of 1970, provided a $1,600 annual payment to a family of four with no income and scaled-down benefits to families with income up to $3,920. Recipients were required to register for work or training.

If the $1,600 federal payment was less than families were currently receiving, the states had to add to the federal money to bring the total up to present benefits. The federal government was to contribute 30 percent matching funds for the state supplement.

The bill failed to make it out of the Senate Finance Committee, although it had been revised to meet some of the objections of Senate committee members.

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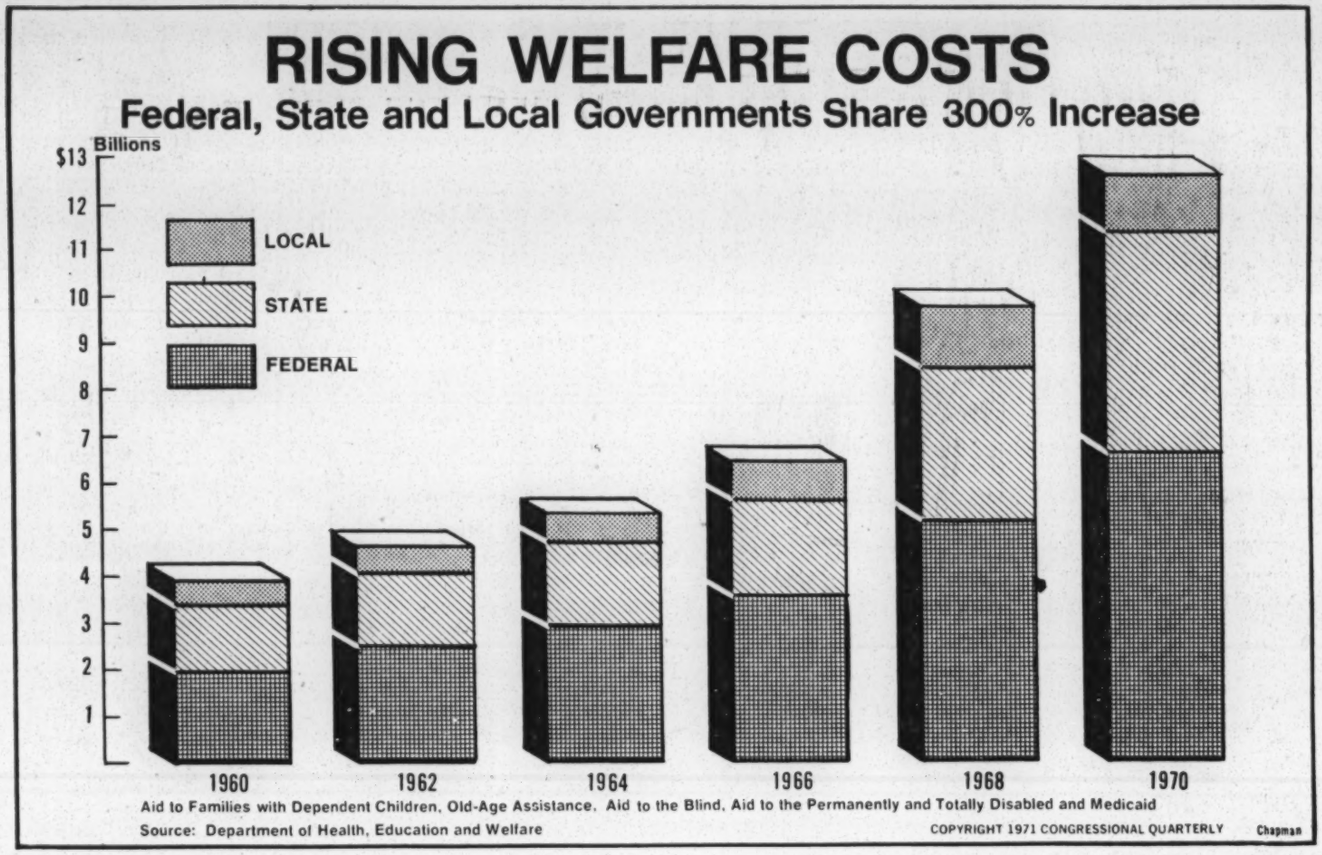

When the 92nd Congress convened, the first bill (HR 1) introduced in the House was a welfare-Social Security package. Sponsored by Mills and John Byrnes, HR 1 offered essentially the same welfare provisions passed by the House in 1970.

But the measure has been rewritten extensively by the committee. Federal benefits for poor families tentatively have been raised to $2,400, with food stamps eliminated. States do not have to supplement the $2,400, but if they do, the federal government will not offer any matching funds for the state share.

The working poor with incomes up to $4,320 would receive scaled-down payments. Persons in the adult welfare programs would be eligible for $150 monthly in the third year of the program; couples, $200. The federal government would gradually take over the total administration of the adult programs. The basic federal benefit for poor families would be handled by the federal government.

Although the bill was expected to clear the Ways and Means Committee after the Easter recess, the committee was divided over many of its features. Opposition came from both sides of the political spectrum.

Hugh L. Carey (D N.Y.) said states should be required to keep benefits at their present level, and future state costs should be limited to the fiscal 1971 totals (a "hold-harmless" clause). Without a hold-harmless provision, Carey argued, the increases in caseloads would eat up state savings.

With a $2,400 federal benefit, "some states would be bailed out, but the high caseload states would be left high and dry," Carey said. The slight relief that the high-cost states would gain, Carey said, would be wiped out within a year or two by rising costs.

Carey proposed two alternatives: have the federal government contribute to amounts paid by the states between $2,400 and the poverty level, or provide that no state need spend more than 90 percent of fiscal 1971 costs.

Carey has threatened to request a roll call on every amendment when the bill comes before the committee for a final vote. "I want to see some of the guys from big states vote on a roll call for this kind of bill," he said.

Another member of the committee who has reservations about the tentative bill is Sam Gibbons (D Fla.). In 1970, Gibbons suggested that Congress convert the food stamp program to cash payments and add the amounts to the family assistance payment.

The idea was accepted by the Administration late in the year. The Administration recommended that the stamps be phased out in favor of a $2,200 cash payment. But the original plan envisioned a $1,600 payment, plus $860 worth of food stamps. If food stamps had been "cashed-out" for a higher payment in 1970, Gibbons said, the total cash payment should have been $2,460.

Taking into consideration the effects of inflation, Gibbons added, the benefit currently should be at least $2,600, rather than the $2,400 in the tentative bill.

Gibbons said welfare recipients should not be required to take jobs paying less than the minimum wage. The committee proposal set a $1.20-an-hour minimum wage.

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A committee member, Omar Burleson (D Texas), objected that the bill is "down the road of no return to a guaranteed annual income." Burleson, who voted against the Family Assistance Plan in 1970, said welfare payments would be raised every few years if the plan were accepted.

The federal government should return federal tax dollars to the states equivalent to their welfare costs, Burleson said, and leave the program to the states to run.

Committee opponents of the bill doubted that they had enough votes to change it substantially before it goes to the House floor.

"I don't think there are six people on that committee who think that poor people are getting a setback in this bill," said James C. Corman (D Calif.).

"Welfare reform should mean fewer hungry people," Corman said. "I'm afraid we are going to leave much of that decision to the states." The most he could hope for, Corman said, was that the committee would provide federal matching funds as incentives to states to raise benefits up to existing levels or the poverty standard (about $3,700).

Other House Proposals

The Ways and Means Committee bill is scheduled to go before the House under a closed rule which means that no amendments can be offered. Mills has used the procedure in the past, and committee members said they were sure it would be done with HR 1.

Despite their slim chance for substituting other proposals or amending HR 1, other House members have introduced welfare legislation. The bills and other House actions include:

REACH. A member of the Ways and Means Committee, Al Ullman (D Ore.) has offered his own welfare plan, the Rehabilitation and Employment Assistance and Child Care Act (HR 6004). Ullman said his bill would provide "all the necessary services and incentives to get people off the welfare rolls and into meaningful jobs."

The major feature of the Ullman bill is the classification of welfare applicants into employable and unemployable. Those judged able to work by the Department of Labor would be placed in jobs or training. They would not receive welfare but, if in training, would get a training allowance based on 40 percent of the average wage in the state and training expenses. The unemployable would receive public assistance.

The bill would establish a Federal Child Care Corporation to operate a 100-percent federally financed child care program and would create 200,000 new public service jobs.

The fundamental idea of his bill, Ullman said, was to split welfare applicants into the two categories of those who could work and those who could not and make training or job placement of the employable a federal responsibility.

"You can't go both ways at once," Ullman said, "You can't go the route of cash payments and still get people back to work. We don't have the resources for both at once."

Adequate Income Act of 1971 (HR 6729). Eleven members of the Black Caucus, led by Charles B. Rangel (D N.Y.), introduced HR 6729 on April 6. The plan to provide an annual payment of $6,500 to poor families was sponsored by the National Welfare Rights Organization. The welfare rights group proposed a $5,500 benefit in 1970 but raised the figure to $6,500 to reflect increases in the cost of living, it said.

Under the bill, eligibility would be based solely on need, participants in the plan would be able to retain one-third of earned income and still receive payments, and a family would be eligible for benefits until income reached slightly under $10,000.

Opposition to Committee Bill. Thirty-one members of the House (four Republicans, 27 Democrats) signed an April 1 letter to Mills expressing concern with the lack of a requirement that states supplement the $2,400 benefit.

"This plan, in our opinion, provides inadequate financial relief for high benefit states," the members said. The 31 members asked that the bill:

- Provide federal support for state efforts to supplement the basic federal assistance payment.
- Guarantee that states not be required to spend more than current spending for family assistance.
- Guarantee that recipients be protected against cuts in benefits.

Senate Action

"The House sent us a basically bad bill" in 1970, Sen. Long told Congressional Quarterly. Long said he saw little difference between the 1970 bill and the latest proposal coming out of the Ways and Means Committee.

"If they don't send us a better one this year, I'm going to fight it," he said.

Long argued that if Congress accepted the Family Assistance Plan the benefits eventually would have to rise to the poverty level and as many as 59 million persons would be eligible for welfare. With benefits at that level, he said, the added cost to the federal government would be $30-billion.

The Finance Committee would be willing to spend "a lot more money on the poor if we're moving in the right direction," Long said. "I'm willing to help anyone who cannot work and help them generously."

Long objected, however, to welfare payments for persons who can work. About 95 percent of the children in the aid to dependent children program have fathers capable of supporting them, he said. "I'd always feed those children and find some way to care for them," he said. "But the starting point is to find their fathers." Fathers who desert their families or will not support them should have their wages garnished to provide money for their families, he said.

The work requirements in the 1970 bill were "mere window-dressing," Long said, put in the bill "for the purpose of misleading moderates and conservatives" who wanted a strong work requirement.

Long charged that the Administration approach was to put a man on welfare, "then urge him to work and then give him 1,000 excuses not to." One way to solve the welfare problem, he said, would be to provide emergency assistance and a sustenance program for people unable to work and to subsidize the working poor.

"I'm in favor of making work more attractive than welfare," Long said.

He has set no dates for hearings on welfare legislation. He was waiting, he said, for the House committee to finish work on its bill. ✓

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WELFARE: HEAVY LOBBYING FOR CHANGE IN COSTLY SYSTEM

Advocates of changing the nation's welfare system are trying to work out a common strategy to get a bill through the 92nd Congress. Their problem is how to compromise on what they all want in the bill.

About 20 organizations have been meeting together since December 1970 in a loosely knit coalition. Their aim is to prevent a repeat of 1970 when the Administration's Family Assistance Plan (FAP) and other welfare proposals stalled in the Senate in the 91st Congress.

The organizations all believe that the $10-billion welfare system needs overhauling. Most agree that the President's proposal for a guaranteed minimum income for poor families moves in the right direction.

The leading opponent of the Family Assistance Plan is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The chamber, which objects to the guaranteed minimum income concept, does not work with the coalition.

The coalition includes such widely diverse groups as the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Each organization has its own major goal. They admit that their different objectives may hamper their effectiveness as a working coalition.

The National Welfare Rights Organization is fighting for a $6,500 minimum income for poor families. The AFL-CIO insists that welfare recipients be paid at least $1.60 an hour and be given suitable protections if they are required to take jobs. States, counties and cities are looking for relief from skyrocketing welfare budgets.

Pressure is building from some of the groups for federalization of the welfare system.

Despite their objections to different features of the Family Assistance Plan, the organizations want a welfare bill passed in the 92nd Congress. They believe political pressure for change is so strong that Congress will have to act.

The Family Assistance Plan guarantees a minimum annual income of $1,600 for poor families and includes the working poor in the benefit system. Welfare recipients would be required to take jobs or training to be eligible for the payments.

The Administration bill passed the House April 16, 1970, by a 243-155 roll-call vote. But it ran into trouble in the Senate Finance Committee where it was opposed by both liberals and conservatives. The liberals wanted higher benefit levels and protection for recipients against stringent work requirements. Conservatives argued that the work incentives and work requirements were not strong enough. They said that 12 million persons could be added to welfare rolls by including the working poor in the program.

The battle is being re-fought in 1971. The House Ways and Means Committee has been holding closed-door sessions since January on a revised version of the Administration's Family Assistance Plan (HR 1).

References. *Senate action on the Family Assistance Plan, Weekly Report p. 4; Senate Finance Committee, 1970 Weekly Report p. 2852; House passage, p. 1103.*

The Coalition

Welfare change supporters hope they can help prevent a recurrence of the 1970 action. "There wasn't a group out there working," when the bill was before the Senate, said Ralph Tabor of the National Association of Counties (NACO). Many of the organizations were going their own way.

NACO decided enough groups had a mutual interest in getting a bill passed for them to be able to work together.

"We learned a lot last year," Tabor said. "Now we know better where our efforts have to be directed."

The National Association of Counties, the National Governors Conference and the National League of Cities-U.S. Conference of Mayors had occasional meetings. Then NACO took the lead in calling together about 10 groups to meet weekly. Their aim: to pool intelligence about their positions and their activities.

The list of organizations grew as the initial 10 suggested other groups which might be interested in attending or the groups themselves contacted NACO when they heard about the meetings. Close to 20 organizations now send representatives from time to time to the meetings.

The groups attending include: Common Cause (successor to the Urban Coalition Action Council), National League of Cities, National Governors Conference, National Welfare Rights Organization, AFL-CIO, League of Women Voters, National Rehabilitation Association, National Association of Social Workers, American Jewish Committee, Goodwill Industries, National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, National Conference of Catholic Charities, National Association of Manufacturers, American Vocational Association, Center for Community Change, Committee for Economic Development, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and American Public Welfare Association.

One major participant in the meetings is John Montgomery, assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and director of the HEW Family Planning Assistance Office. Montgomery briefs the group on developments within the Administration and on Capitol Hill.

The reception to Administration proposals on the bill is not always friendly. One HEW official said, "You think when you go to these meetings, that it's sure nice to be among friends. Then the next time, you get cut to pieces."

Wait and See

Tabor said the group was waiting to see what kind of bill was reported by the House Ways and Means Committee before deciding whether the organizations could agree

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on what they wanted. The groups want to see what the bill will contain.

"Right now each organization is trundling its own buggy," said Joseph Parks, an HEW assistant to Montgomery. "As long as the bill is in committee, there is really no possibility of developing a common strategy."

"We'll strive to improve whatever comes out of Ways and Means," said Common Cause official Jack Moskowitz.

Lobbyists for the organizations are quick to point out that their impact on what kind of bill emerges may be limited and that their efforts are directed as much to the public and their memberships as to Congress.

Moskowitz said the broad aim of Common Cause was to provide the public with enough information on the legislation to mobilize nationwide support for welfare change. Common Cause has been trying to organize its members in congressional districts so that they can make their views known to their Representatives.

"Our attitude is that aside from bringing together experts and exchanging information, our efforts with Congress may be limited," Moskowitz said.

Work Requirement

Other groups could be more effective, he said, on those points in the bill which directly affected the interests of their memberships. He cited as an example the concern of the AFL-CIO and other labor groups over the work requirements in the bill. Welfare recipients would be required to take jobs or training or lose their benefits.

Labor groups believe their pressure helped convince the Ways and Means Committee to include "suitable work" provisions in the 1970 bill, similar to those in the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. Job assignments would have to take account of such elements of suitability as the degree of risk to the individual's health and safety, his physical fitness for the work, prior training, length of unemployment and distance from work.

The "suitability" clause was dropped from the bill on the House floor. "We were shocked when the House of Representatives deleted the requirement," Andrew J. Biemiller of the AFL-CIO told the Senate Finance Committee in August 1970. "The lack of protection for welfare recipients evidences a callous disregard of the welfare and dignity of persons who will have to depend on family assistance," he said.

At its annual conference on February 15, 1971, the AFL-CIO executive council said the Administration's bill needed "substantial improvement" before the AFL-CIO could support its enactment. The council said a new welfare program should provide a national minimum welfare payment of no less than the government-defined poverty level ($3,800 for an urban family of four).

Other objectives include job protection and minimum wage guarantees. "Requiring welfare recipients to take jobs below the Fair Labor Standards Act rate will make it all the more difficult for employed family heads now working at jobs paying substandard wages to improve their incomes," the executive council said.

An AFL-CIO spokesman said the union sought protection for state welfare office personnel who would be in danger of losing their jobs if the federal government assumed responsibility for the administration of welfare in every state.

Rising Welfare Caseloads

With welfare rolls rising by 200,000 persons a month, the impetus for changing the system is strong. The large welfare increase is in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program which would be replaced by the Family Assistance Plan. The AFDC program showed a one-month increase of 282,000 persons from October 1970 to November 1970. It was a record increase—40,000 higher than the September-to-October increase.

The total number of persons receiving AFDC payments currently is estimated at 9.4 million. Including persons receiving assistance under three other so-called "adult categories"—Aid to the Blind, Old-Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled—the total reaches about 12.2 million persons.

Since the President proposed his plan in August 1969, three million additional persons have started receiving welfare payments. The annual cost has risen by $1.7-billion.

Estimates for fiscal 1972 welfare spending total $10.3-billion for all the programs, with the state and local share expected to be $4.5-billion of the total.

In his January 1971 State of the Union message, President Nixon called the welfare system "a monstrous consuming outrage" for both the taxpayer and the welfare recipient. He placed welfare change high on his list of must legislation for the 92nd Congress.

The Opposition

When the President unveiled his Family Assistance Plan, many major organizations acclaimed its two principle features—a federally guaranteed minimum income and assistance for the working poor. Citizen, labor, civil rights and public interest groups argued that the $1,600 benefit level was too low, but they applauded many of the concepts in the plan.

One major exception was the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The chamber objected that the plan would increase welfare rolls to almost 24 million persons.

"Adding 14 million more people to the relief rolls and guaranteeing a minimum family income," said chamber vice president Arch N. Booth, "is not the way to clean up the monumental welfare mess."

Chamber officials said the organization supported some features of the Family Assistance Plan. "One of our most serious disagreements is bringing in the working poor."

Congressional action committees were formed by the chamber in congressional districts. The chamber encouraged the committee members to let their Representatives know their positions on welfare change.

Chamber officials were worried at the beginning of the year that the Ways and Means Committee was going to rush a welfare bill to the House floor early in the session. The chamber wanted the committee to hold public hearings on the welfare provisions.

"Businessmen have a timely opportunity," a chamber newsletter said in February, "to inform their Representatives of their great concern that the welfare bill may again be pushed through the House hastily without adequate consideration."

(Continued on p. 621)

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(Continued from p.619)

Members were urged to contact their Representatives on the Ways and Means Committee to consider splitting welfare into two issues, one dealing with the problems in the AFDC program and the other with the guaranteed income features of the Family Assistance Plan.

Another move the chamber had been pushing was separation of the Social Security provisions of HR 1 from the welfare plan.

Supporters of welfare change were not so sure they wanted the two split off from each other. They speculated that welfare reform had a better chance of passing with the help of the more popular Social Security benefit increases.

Another group which expressed early opposition to Family Assistance was the American Conservative Union. The proposal would make "welfare more comfortable when it should be made less comfortable—(and) more respectable, more of a 'right' when it should be made less of a 'right,'" the organization said.

Other Objections

Lobbying from other groups on the measure began to build up slowly. Objections to features of the bill began to appear during fall 1969 hearings by the House Ways and Means Committee.

Bernard F. Hillenbrand, executive director of the National Association of Counties, complained that while counties were "the cutting edge of social problems," the Administration proposal gave no recognition to "the county crisis in welfare." He said clarification of the Administration proposal was badly needed.

Ozzie Edwards, president of the National Federation of Social Service Employees, said the plan was based on work, but most poor were unable to work. He said the proposal purported to be a means of strengthening families but that it forced mothers to leave their children for training or jobs.

New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R), testifying for the National Governors Conference, praised the President's bill as possibly "the most significant federal domestic legislation put forth in a generation." But he said the welfare program ought to become 100 percent federally financed within three to five years.

The bill went to the House floor April 16, 1970, under a closed rule which prevented any amendments from being offered. The next target of the lobbyists was the Senate.

Administration Lobbying

Apart from the National Welfare Rights Organization which claimed it "zapped FAP" at the end of 1970, the welfare lobbyists said much of the battle for the bill was fought out between the Administration and Senate liberals.

Many welfare change supporters believe the Administration was inept in its own lobbying by trying to win over Senate conservatives who were not going to support the bill anyway. At the same time, the Administration was losing liberal Senators who would have worked for the bill, the lobbyists said, if the Administration had agreed to some of their proposals.

Common Cause official Moskowitz said, "1970 was the time to pass the bill, but everything fell apart. The Administration confused everyone.

"The Administration has a political problem," Moskowitz said. "They're proposing a bill which many members of their own party hate."

Common Cause called a Dec. 3, 1970, meeting of businessmen, church groups and others supporting welfare change to meet with HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson. About 200 persons attended, Moskowitz said. At that meeting, Richardson announced Administration acceptance of seven out of 10 amendments to the Administration bill proposed by Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D Conn.) and Wallace F. Bennett (R Utah).

The Ribicoff-Bennett compromise never came to a vote when the Senate got into a parliamentary filibuster over a bill which contained some welfare provisions as well as import quotas and Social Security increases.

The bill provided for only a limited testing of the Family Assistance Plan with no date set for implementing the program nationwide. The Senate Finance Committee had had the Family Assistance Plan under consideration for almost seven months before rejecting it by a 10-6 committee vote on Nov. 20.

Two days before the vote, Eugene J. McCarthy (D Minn.—House 1949-59; Senate 1959-1970), a member of the Finance Committee, held his special hearing on the bill. The hearing was to allow welfare recipients to air their complaints about the bill, he said. The National Welfare Rights Organization said the Finance Committee had not allowed it to testify before the regularly scheduled hearings of the committee.

"No one in a position to vote on FAP had ever had a chance to hear what recipients thought of it," the welfare rights organization said.

Attending the special hearing were 23 welfare rights members, more than 300 welfare recipients, 10 Senators and representatives of the American Indian Organization, American Friends Service Committee, National Committee on Household Employment, National Urban League and other organizations.

The special hearings were "the major factor influencing the Senate Finance Committee to vote to kill the FAP the next day," the welfare rights organization claimed.

Not all of the welfare rights group's activities were welcomed by the other groups fighting for welfare change. One lobbyist said the organization had been destructive when the Administration was trying to win the support of Senate liberals at the end of 1970. Some of the organizations think the welfare group's demands were excessive; Congress will never accept a $6,500-benefit level or even $5,500, they reason.

The National Welfare Rights Organization is one of the youngest and most militant of the groups fighting for welfare change. Organized in the summer of 1967, the group has 125,000 members in 400 local affiliates in 48 states.

George A. Wiley, executive director of the organization, Feb. 15 denounced the Administration bill as "repressive." The bill would force mothers to work at "slave wage jobs," he said.

"People who think that Family Assistance is a foot in the door to welfare reform are being misled," Wiley said. If the bill passed, Wiley said, the non-working poor

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would never get grants raised to an adequate level, and the working poor would have their jobs undermined "because the forced work provisions without wage protections" would create a large supply of cheap labor.

Although the welfare rights group insists it wants the Family Assistance Plan defeated, the group participates in the meetings called by the National Association of Counties.

"We want to spend time with anyone willing to listen to our position," said one organization staff member. He said the organization wanted other groups, members of Congress and the public to understand their objections to the bill. Grants would be cut for 450,000 families, a welfare rights official said, and minimum wage protection would not be provided. The bill provides too little money for too few people, he said.

Federalizing Welfare

"I'm perfectly willing to have the government take over most if not all of the cost of welfare programs," said Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.) in an interview in the March 15 *U.S. News and World Report.* Mills said he would have no objection to a plan for the federal government to assume the cost of the three adult welfare programs.

Under the Family Assistance Plan, the basic $1,600 would be financed 100 percent by the federal government, but states would be required to supplement the payment so that no recipient received less than he was currently receiving.

Federalization of welfare administration and expenses is not a new idea but one which has gained currency in 1971. It may become a central issue in the 1971 welfare debate. Mills is reported to view the proposal as an alternative to the President's proposed $5-billion general revenue-sharing plan which he opposes. States and localities would be given fiscal relief for their hard-pressed budgets.

Under the existing system, the federal government pays from 50 percent to 70 percent of public assistance. The percentage of federal funds depends on state per capita income. The poorer the state, the higher the federal assistance.

The National Governors Conference has been on record since 1969 for substitution, on a phased basis, of a federally financed system of welfare payments for the current federal-state program for the adult category programs and AFDC. The governors conference proposed that eligibility and grants be determined by the federal government, with the system administered under federal guidelines.

The AFL-CIO advocates having the federal government both administer the system and pay all the costs. "Federalization of the welfare program should be achieved as quickly as possible," said the AFL-CIO executive council in February.

The most recent proposal on federalizing welfare has come from the Center for Community Change, an organization established to aid local groups of poor people. The center circulated a memorandum to the Ways and Means Committee and outside organizations proposing a single federal system of benefits with uniform national eligibility standards. Staging of federal takeover of welfare costs would begin on July 1, 1972, with the government providing $2,450 and working up to 100 percent federal financing at the poverty level by July 1, 1976.

Common Cause, the United Auto Workers and the AFL-CIO endorsed a similar plan on March 9. Common Cause and the Center for Community Change have close links. Jack T. Conway, president of the center since December 1968, was named president of Common Cause on March 2. ✓

LOBBY PROPOSAL CRITICIZED

A proposed new lobby registration measure sponsored by leaders of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct was criticized March 16 as providing overkill and possibly infringing on constitutional rights.

The criticism came from George B. Mickum III on behalf of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia. He was one of several witnesses at a one-day hearing on the bill (HR 5259) cosponsored by Chairman Melvin Price (D Ill.) and ranking Republican Jackson E. Betts of Ohio. A scheduled second day was canceled in the absence of further requests to appear. Price said hearings may resume later. *(1970 Weekly Report p. 2576)*

Other witnesses included W. Pat Jennings, Clerk of the House. He repeated his earlier position that any change in the lobby law should retain the administration of the law in his office and in that of the Secretary of the Senate, keeping "the regulation of lobbying under the full control of Congress." Jennings recommended a two-year limitation on public inspection of lobby registration reports—a provision contained in the 1946 law.

The Legislative Activities Disclosure Act introduced by Price and Betts would switch administrative responsibility to the Comptroller General. It would repeal the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946 and replace it with what Price called "a completely new body of law."

While Jennings advocated that lobby functions be kept in his office, Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats testified that his office would accept the responsibility but would not seek it. He stipulated that he favored transfer of enforcement to the Comptroller General only under the provision that he would be acting "as an agent for the Congress."

Mickum praised the sponsors' intentions but differed with several provisions of the bill. "At times, the bill's requirements seem to us to abridge or suppress basic constitutional rights and, in some of its aspects, we fear that it will impair the ability of Congress to acquire information appropriate to its legislative function," Mickum testified.

He said "some provisions of the bill require much more than the Congress needs to have under its 'right to know' and in imposing formidable burdens of record-keeping, reporting, and filing statements may be inconsistent with the First Amendment...."

Mickum said the bill contained ambiguities and loopholes. He questioned some of the definitions of who should be covered. He said in some cases the bill seemed to include too many people while in others it left out persons who should be covered.

"Under the bill," Mickum said, "any person 'who effects the solicitation, orally or in writing, of other persons or groups of persons to influence legislation' is subject to the bill." This might mean that demonstrators, for example, were required to register, he said. ✓

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WELFARE REFORM: DISAPPOINTMENT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION

President Nixon's major welfare reform proposal—the Family Assistance Plan—died in the Senate in 1970 after it was caught in controversy between liberals and conservatives on the Senate Finance Committee.

The impasse was cited by Mr. Nixon as one of his greatest disappointments in the 91st Congress.

The plan would have guaranteed a Federal payment of $1,600 a year to a family of four with no income. Families with earnings—the so-called "working poor"—also would have been eligible for payments, but on a decreasing scale, until the earnings reached $3,920 a year.

To be eligible for the payments, the head of the family had to register for work or training. States were expected to save on their mounting welfare costs because of the guaranteed Federal floor of $1,600.

After easy passage in the House in April, the measure stalled in the Senate Finance Committee. Many liberals on the Committee complained that the benefit payments in the bill were too low and its work requirements too harsh, while conservatives argued that the plan was too costly.

The Committee Nov. 20 by a 10-6 vote rejected the plan and approved only a limited test run of the proposal. An effort was made on the Senate floor in December to substitute a compromise version of the original Administration bill which was acceptable to liberals. But welfare reform had been tied by the Senate Finance Committee into a conglomerate bill (HR 17550) with Social Security and foreign trade provisions. *(p. 1042, 1051)*

The bill was filibustered for the last two weeks of December by opponents of the trade provisions and supporters of the compromise Family Assistance proposal who wanted to block passage of the Committee's test run provisions. After it became apparent that no agreement could be reached on the conglomerate bill in the last days of the session, the bill was dropped for the 91st session.

When the plan was proposed by the President in a nationally-televised statement in August 1969, it was widely acclaimed as a new approach to welfare. The existing welfare system with spiraling costs and increasing numbers of recipients was unpopular with the states and cities which had to administer the programs. Welfare recipients complained of inadequate state benefits and discriminatory treatment. *(1969 Almanac p. 833)*

President Nixon called his proposal the most significant piece of legislation since enactment of Social Security in 1935 (PL 74-271). By entitling the working poor to benefits, the Family Assistance Plan was expected to add as many as 12 million recipients to welfare rolls. Federal costs could increase by $4.4 billion, the Administration estimated. States were expected to save between 10 percent and 30 percent on their skyrocketing welfare costs.

When the plan was rejected by the Senate Finance Committee, the Administration made a last-ditch effort to save the bill on the Senate floor by agreeing to a set of compromises proposed by Senate liberals. After the Senate failed to act on the bill, the President said enactment of the plan would be his major legislative goal in 1971.

Background

A Nixon task force on public welfare recommended to the President-elect on January 12, 1969, that major changes be made in the welfare system. The nine-man task force, headed by Richard P. Nathan of Brookings Institution, called for the Federal Government to assume a much greater share of welfare costs and to impose national minimum standards of payments to the poor. *(1969 Almanac p. 833)*

Although the Administration was reported to be readying a bill for Congress that spring, the actual proposal was not made by the President until Aug. 8 and a draft bill did not go to Capitol Hill until early October, 1969. *(Text of Nixon message, 1969 Almanac p. 69-A, 75-A)*

Momentum for reform had been building for years as the number of welfare recipients climbed higher and higher. Welfare costs, which were shared by local and state governments and the Federal Government, had soared as the number of recipients increased.

It took 25 years—from 1935 to 1960—for the Aid to Dependent Children program to reach the billion-dollar mark in cost. But in only seven more years, the program was costing an additional billion dollars. In 1968 alone, benefit costs rose by another half-billion dollars. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I p. 1225; Congress and the Nation Vol. II, p. 745)*

Public assistance programs provided aid to the blind, physically disabled, elderly poor and families with dependent children. Medical assistance for the needy was also provided through Medicaid. In addition, many states offered other types of welfare for which there was no Federal reimbursement—a category of aid called "general assistance."

All the programs operated in the same basic matter, except for general assistance. The states made monthly cash payments to eligible indigent persons, and the Federal Government reimbursed the states for part of their costs.

The Federal share was based on the average monthly payment in each state.

Changes had been made periodically in the Federal-state formulas for public assistance programs, with the Federal share increasing each time. In 1958, a partial sliding scale for matching was adopted, which varied the Federal reimbursement from state to state in accordance with each state's per-capita income. States with per-capita income lower than the national average received more favorable matching than state with per-capita income higher than the national average.

Under the old-age, blind and disabled programs, the Federal share in 1970 was $31 of the first $37 in payments. The Federal Government also paid 50 to 65 percent of the remaining state cost, with the percentage depending on state per-capita income. The lower the income, the higher the percentage paid by the Federal Government.

For Aid to Dependent Children, the Federal share was five-sixths of the first $18 for each recipient and 50 to 65 percent of the balance, with the percentage again depending on state per-capita income. The maximum Federal share for each recipient was $32.

Although the term "welfare" actually covered all the programs mentioned above, the program which had sparked the drive for action was Aid to Dependent Children. In 1958, this program cost a total of $815 million: the figure had climbed to $4.3 billion in 1969.

The cost was high because the number of persons participating in the program kept rising. From 1949 to 1959, the increase in recipients was one million; from 1959 to 1969, the increase was four million. In December 1969, 7.3 million persons—one or both parents and their children—were receiving such aid.

State welfare expenses. States and cities in 1970 were desperate for Federal help in meeting their welfare costs.

Under formulas in the Aid to Dependent Children program, they were receiving from 50-percent to 65-percent reimbursement from the Federal Government for welfare, based on the average payment per recipient in the state.

The highest average monthly payment per recipient in June 1970 was $73.30 in Minnesota for a family of four; $257.25 in Massachusetts. In Massachusetts, a single recipient of welfare received an average monthly payment of $70.85, second only to Minnesota in highest payments.

The South would have benefitted far more than any other region from the President's plan. Administration officials said that 50 percent of the families which would have come under Family Assistance would have been in the South. It was possible that, based on 1960 Census income figures, half of the population of Mississippi would have been eligible for welfare with the $3,920 cutoff figure in the Nixon plan.

An example from Tunica County in the Mississippi Delta demonstrated what the impact of the President's plan could have been in low-income southern areas.

According to 1960 census figures, Tunica County had a median family income of $1,260 which made it the poorest county in the United States. Of the county's 3,469 families, approximately 1,500 had incomes of less than $1,000 and, therefore, would have been eligible for the Federal minimum $1,600 Family Assistance payment.

But since families with incomes up to $3,920 would also have been eligible under Family Assistance to receive a portion of the $1,600 reduced by a percentage of their income, another 1,000 families in Tunica County could have become eligible. Thus, a total of about 2,500 families or more than three-fourths of the county population could have been eligible on the basis of income for Family Assistance payments of $1,600 or less.

In New York State, a welfare family with no income which in 1970 received $264.15 a month could not have expected any higher payment from the Nixon plan. The state was expected, however, to save at least 10 percent of its costs with the help of Family Assistance.

This saving was not enough, argued New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) and New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay (R). Welfare was the largest part of the budget in the city. In October 1970, there were 1,140,965 persons on welfare in New York City—one-seventh of the entire city population. The welfare caseload in New York City represented almost 10 percent of the entire caseload in the country—estimated at about 12.2 million in June 1970.

A September 1969 Federal report on the New York City welfare problem warned of even greater increases in welfare within the next five years. One of its projec-

Chronology

Aug. 8, 1969—President Nixon proposed Family Assistance Plan on nationwide television broadcast. *(1969 Almanac p. 833)*

Oct. 3—Plan introduced in Congress (HR 14173). *(1969 Almanac p. 833)*

Oct. 15—House Ways and Means Committee began hearings on HR 14173 and a proposal to increase basic Social Security benefits (HR 14080). *(1969 Almanac p. 834)*

Nov. 12—A Presidential Commission which had been appointed by the Johnson Administration recommended to President Nixon that impoverished families of four be guaranteed a $2,400 minimum annual income. *(1969 Almanac p. 840)*

Nov. 13—The House Ways and Means Committee concluded hearings on HR 14173. *(1969 Almanac p. 840)*

March 11, 1970—The House Ways and Means Committee reported a clean bill (HR 16311—H Rept 91-904). *(1970 Almanac p. 1032)*

April 16—The House passed HR 16311 on a 243-155 roll-call vote and sent it to the Senate. *(p. 1033)*

April 29—The Senate Finance Committee opened hearings on the bill. *(p. 1034)*

May 1—After hearings, the proposal was returned to the White House for redrafting. *(p. 1035)*

June 10—A revised plan was sent back to the Finance Committee. *(p. 1035)*

July 21—Hearings on the bill resumed and continued through September. *(p. 1035)*

Aug. 4—Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long (D La.) said Senate consideration of the bill would be postponed until November, after the elections. *(p. 1034)*

Aug. 28—President Nixon, attempting to hasten Senate action, said he would accept a compromise version proposed by Abraham A. Ribicoff (D Conn.). *(p. 1034)*

Oct. 8—The Finance Committee took a tentative vote on the plan and defeated it by 14-1. The Committee also rejected the Ribicoff plan. It then accepted a watered down version on a 9-3 vote. *(p. 1040)*

Nov. 20—The Committee took another set of votes, again rejecting the Administration proposal 10-6. *(p. 1040)*

Dec. 11—The Committee reported a conglomerate bill (HR 17550—S Rept 91-1431) including Family Assistance, Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid and foreign trade provisions. *(p. 1040)*

Dec. 16—The bill went to the Senate floor and proponents of the Ribicoff compromise version immediately attempted to amend the Committee bill. Their efforts were caught in a parliamentary tangle. *(p. 1041)*

Dec. 19—A Long motion to table the Ribicoff amendment was defeated on a 15-65 roll call. *(p. 1041)*

Dec. 28—The Senate returned from its Christmas recess and Long made a motion to recommit the bill to Committee with instructions to report back only the Social Security and Medicare-Medicaid sections. The Long motion was accepted by the Senate on a 49-21 roll call. *(p. 1041)*

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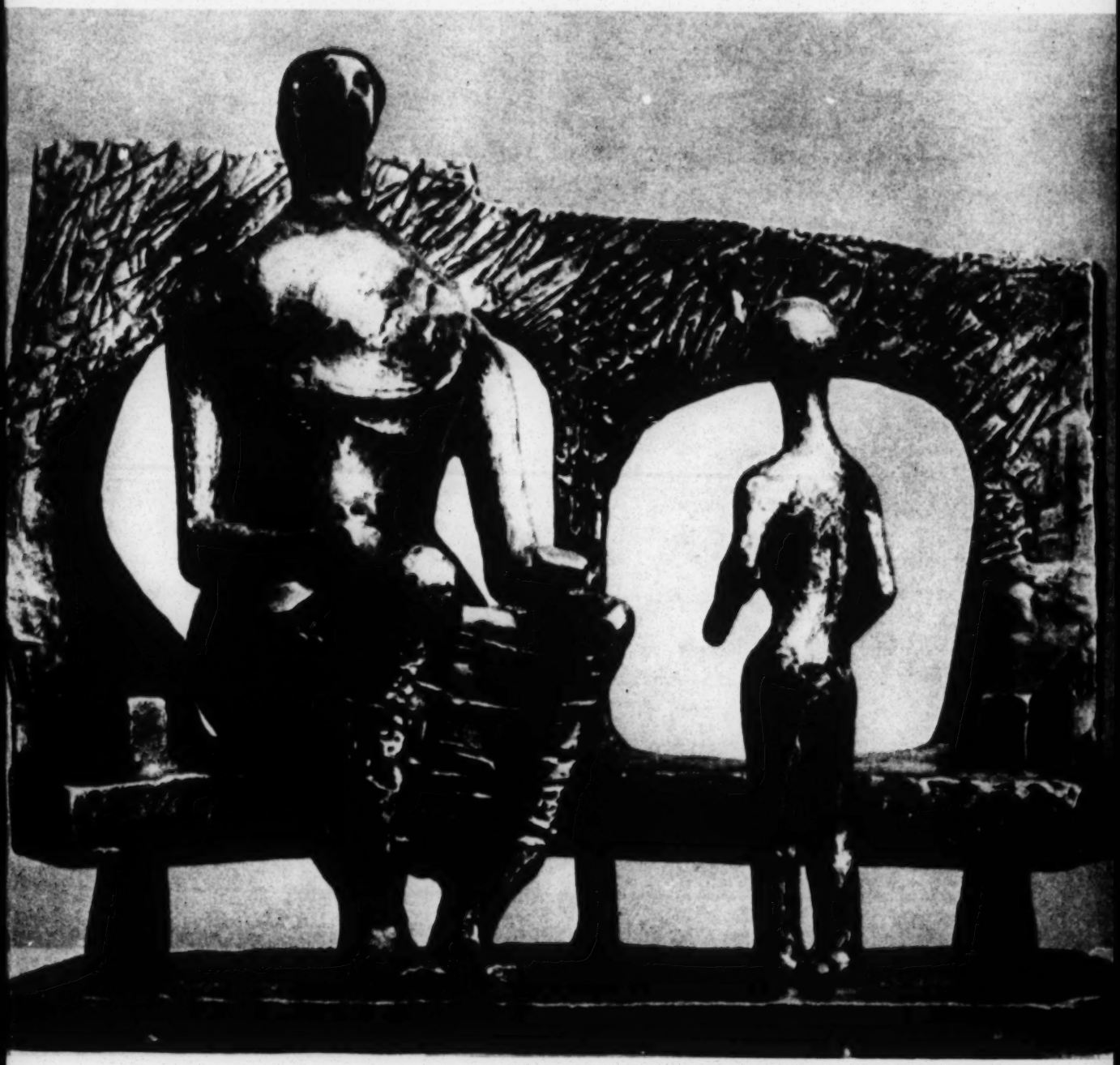


REFORMING WELFARE: THE CONSTRAINTS OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE CLIENTS

Joel F. Handler and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth

Reprint 66

Jun 14, 1971

COMING REVOLUTION IN WELFARE

A complete new approach to welfare is on its way through Congress. If the design holds, relief rolls will be opened to almost 26 million Americans.

A vast expansion of the "welfare state" in America is charted in a huge Social Security-public assistance-medicare-medicaid bill moving in Congress.

The 688-page bill—known as H.R. 1—is aimed by its sponsors at shifting more of the burden of welfare costs from States to the Federal Government, and at reducing relief rolls over the long haul through job training and work-registration requirements.

But immediate effects of the legislation would be to:

- Almost double the number of people eligible for welfare; about 26 million, including the "working poor," could qualify for cash payments. That would be 1 out of every 8 Americans.
- Establish—for the first time—the principle of a guaranteed annual income, paid by the Government to every poor family with children.
- Boost Social Security benefits by 5 per cent, the third hike within 2½ years, for an over-all rise of 33 per cent in old-age pensions.
- Raise payroll taxes on the working class by 56 per cent, or more, in the next four years—and higher in years to come—to pay for bigger Social Security and medicare benefits.
- Increase the cost of the total social-welfare package to federal taxpayers by nearly 12 billion dollars over current law in the first year the bill takes effect, and as much as 16.6 billion by fiscal 1976—the 12 months ending June 30 of that year.

92D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1

A BILL

To amend the Social Security Act to provide increases in benefits, improve computation methods, and raise the earnings base under the OASDI program, to make improvements in the medicare, medicaid, and maternal and child health programs with emphasis on improvements in their operating effectiveness, to authorize a family assistance plan providing basic benefits to low-income families with children with incentives for employment and training to improve the capacity for employment of members of such families, to achieve more uniform treatment of recipients under the Federal-State public assistance programs and otherwise improve such programs, and for other purposes.

By Mr. MILLS and Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin

JANUARY 22, 1971

Referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

Welfare explosion. In the background is this: At a time of general prosperity in the U. S.—with a trillion-dollar-a-year national economy—the number of people on the dole today is larger than the combined total on welfare and work relief at the peak of the Depression of the 1930s.

There has been a rapid escalation in welfare costs and case loads since the surge of "Great Society" domestic programs during the Johnson Administration. Welfare "reforms" enacted by Congress in 1962 and 1967 failed to curb the country's relief explosion.

In 1969, President Nixon called for a complete overhaul of the system, including a controversial Family Assistance Plan (FAP) with a guaranteed $1,600-a-year minimum income for a family of four. The House passed the Administration bill, but it bogged down under intense scrutiny in the Senate Finance Committee.

Now the House Ways and Means Committee, headed by Representative Wilbur Mills (Dem.), of Arkansas, has drafted H. R. 1, a substantially revised version, with a $2,400-a-year cash payment for a family of four. A welfare official noted: "This is a richer bill."

The Committee report says:

"The welfare system in the U. S. has been moving toward a state of crisis and chaos—to change its direction will be difficult. The purpose of this bill is to effect that change."

Opposition comes from a number of groups, including the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which is backing a substitute measure by Representative Al Ullman (Dem.), of Oregon. Stressing the "dangers of a guaranteed annual income," Mr. Ullman has warned:

"If we go down this road, you haven't seen anything yet. You open the Treasury to the working poor, and everybody starts playing the game."

The National Welfare Rights Organization—composed of unionized "welfare mothers"—is demanding a $6,500-a-year family income to start. The Administration figures this would cost taxpayers 75 billion dollars a year.

H.R. 1 is slated for a House vote before the end of June. Then it goes to the Senate. In its present form, this landmark legislation would make these changes in existing welfare programs:

Adult programs. Three adult categories of public assistance—aid to the aged, blind and disabled—would be consolidated into a single federal-aid program, effective July 1, 1972.

A new schedule of nationwide benefits, paid entirely by the Federal Government, would be established, with these cash payments:

Individuals—$130 a month beginning July 1, 1972; $140 a month on July 1, 1973, and $150 a month on July 1, 1974.

Couples—$195 a month July 1, 1972, and $200 a month after July 1, 1973.

Under present law, payments vary from State to State. In February, payments to individuals averaged $76.95 a month for the aged, $102.85 a month for the blind, and $96.20 a month for disabled persons. Benefits ranged from a low of $48.55 in South Carolina to a high of $178.75 in Alaska.

With higher federal benefits, the Health, Education and Welfare Department projects a rise in the number of eligibles from 3.1 million on the rolls in February to 6.2 million in the 1973 fiscal year and 7.2 million by 1976.

One HEW analyst observed:

"We will add a whole new bunch of recipients. We will pick up a lot of the Social Security population, whose retirement benefits do not match the welfare payments."

Also, disability rolls have been rising under a relaxed definition of what con-

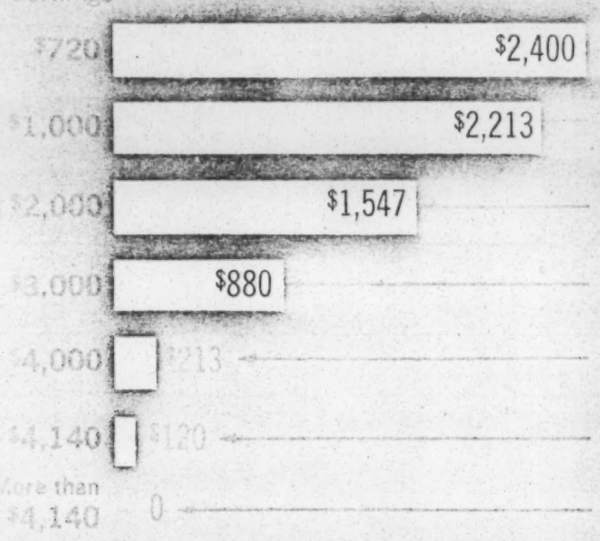
FAMILY ALLOWANCES UNDER LATEST PLAN IN CONGRESS

As approved by the House Ways and Means Committee

Family Size	A family with out earnings could get this much federal aid each year	But federal aid would stop when family earnings exceed this amount
2 persons (mother or father and 1 child)	$1,600	$2,940
3 persons (2 parents and 1 child, or 1 parent and 2 children)	$2,000	$3,540
4 persons	$2,400	$4,140
5 persons	$2,800	$4,740
6 persons	$3,100	$5,190
7 persons	$3,400	$5,640
8 persons or more	$3,600	$5,940

FEDERAL AID WOULD DROP AS INCOME RISES

Example: The 4-Person Family



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stitutes "disability" for purposes of getting on relief.

The HEW spokesman explained:

"Drug addicts and alcoholics are considered disabled, and eligible for assistance in some States. All you have to do in New York is to show that you're a drug addict, and you're on relief."

Family programs. The fastest-rising—and most controversial—part of the entire welfare system is that category known as Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC).

Since Mr. Nixon proposed his revolutionary FAP in 1969, the number of AFDC recipients has jumped by 3.4 million to a total of nearly 10 million.

The Committee report on H.R. 1 says: "The AFDC program is now completely out of control." More than 80 per cent of AFDC children are in homes where one parent is missing—usually the father.

The House bill would abolish AFDC, effective July 1, 1972, and replace it with these two new "family programs":

OFP: Welfare and "working poor" families, in which at least one person is found to be employable, would be assigned to the Opportunities for Families Program, run by the Labor Department.

FAP: Families with no potential employables would remain under HEW, in a new agency called Family Assistance Administration.

Benefits. A new schedule of uniform, nationwide benefits—in effect, a guaranteed annual income—would be paid by the Federal Government to all poor families with children.

The "working poor," now excluded from welfare rolls, would become eligible on Jan. 1, 1973. The same benefits would be paid to those enrolled under both OFP and FAP.

Cash payments would be computed on this basis: $800 a year for each of the first two members of a family; $400 each for the next three; $300 each for the next two, and $200 for the eighth member of an eligible family.

At this point, there would be a cut-off in support—no welfare benefits for additional children in a poor family beyond eight members, including the adults.

This would mean a payment for a family of four of $2,400 a year, 50 per cent more than Mr. Nixon's original FAP. However, an $860 food-stamp allowance would be eliminated and converted into the cash payment.

Services. In addition, H.R. 1 provides for extensive services to poor families, including:

- 750 million dollars at the outset to pay for day-care services for 875,000 children, including 50 million dollars a year for construction of child-care facilities with the Federal Government paying 100 per cent of the costs.
- 150 million dollars to start—and higher amounts in subsequent years—for payments to States for foster care of welfare children placed in private homes.
- 800 million dollars to the States for social services to poor families, including family planning, with the Federal Government paying 75 per cent of costs.
- 540 million dollars to create 225,000 new job-training slots for relief recipients, with the Federal Government paying the entire cost.
- 800 million dollars a year to pay for 200,000 "public-service jobs" with State and local governments, or nonprofit organizations. The Federal Government would pay 100 per cent of the wage in the first year, 75 per cent in the second and 50 per cent in the third.
- 100 million dollars for support services, such as minor medical care, transportation and other expenses.

Case load. The Committee report on H.R. 1—based on HEW estimates—shows that 19.4 million people would be eligible for family assistance in the 1973 fiscal year, compared with about 10 million on AFDC rolls in February, 1971.

HEW would screen all applicants before assigning them either to OFP under Labor or FAP at HEW. Of the 19.4 million potential eligibles, HEW estimates:

- 14 million would go to OFP.
- 5.4 million would be under FAP.

Out of the 14 million on OFP, about 7 million are said to be "working poor," those whose earnings do not exceed the proposed federal welfare payments.

Roughly, 70 per cent of those covered by family payments would be children. The number of employable adults is es-

(continued on next page)

WELFARE REVOLUTION

[continued from preceding page]

timated at 2.8 million—1.6 million who head "working poor" families, 1.2 million who head welfare families.

Of families eligible for aid, about 62 per cent would be whites, and 38 per cent nonwhites. In terms of recipients, about one third of the total black population of 22 million in the U. S. would be eligible for income support.

Costs. The Committee estimates that combined federal-State costs of the revised welfare program would run 18.4 billion dollars in the 1973 fiscal year.

In addition, recipients would get about 8 billion dollars in free medical care under the medicaid program, for an over-all cost of 26.4 billion dollars.

Also, States now pay the entire costs of a general-assistance program, running around a billion dollars a year.

Labor program. Government officials acknowledge that H.R. 1 would put the Labor Department in the welfare business in a big way. An additional Assistant Secretary of Labor and staff would be created to handle OFP.

The Department would be required to provide child care, health protection, vocational rehabilitation, family planning, social services, job training and employment opportunities for registrants.

Any applicant found to be potentially employable would have to register for work, job training or vocational rehabilitation as a condition of receiving family-assistance payments.

If an eligible breadwinner failed to register, the family allowance would be reduced by $800, but the rest of the family benefits would not be cut off.

Welfare mothers would be required to work or take job training if their children are over 6 years old, or above the age of 3 beginning in 1974—but only if day-care facilities are available.

The House Committee found that 5 million mothers with children under age 6 are working now, and more than half of all mothers with children aged 6 to 17 are in the labor force. The Committee report said:

"It seemed to your Committee that to require such women to support out of taxes on their earnings those mothers who choose not to work, but to live on public monies, would be inequitable in the extreme."

Children in a welfare family would not be required to register if they are under age 16, or up to age 22 if they are students regularly attending school.

Family members found incapacitated because of drug abuse or alcoholism would be denied benefits, unless they take remedial treatment at Government expense in approved institutions.

Another exemption: any otherwise eligible person who "is needed in the home on a continuous basis because of illness or incapacity of another family member."

To qualify for aid, [illegible] have "countable resources" [illegible] $1,500.

Excluded would be the value, [illegible] "reasonable amount," of a home, [illegible] hold goods, and "other property essential to the family's self-support."

In the case of welfare recipients assigned to work or job training:

- The first $720 in earnings would be "disregarded" as work-related expenses in computing family income for benefit payments. Also, any costs of child care could be deducted.
- Beyond that, the working member of a family could keep $1 out of every $3 earned, up to a specified "breakout point" depending on the size of the family, without losing all welfare benefits. How this would operate is shown in the chart on page 31.

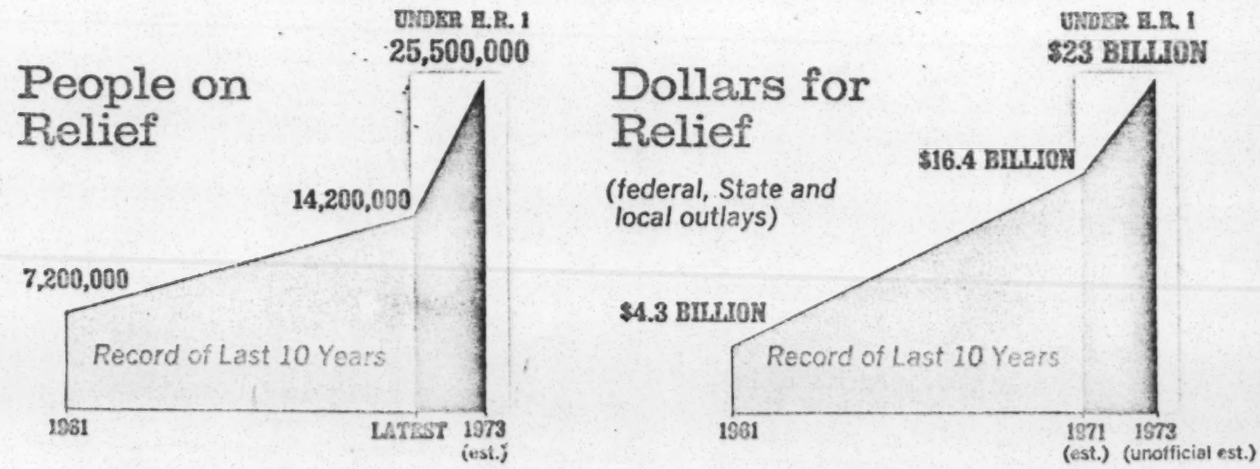
In calculating its earnings, a family could exclude: one third of payments for alimony or child support, money used to pay for child care, aid received on a basis of need from public or private agencies, home produce, student earnings, and funds received for foster care.

- For recipients in job training, there would be a $30-a-month "incentive allowance," on top of the basic family benefit, plus cash payments for necessary costs of transportation and other "similar expenses."

Job-training features are similar to the

(continued on next news page)

WELFARE'S BIGGEST BOOM STILL AHEAD?



If H. R. 1 — a House bill overhauling the welfare system — is enacted into law, in 1973 nearly 1 out of every 8 Americans will be collecting relief payments. Welfare costs by then would be more than five times as big as those of just 12 years earlier.

NOTE: 1973 relief costs exclude number of programs — such as food stamps, child-care centers and job programs — that heretofore have not been counted as welfare. These programs in 1973 would add up to 4.4 billion dollars in cost.

Basic data: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare; House Ways and Means Committee

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LFARE REVOLUTION

[continued from page 32]

WIN (Work Incentive) program enacted by Congress in 1967. WIN provided a $30 training bonus, plus retained earnings from employment.

The Senate Finance Committee found last year that 25 per cent of the relief recipients referred for job training under WIN dropped out without good cause. Many returned to welfare again. In some States, the Committee said, WIN had a "zero record" in terms of getting people off relief rolls.

A Government official said:

"The WIN program was destroyed by social workers, who referred people for job training only if they considered it 'appropriate.' Under the new bill, no longer will they have this discretion.

"With money for training slots, day-care centers, and strong backing from Congress for practical on-the-job training, we should be able to do better."

Labor force. Business analysts predict that the legislation may have a profound effect on the labor force, income and wage structure in the nation.

The Committee report says that in 22 States the proposed $2,400 federal benefit would mean an increase in relief payments now being made to a family of four. Fifteen of those States are in the South and Border regions.

At the $1,600-a-year level first proposed by the Nixon Administration, the Senate Finance Committee found last year that the number of people eligible for welfare would rise from 5 to 12 per cent of the total population, and that in 16 States more than 15 per cent of the people would be eligible.

Chairman Russell Long (Dem.), of Louisiana, claimed that "one third of the people in Mississippi would be on welfare." How the relief population would be distributed by regions of the country is shown in the chart on page 36.

Millions of workers engaged as domestics, farm laborers, in service trades or as blue-collar workers would be brought up, overnight, to Government-guaranteed income levels which would range from $1,600 a year to $3,600 a year, with fringe benefits.

The chart on this page shows how welfare rolls might rise by States.

Welfare recipients could not be assigned to jobs paying less than three fourths of the federal minimum wage, or $1.20 an hour under present law, and $1.50 an hour if the minimum wage is raised to $2 an hour.

(continued on next page)

HOW YOUR STATE'S RELIEF ROLLS WOULD GROW UNDER HOUSE BILL

The number of people eligible for welfare payments under federally financed programs would double by 1973 under a bill approved by the House Ways and Means Committee. For an idea of how each State's rolls would rise—

	People collecting welfare		
	Latest	In 1973 Under House Plan	Percentage Increase
Alabama	300,400	761,900	154%
Alaska	12,400	25,300	104%
Arizona	83,400	163,200	96%
Arkansas	131,400	404,500	208%
California	2,051,800	2,444,400	19%
Colorado	136,100	190,600	40%
Connecticut	112,700	200,200	78%
Delaware	30,300	58,500	93%
D.C.	72,400	144,900	100%
Florida	343,900	917,600	167%
Georgia	391,600	961,000	145%
Hawaii	36,800	63,000	71%
Idaho	25,100	52,400	109%
Illinois	565,400	959,400	70%
Indiana	137,200	355,400	159%
Iowa	102,100	241,700	137%
Kansas	88,600	234,100	164%
Kentucky	221,300	621,000	181%
Louisiana	396,900	823,700	108%
Maine	66,700	131,000	96%
Maryland	187,000	388,500	108%
Massachusetts	331,200	536,300	62%
Michigan	516,000	841,700	63%
Minnesota	133,400	346,100	159%
Mississippi	244,900	626,300	156%
Missouri	293,200	555,500	89%
Montana	24,300	51,800	113%
Nebraska	50,100	124,300	148%
Nevada	18,900	37,800	100%
New Hampshire	19,000	49,100	158%
New Jersey	451,400	603,300	34%
New Mexico	76,200	144,100	89%
New York	1,431,000	2,067,200	44%
North Carolina	216,400	821,600	280%
North Dakota	18,200	58,400	221%
Ohio	429,400	928,700	116%
Oklahoma	203,400	400,700	97%
Oregon	119,600	203,500	70%
Pennsylvania	657,100	1,267,500	93%
Rhode Island	54,300	103,400	90%
South Carolina	102,700	466,800	355%
South Dakota	25,400	76,800	202%
Tennessee	250,500	830,400	231%
Texas	591,900	1,571,300	165%
Utah	47,100	95,300	102%
Vermont	20,800	44,800	115%
Virginia	139,800	566,500	305%
Washington	190,800	276,800	45%
West Virginia	124,800	326,800	162%
Wisconsin	122,900	311,700	154%
Wyoming	9,000	23,300	159%
Guam	2,600	3,500	35%
Puerto Rico	328,900	995,800	203%
Virgin Islands	2,500	3,900	56%

Note: Figures do not include an estimated 1.1 million now receiving "general assistance," which is financed wholly by States and localities.

ELFARE REVOLUTION

[continued from preceding page]

Those employed in "public service" jobs would have to be paid the full federal or State minimum wage, or the prevailing wage rate in the locality, whichever is higher.

Mr. Mills has urged House Democrats to raise the federal minimum wage to $2 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1972, in an effort to offset anticipated costs of welfare payments to the "working poor."

Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson opposed such a move, calling it "inflationary." He said it might prompt employers to prune payrolls, or to avoid hiring new workers.

Administration. The Federal Government would take over from States and localities the main burden of handling all applications, eligibility determinations and cash-benefit payments for public assistance.

The adult program would be handled by the Social Security Administration, but payments would be made out of Treasury general revenue, rather than the Social Security trust fund.

Family-assistance payments for both OFP and FAP would be administered by a central disbursing office at HEW.

The Federal Government would bear the full administrative costs of making supplemental payments for States that pay more than the proposed federal standards, and wish to continue to do so.

States would be guaranteed that their share of welfare costs beginning July 1, 1972, would not exceed their total expenditures in the 1971 calendar year, based on benefit levels as of January 1.

This is called the "hold harmless" provision. An official said: "In effect, it transfers to the Federal Government 100 per cent of the costs of any future caseload increases in the welfare program."

HEW calculates that changes in the bill would save States and localities 1.6 billion dollars in the 1973 fiscal year, but would add 5.5 billion to federal costs, rising to 6.0 billion by 1975.

However, Patrick Healy, executive vice president of the National League of Cities, declared:

"Federalization of welfare doesn't do a thing in the way of fiscal relief for most cities."

According to HEW, 27 States pay all of the State-local share of welfare expenditures, while 23 other States share the burden with the counties.

Local case work and social services would continue to be handled by the States and counties, with the Federal Government paying 75 per cent of the cost.

When the Federal Government takes over, a large number of State and local workers who now are handling administrative functions may be added to federal payrolls.

Penalties. Stiff new penalties are contained in the bill, aimed at curbing welfare abuses.

Every welfare recipient would have to file a new application with HEW. Every applicant would be assigned a Social Security number.

Families would have to file quarterly statements of their income. These statements then would be cross-checked by computer against their Social Security files, income tax records and employment reports.

In the case of families, the bill says that "appropriate State law would be used in determining relationships."

In the adult program, the legislation states that "two persons holding themselves out as married in the community . . . would be considered married for the purposes of this program."

The Federal Government would fix regulations regarding proofs and evidence of welfare eligibility and benefits. People committing fraud would be liable to fines or jail sentences.

However, one authority observed:

"Fines are hard to collect—these people on relief are mostly judgment proof. And very few juries will send anyone to jail for cheating on welfare."

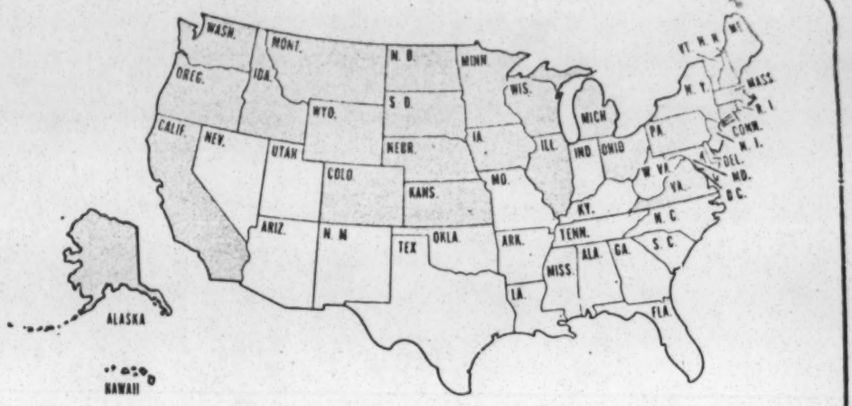
Any parent who crosses a State line to avoid child support would be guilty of a federal crime.

States would be required to make a vigorous effort to secure alimony and child support from a father who has deserted or abandoned his family.

The Federal Government would pay 75 per cent of State costs in establishing the paternity of welfare children, and in locating missing parents.

The Federal Government also would be required to recognize any residency requirement, or waiting period for relief, that a State might choose to impose on applicants.

Outlook. Taken all together, the sweeping provisions of H.R. 1 point to a massive expansion of the "welfare state" in the U. S., with a guaranteed annual income for every poor family with children, and a definition of poverty and benefit levels that could be raised at will by any succeeding Congress and Administration.



States now paying less than proposed federal minimum benefit for family of four

States now paying more than proposed federal minimum benefit

Under House Plan . . .

PEOPLE GETTING FAMILY AID—THE BREAKDOWN BY REGIONS

Regional distribution of the 18.4 million people in the 50 States who would receive family-assistance payments under H.R.1 in the first year of such aid—

	People Receiving Aid	Percentage of Total
NORTHEAST	3,714,000	20.2%
NORTH CENTRAL	3,728,000	20.3%
SOUTH	8,114,000	44.1%
WEST	2,834,000	15.4%

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Welfare Reform

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Welfare Bill

9/15/71

MEMO: No. 10-71
June 16, 1971

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Social Security and Welfare Reform

H. R. 1: A BOOST FOR SOCIAL SECURITY, A BLOW TO WELFARE REFORM

Although there is a wide range of opinion about many aspects of H.R. 1, the 687-page, omnibus social security and welfare reform bill, Leadership Conference groups that have analyzed the measure agree its welfare provisions are the worst feature in it.

Measured against the consensus on welfare reform that we adopted earlier this year, the welfare provisions, principally Title IV of the bill, fall short in nearly every respect.

Here is how Title IV looks against the yardstick of our four-part consensus:

1. Federal Administration

We Called For:

Elimination of categories and establishment of a unified federally-administered and federally-financed system based solely on need (the job rights of state employees should be fully protected during the transition from state to federal administration).

What the Bill Provides:

H. R. 1 would scrap the present welfare system and substitute two federally-administered programs in its place. But that is the only change we can support. People are still divided up into categories - six of them. Under these divisions, the highest benefits would go to the needy aged, blind and disabled, and to the working poor. There are lower benefits for those families where no one works and to families where no one is employable. In short, the bill keeps distinctions that somehow suggest a blind man deserves more help than a starving child. As the National Assembly for Social Policy and Development observes, "These distinctions are by intention discriminatory and - with respect to concepts of employability - arbitrary. They imply some failure of effort on the part of the family head who

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

ACTORS EQUITY
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN GI FORUM
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR SOCIAL POLICY & DEVELOPMENT, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL RURAL HOUSING COALITION
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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
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POALE ZION
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SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
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TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
U. S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE — DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA, NATIONAL BOARD
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

does not have gainful employment. Thus no recognition is given to the labor market situation, the contribution of the mother to her own family, the actual availability of supportive community services or the actual budgetary needs of the family. It is highly divisive, inviting competition among the categories...."

For state and local employees who presently administer welfare, there is not a single assurance of any kind that their job rights will be protected, once the federal government takes over administration of the program.

2. Benefit Levels

We Called For:

(a) Minimum benefits for individuals and families beginning at the government-defined poverty level, with appropriate adjustments to meet variations in the cost of living; and (b) federal supplements to assure that benefits are maintained at least up to present assistance levels.

What the Bill Provides:

1. The government-defined poverty level calls for an annual income of between $3600-$3900 for a family of four. H. R. 1 would establish a benefit level of $2400 a year for a family of four. That's less money than 90 per cent of the welfare families get in 45 states and the District of Columbia under the present AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) program.

2. H.R. 1 does not require any state supplements to make up the difference between $2400 and what most families are now getting. There is a real danger that if they are given an option, states will not choose to supplement and millions of recipients could end up worse off than they are now.

3. There are no adjustments for cost of living increases. In addition:

4. Large families would suffer under the program. A family of 8 would receive $3600 and there would be no increase in benefits for families of larger size.

5. Families whose incomes are close to the poverty level but are not on welfare now and then become unemployed or suddenly lose their incomes would, under certain circumstances, have to wait for months before they could get on welfare.

3. Job Protections

We Called For:

Protections as to both suitability and wage standards on all job or training programs. Wage rates should equal the federal or state minimum or the prevailing rate, whichever is higher.

What the Bill Provides:

1. There are few protections as to suitability and wage standards. A welfare recipient can be forced to take a job not covered by FLSA paying as low as 75 per cent of the highest federal minimum wage or the prevailing wage for the occupation in the area, whichever is higher. If recipients refuse to take the jobs offered they could lose benefits. As Congressmen Carey, Corman, Green and Vanik point out in supplemental views to the report on H. R. 1, "every effort should be made to avoid providing a captive work force to employers who offer jobs at substandard wages or working conditions."

4. Exemptions for Mothers

We Called For:

Exemption of mothers of pre-school and school-aged children from all job or training requirements; establishment of day-care centers with adequate standards and other supplementary services to enable mothers who choose to accept employment to do so.

What the Bill Provides:

Mothers with children over the age of 6 years could be forced to work. Starting in 1974, mothers with children over the age of three could be forced to work. Although federal administrators of the welfare program are authorized to prescribe standards of day care, no such standards are stipulated in the bill and there is no requirement that day care be assured before a work assignment is made.

Clearly, the welfare provisions fall far short of what our organizations have agreed upon as basic reforms.

Complicating Factors:

What complicates any consideration of our position in regard to H. R. 1 is that welfare is only one of the subjects it deals with.

It has other provisions. It provides for increases in social security benefits, improvements in Medicare, changes in the Medicaid system and for income tax exemptions for retirees.

The Medicaid provisions are a mixture of good and bad. Provisions that would increase federal Medicaid matching funds to states by 25 per cent and limit prevailing charges for doctors, hospitals and skilled nursing homes are improvements. However, under other provisions, services available to Medicaid recipients could be cut back and recipients could be forced to pay for benefits they now receive free. States would be allowed to reduce the number of services they offer and those recipients who work would have to pay on medical bills, the entire third of their earnings they are allowed to keep as a work incentive, before they can receive Medicaid benefits.

Improvements in Social Security and Medicare

The social security provisions in the bill would increase cash benefits 5 per cent across the board, effective July 1, 1972 and, with some qualification, benefits would be increased automatically once a year if there is an increase of 3 per cent in the Consumer Price Index.

The Medicare provisions would extend benefits to disabled persons; it would increase benefits somewhat and also the length of a hospital stay.

What Needs to be Done

Clearly the bill needs improvement, particularly in the welfare provisions. Leadership Conference organizations are agreed on that and many are already at work to try and strengthen it. You can help these efforts by writing to your Congressmen and Senators urging them to work for a bill that at least contains the basic reforms set forth in our consensus.

A flood of mail on this will help the efforts of all of those trying to turn H. R. 1 into an effective vehicle for welfare reform.

HELP CREATE 150,000 PUBLIC JOBS

The House-Senate Conference on the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, the bill that would create immediately, hundreds of thousands of public service jobs will probably be underway by the time you get this MEMO.

As we noted in our last MEMO (No. 9-71) the conference will probably report out a good bill and Congress can be expected to pass it. What needs to be done is to persuade President Nixon not to veto it.

The enclosed editorial and news story from the New York Times provides additional background information that we think our organizations will find useful as they address themselves to the task of convincing the President.

What You Can Do

Once more we ask our groups to get in touch with members of Congress, particularly Republican members, and urge them to urge the President not to veto this badly needed bill. Your mayors and governors, officials who know their cities and states, have much to gain from this program, should be asked to send their own pleas to the President. Please try and get state and county Republican leaders to urge the President to sign the bill into law. What is needed is a massive outpouring of concern if this bill is to be enacted.

# # # #

Public Jobs for the Jobless

The Congressional bill to create public service jobs for the unemployed is a constructive response both to the immediate exigencies of the recession and to the long-term needs of unskilled workers. With nearly five million persons out of work, including many recent veterans of Vietnam, the nation has a moral as well as an economic obligation to take effective action to offset the human consequences of a downswing in the business cycle. The bill, now passed in slightly different versions by both House and Senate, would be at least a modest help because it would subsidize state and local governments in hiring 150,000 workers to fill subprofessional jobs.

For the longer term after this recession has ended, the bill would continue to provide help in districts suffering particularly high unemployment. Every big city has such a district. The changing character of industrial work is doing away with many jobs which used to be done by the unskilled and the poorly educated. At the same time there is a growing need in the public sector to fill jobs such as playground attendant or nurse's aide, but local governments often lack the funds to hire such employes. The bill would build a bridge between the blue-collar unemployed and the public sector.

It is callous to deride such public service jobs as "dead-end, WPA-type" employment, as if the alternative were well-paid careers in private industry. In fact, the alternative is unemployment and the welfare rolls. These public service jobs have their own dignity; they need to be done; they are jobs within the capacity and experience of the worst-off among the jobless—the unskilled and poorly educated who are the core of the chronically unemployed.

It is unfortunate that House Republicans fought this bill and put forward the Administration's revenue-sharing plan in the manpower field as an alternative. There is a good case to be made for the President's desire to regroup and simplify the various manpower programs and to allow state and local governments more leeway in their management. But the Administration proposal is not an alternative or substitute for the 150,000 jobs which this bill would finance.

Rather than contemplate a veto and enmesh this bill in the revenue-sharing controversy, Mr. Nixon would do better to look at the economic realities of a still-depressed economy and at the human necessities of the unemployed. Even without the reinforcement provided by yesterday's official report of a fresh rise in joblessness, those realities and those necessities argue for the approval of this program.

New York Times
6/5/71

Jobs:

'Help Wanted'—For the Jobless, That Is

The nation's 5 million unemployed found themselves last week to be pawns in a battle over public service jobs that may provide more work for politicians than it does for the jobless.

The House of Representatives passed a Democratic bill to make $5-billion available over four years, the money to be used for new jobs in schools, hospitals, parks, police and fire departments and social service agencies. The bill, an expanded version of one already pushed through the Senate by a top-heavy vote, was enacted in the face of strong Republican warnings of a probable veto. President Nixon vetoed a similar measure last year on the ground that it would lead to dead-end jobs instead of equipping the unemployed for permanent careers.

Re-Established Coalition

Behind this familiar polarization on Capitol Hill was a near-miss on White House-inspired efforts to re-establish the once-dominant coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans in support of a bypass maneuver. The aim was to kill the Democratic job plan by substituting for it one of the building blocks in the President's floundering program for Federal revenue sharing with the states and cities—a $2.5-billion outlay for local use in manpower training. Part of the money could go for "transitional" public service employment, if that was what the localities wanted.

The G.O.P. hopes for reviving their old alliance with the Dixiecrats stemmed largely from the unhappiness of Southern diehards over a recommendation by the House Education and Labor Committee that the now toothless Equal Employment Opportunity Commission get independent authority to crack down on violators of the Federal law banning race discrimination in jobs. The proposal not only would empower the commission to issue "cease and desist" orders in private industry, but also would broaden its jurisdiction to take in Jim Crow practices in public employment.

Scaring Democrats

The two measures have no direct connection. However, the Republicans were able to capitalize on the Southern disaffection to the point that they threw a scare into the Democratic leadership when the public service job bill was first called up for House action last month under a rule intended to guarantee easy passage. The defection of 45 Democrats from Southern and border states opened the way for overriding the rule and forcing a floor vote on the Nixon revenue-sharing substitute.

A three-week delay in the showdown gave the Democrats the needed opportunity to regroup their forces and beat back the revolt. Some Capitol Hill observers say the critical push to save the Democratic measure came from the powerful Representative Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, partly because of his general resistance to revenue sharing and partly because a new G.O.P.-Dixiecrat coalition would undermine possible liberal support for his burgeoning Presidential candidacy.

Worsening Picture

But the prospect of a second Presidential veto after the House and Senate bills are put together chills the hopes for quick creation of 150,000 jobs to cut down the unemployment rolls. The jobless rate has stayed at 6 per cent or higher for the last half-year, despite Administration forecasts that it would start inching down toward the full-employment level of 4 per cent. The picture actually worsened slightly last month, with an especially troublesome spurt in the already high idleness rate among blacks.

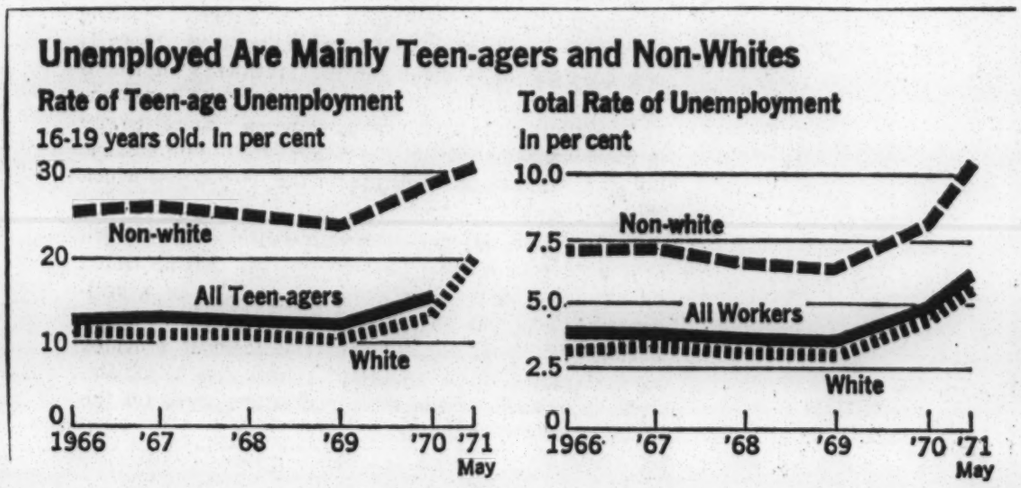
When the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded, in its landmark report three years ago, that racial imbalances were creating two Americas, separate and unequal, it put much of the blame on unemployment in urban ghettos. The scantiness of the headway made since then to ease black idleness caused the chairman of that commission—former Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, now a Federal judge—to warn a Senate subcommittee two weeks age that the most explosive factor still prevailing in big-city slums was that nearly one-third of all teen-age Negro job-seekers are currently unable to find work. This is double the high rate among white youth.

An even more discouraging insight into the dimensions of the problem was provided by a special Labor Department study of unemployment in the poverty areas of the 100 biggest cities. It showed a 44.9 per cent unemployment level among black teen-agers, as against an 18.1 per cent rate for white teen-agers in the same districts. In the more affluent sections of the 100 cities, idleness for black teen-agers came to 27.9 per cent compared with 16.6 per cent for whites. Vietnam war veterans also fared badly in the job market, with one out of five of the black returnees unable to find work and one out of seven of the whites.

As one contribution toward keeping the ghettos from boiling over in the hot months ahead, the President announced last week that the Federal Government would provide $303-million this summer to supply work for 674,000 poor teen-agers. Private industry has promised to provide another 150,000 summer jobs without Federal funds. Mr. Nixon said the combined total would be 30 per cent above last year's figure.

But even on the national and adult level, a reversal is occurring in what a few years ago had seemed a clear trend toward narrowing the job gap between whites and blacks. The latest report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics puts over-all unemployment for blacks at 10.5 per cent, for whites at 5.7 per cent. This is too close for anyone's taste to the historic disparity of twice as much joblessness among Negroes as among whites.

—A. H. RASKIN



New York Times 6/6/71

Atl Journ
6-26-71

FORUM

There's Hope Now for Welfare

By JIM PARHAM

Welfare reform is needed because the present system is unfair; it discourages family unity and encourages deceitfulness.

It will allow help for a child whose father is dead or deserted, but it denies help to the child next door whose father is unemployed but able-bodied and still in the home.

It will allow cash support for the low earnings of a broken family with young children, but it will not grant cash to assist children in an intact, able-bodied family no matter how little the wages.

IT WILL disregard the first $30 plus one-third of the remainder of the earnings of recipients but denies this advantage to those already working at time of application.

It stops assistance to a child on his 18th birthday even if he's making straight As in school.

It lets an aged couple receive more than a mother with three small children.

It will help a permanently and totally disabled person but not one who is temporarily and partially disabled . . . even if that period of disability will last several months.

It will help a 65 year old who has no income, but if he's only 64 and not disabled, there is no help.

It lets an old man keep $800 if he has it when he applies, but if he gets it after he is on the rolls, it must be counted as income and expended before his checks resume.

It robs the elderly of the promise of a Social Security increase by lowering the supplementary welfare check.

It allows states to establish "standards of need" for life necessities that are totally unrealistic in light of costs of living — and then allows them to pay recipients a small percentage of that already inadequate standard.

It allows a four-person family in Alabama to receive $80 per month while its counterpart in Georgia receives $149 and its counterpart in New Jersey receives $347.

IT IS a system filled with frustration for those who must receive it, those who must administer it and those who must pay for it.

H.R. 1, just passed by the U.S. House of Representatives and passed to the Senate, while not a perfect solution, is a significant step forward.

A perfect solution would not be politically passable.

H.R. 1 includes two major principles that represent important gains in welfare law. The first is the establishment of a national floor under the incomes of families with children. The second is the supplementation of the earnings of the "working poor" intact family.

The national floor of $2,400 for a family of four is not large enough, but it is a base from which to begin. It is about 60 per cent of the current poverty index level of $3,900 per year and a long way from the Bureau of Labor Statistic's "lower level of living" budget of approximately $6,000 for a family of four.

Under the new program the family head can earn $720 per year with no deduction, assuming he or she can work at all. The earnings of students will also be exempt.

HELPING the "working poor" — the working provider of a low income intact family — will assure that it will, with few exceptions, always be "profitable" for a man to work.

Helping the unemployed or underemployed father will remove the incentive for family breakup that has been disastrous in the current program.

The work provisions in the new "Opportunities for Families" segment of the program, if administered fairly and wisely, will offer a chance for many to escape the dependency trap without the risk of being without support if the job is tenuous or doesn't last.

There are provisions for supportive social services and child care that will help eliminate many practical obstacles to successful employment.

A BIG gap which H.R. 1 leaves untouched is the need for help for the 21- to 64-year-old person who is in need but is not aged, blind, disabled, or a dependent child.

The individual may be unemployed or temporarily disabled and not covered by unemployment or workmen's compensation or Social Security disability provisions.

A major problem with the bill as proposed is that it leaves responsibility fragmented among several agencies rather than consolidating administrative accountability.

The aged, blind, and disabled are to receive their money payments from the Social Security Administration but their social services from the state welfare agency.

Families with dependent children will be divided into "employables" and "unemployables" — a sometimes difficult distinction.

"Employables" will be the responsibility of the U.S. Department of Labor including placement, training, social services, and child care. "Unemployables" will receive cash from a new Benefits Assistance Administration within HEW, but social services again will be the responsibility of the state welfare agency.

If a state can organize its resources to effectively move people from dependency to work, we suggest a fiscal bonus to that state for superior performance.

In the past states have only been penalized for not meeting federal standards — never rewarded for going beyond them.

Our suggestion would provide a powerful economic incentive to encourage states to effectively reorganize their "people helping systems," such as family services, youth services, vocational rehabilitation, manpower training, mental health and corrections.

The alternative is continued fragmentation of what should be a unitary approach and perhaps a "leave it all to the feds" attitude.

Since work and training efforts are strongly influenced by state and local considerations, those governments should have a stake in the success of the programs.

Otherwise, we are in for a continued period of "buck passing" the responsibility for effective human services. We will all lose by that . . . and the biggest losers will be the poor people.

Jim Parham, formerly administrative director of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., and assistant professor at the Institute of Government, University of Georgia, is director of the State Department of Family and Children Services.

Frank Groschelle is regional director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare with headquarters in Atlanta. He was formerly assistant to the governor of Kentucky and state liaison officer for a variety of public programs.

Both articles were written for The Atlanta Journal Forum.

Assistance in Georgia

A capsule summary of Georgia welfare beneficiaries and program restrictions has been outlined by the State Department of Family and Children Services.

A total of 600,980 Georgian receive cash and/or food assistance.

Individuals receiving cash assistance as of May 1, 1971 include:

Aged	92,405
Blind	3,216
Disabled	38,123
Children under 18	211,128
Child caretakers	71,729

Individuals receiving nonpublic food supplement assistance total 184,279.

Maximum grant for aged, blind, disabled is $91 per month (equivalent to $32 in 1939 dollar value).

Maximum monthly grant for families with dependent children:

Two persons	$79
Three persons	$114
Four persons	$149
Five or more	$184

A mother with three children can take $34 from her $149 and buy $106 worth of food stamps (if she lives in a food-stamp county). This allows $221 in subsistence resources, $106 for food and $115 for all else.

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earnings of the "working poor" intact family.

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"Opportunities for Families" segment of the program, if administered fairly and wisely, will offer a chance for many to escape the dependency trap without the risk of being without support if the job is tenuous or doesn't last.

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strongly influenced by state and local considerations, those governments should have a stake in the success of the programs.

Otherwise, we are in for a continued period of "buck passing" the responsibility for effective human services. We will all lose by that . . . and the biggest losers will be the poor people.

Three Times the Money

By FRANK J. GROSCHELLE

The welfare reform bill was passed last year by the House on a vote of 243 to 155; on Tuesday the bill was passed by a vote of 288 to 132, a gain of 45 congressional votes for the bill.

I think it is extremely important that the over-all effect of this bill be carefully considered as it goes before the Senate. When President Nixon submitted his welfare reform proposal to Congress—more than a year ago—it contained five basic principles:

—Federal minimum level of payment,

—Uniform eligibility requirements,

—Strong work incentives and work requirements,

—Wage supplementation for the working poor and

—Fiscal protection for the states.

TO ELABORATE, look at a state which may now be paying as little as $800 per year in assistance to a family of four, which I think everyone will agree is not sufficient for even the basic bare necessities of life.

Under the welfare reform bill, that family of four would receive a minimum assistance payment of $2,400 per year, all of which would be federal funds.

This is where the fiscal protection of the states provision applies.

In addition, the head of the family would be able to earn an additional $60 per month, or $720 per year, without being penalized on assistance payments.

Above that, this family of four would be able to keep $1 out of each $3 earned until such time as the assistance payments would be wiped out completely.

REGIONALLY, the amount of new money will be in excess of $625 million and results in a new saving of $370 million to the eight states in Region IV of HEW.

If the pending bill currenly pending in the Senate is enacted, Georgia stands stands to receive an additional $62.8 million in new funds.

This money would represent an increase in payments to needy families in the state. In addition, it would result in a net savings of $51.8 million that could be used to meet other pressing needs within the State of Georgia.

Welfare rolls nationally have been increasing at an alarming rate.

During the eight-month period ending in March 1971, the national increase in number of recipients was 32 per cent, while the increase in cost was 36 per cent.

The Georgia rolls exceeded this rate with a growth in number of recipients of 52.2 per cent while cost increased by 62.5 per cent.

The uniform eligibility provision is just that. For the first time, people in all states would be governed by the same set of rules on eligibility. The states would be guaranteed that their future welfare costs will be less than expenditures under the current program.

THE UNIFORM eligibility provision is just that. For the first time, people in all states would be governed by the same set of rules on eligibility.

Our present 54 programs nationally and 54 sets of rules will be replaced by one program and one set of rules.

The meausre also calls for federal administration of money payments while the states would continue to provide social services to those in need.

The states would be assured fiscal protection through a "hold harmless" provision which guarantees that their future welfare costs will be less than expenditures under the current program.

A basic element of the administration's welfare reform proposal is its emphasis on work. With limited exceptions, every able-bodied adult applicant, including those who are employed, would be required to register with the employment office.

They must then accept training, upgrading, employment or manpower services to be eligible for benefits.

SUPPOSE, then, that the head of a family refuses to accept a job or to accept training for a job. Minimum level of payment is based on $800 annually each for the first two members of the family and $400 each for the second two members of the family.

We certainly are not going to cut off food to dependent children because the parent refuses work but assistance to that family would be reduced immediately by $800 per year or one-third of its assistance payments.

THE WELFARE reform plan is not being put forth as a panacea to all problems. It cannot make any guarantees, but . . . given the chance . . . we feel it can help remove some of the barriers to opportunity that the present system has institutionalized.

Today, we stand at a crossroad. We can continue to talk about welfare, complain about it and watch it grow unchecked while we raise taxes this year and every year thereafter to feed its cancerous growth.

Or, we can take the steps necessary to control it and to reform it so that it will at least have the proud purpose of maximizing human dignity and salvaging the destitute.

I submit that we are at that crossroad and the decision as to which road to take is very logical and apparent.

Carl Rowan

Atl Const 7-8-71

Flaws in Welfare Reform Bill

WASHINGTON—Why in the world would the National Welfare Rights Organization oppose a welfare measure which finally established the principle that no family will be allowed to sink below a certain level of degradation?

Are poor people abandoning this floor of $2,400 a year for a family of four out of some naive notion that Congress will soon approve a floor of $6,500, the amount government studies say is the minimum needed for a decent urban life?

No. If it were just the money level, poor people would accept the measure that Rep. Wilbur Mills has pushed to the floor of the House, according to George A. Wiley, NWRO's executive director.

But Wiley cites several little-publicized aspects of the bill that are insulting, demeaning, or simply threaten to make hundreds of thousands of poor people worse off than they are under the current crazy jumble of welfare laws.

Wiley points out that the $2,400 Federal benefit level is less than current benefits plus food stamps now being received by welfare families in 45 states and the District of Columbia.

Unless NWRO and others can convince state legislatures to approve programs to supplement the family assistance plan, which is highly unlikely, 90 per cent of the welfare families in the country will be worse off after welfare reform.

"We fear that this so-called $2,400 floor will actually become a ceiling," Wiley says.

The reform measure would deny benefits to any family the head of which is a regular student at a college or university—presumably a Congressional slap at "student troublemakers." Wiley points out that many welfare mothers attend college under the Work Incentive Program (WIN) and that this new restriction would discourage heads of welfare families from attempting to lift themselves.

NWRO people are deeply concerned that eligibility for family assistance payments would no longer be based on current need, but on a complicated formula involving what income the family had over the last quarter, or three-quarters.

Under the new law, if a family had $4,320 income over nine months and the breadwinner lost his job, that family could not get welfare help for three months no matter how genuine its need. The law makes the absurd presumption that the family would save enough of the $4,320 to hedge against a period of unemployment.

Wiley points out that this works heavily against migrant workers, seasonal workers, and poor minority people who suffer frequent periods of joblessness.

This new restriction also will affect greatly poor workers who seek to organize unions. Without fat strike funds, they have relied on welfare in the event of a strike or lockout. Under the new bill, with welfare unavailable, unionizing activities would become less plausible.

Wiley says the proposed new law has built in "an administrative horrow show" in which poor people face harassment and a gross loss of rights.

He points out that recipients would be cut off automatically at the end of two years. In addition, families must file quarterly reports on income, with fines, a welfare cutoff, or other penalties for those who forget.

"These restrictions don't apply to the aged, disabled, and blind where 80 per cent of the recipients are white," Wiley notes. "They apply only to families, which means they are selectively aimed at minorities."

NWRO is especially irritated that the new bill mandates forced work for mothers of children over the age of six, and after 1974 for mothers of children over three. Lack of acceptable child care is not recognized as a gound for refusal of employment or training.

Christ. Cent. 1/21/71

Sections of Welfare Reform Bill Attacked by Coalition Group

✦ THE CAMPAIGN for Adequate Welfare Reform Now, a group of 16 religious and nine secular agencies, has registered its opposition to a section of the House welfare reform bill, known as "HR 1." The organization cited five "major reasons" for opposing the bill's Title IV, the Family Assistance Plan: (1) "The $2,400 benefit level for a family of four is too low. There is no provision requiring the states to supplement the $2,400 figure. There will be no more food stamps"; (2) "The differences between the largely white adult categories and the mostly black family categories of HR 1 suggest that this is a racist bill"; (3) "Mothers of school age children would be forced to work at low wages. Day care provisions are inadequate"; (4) "The civil rights of recipients are not guaranteed"; (5) "There is insufficient fiscal relief to states." Some of the campaign's member agencies are: the National Council of Churches, the United Methodist Church's Board of Christian Social Concerns, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the United Presbyterian Church, the National Office of Black Catholics, the Board of Social Ministries of the Lutheran Church in America, the National Association of Social Workers and the National Council of Negro Women. According to a spokesman, the central purpose of the campaign is the "achievement this year of major welfare reform to create a new system of income maintenance assistance to meet the basic needs of all individuals and families" who are in need because of inadequate income, inability to work or unavailability of jobs.

Welfare Reform

WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1971

A Welfare Bill That Makes Sense

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

WASHINGTON – Last year's welfare reform bill was an exercise in camouflage – how to have welfare reform without really changing anything. This year's welfare reform bill is an exercise in administration – how to align responsibility with authority in setting benefits, determining eligibility and running work programs.

The change took place while no one was looking. The House Ways and Means Committee rewrote the bill in private sessions, and the House passed the measure because Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills told it to. The extent of the change should become clearer shortly, though, as the Senate Finance Committee opens public hearings today. The Finance Committee killed last year's bill but may prove more agreeable this year.

The two bills are similar, of course, in being built on President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan, paying a minimum income to all families with children. The amount of the federal payment for a family of four remains about the same, $2,400 in cash this year versus $1,600 plus food stamps last year.

The principal effects of last year's bill remain: increased benefits in the South, wider payments to the working poor, more money for work training and day care. This expansion of welfare was, for all the tough rhetoric, the whole thrust of last year's bill. In the large industrial states, where the welfare crisis is, the bill would have left the welfare system essentially unchanged.

The Increasing Caseload

This year that thrust has been balanced by reforms that do take some notice of the real welfare crisis. As outlined in an article on this page last Thursday, the crisis is measured in the increasing welfare caseload. Aid-to-families cases have doubled in the last four years to 10 million persons, or one in twenty Americans, a rate of growth that suggests the creation of a vast unrooted class, dependent on welfare and cut off from the social bonds of the work system.

This growth may be the result of social values toward low-status jobs, and these won't easily be altered. But it has also been closely associated with unprofessional welfare administration and with grant levels so high they compete with wages. The changes written into the welfare bill by Rep. Mills' committee are designed to have a definite impact in both these areas.

The changes, in fact, show a heavy preoccupation with the question of administration. The committee is definitely interested in curbing the break-neck expansion in the welfare rolls, and tried to do so as long ago as 1967 by writing work incentive and work training provisions into the law. Most of its members believe their intent was subverted by administrators bent instead on expanding the rolls. They are now trying to reduce the discretion of administrators, and to replace them wherever possible.

In particular, the committee is upset at the result of a provision in the 1967 law allowing states to decide which recipients are "appropriate" for work or training. This year's bill intends to do nothing less than eliminate state administration of welfare. The federal payments will be administered by a new set of officials under the federal civil service. And only by turning over any state supplemental as the income level rises toward average. This means that each step up in welfare benefits makes them competitive with wages for many more workers than the last similar step did. This effect helps explain why caseloads have mounted far more sharply than anyone anticipated.

The unanticipated caseload rise has meant heavy financial pressures on states even for their share of the costs, and in the past year several of them have in fact reduced benefits. In theory the Ways and Means bill could encourage this trend. Under its provisions, the federal government will pay 100% of the $2,400 guarantee and the states must pay 100% of any supplement above this. Thus instead of splitting the savings from benefit reduction under the current sharing formula, the state would recoup all the saving from any cut in its supplements.

This theoretical "incentive" toward reduced payments still worries some liberals, but in fact it was fairly well nullified when the committee adopted the "hold harmless" provision. Under "hold harmless" the federal government will guarantee that a state will not have to spend more for welfare than it did in 1971, even if its caseload continues to increase.

The states with the highest benefits and sharpest caseload increases will find their welfare costs dependent not on benefit levels but on the "hold harmless" payment, and thus will have no incentive to cut benefits. The question will not arise in states now paying less than $2,400. Some intermediate states will be able to save money if they want to cut payments, but for the most part the effect of the new bill would be to freeze benefit levels.

Between the abolition of the present sharing formula and the administrative changes, the Ways and Means Committee has considerably changed the thrust of welfare reform. This has been little noticed by opponents of last year's bill, though, and some fairly meaningless things are being said about welfare reform by those who pass as conservatives on the American scene. Anyone upset because the President has proposed a guaranteed annual income, for example, ought to ask himself what the current system already is.

It's only slightly more sensible to stress the complaint that the bill expands the welfare rolls by some 14 million by including the working poor. At the rate we are going, many of these people will be added anyway. Beyond that, in terms of social consequences there is an enormous difference between supporting a non-working class with few social bonds and paying supplements to those who stick with the work system. Rep. Mills makes a point worth considering when he says, "The reason we included the working poor is to eliminate the temptation for them to become completely dependent."

That is scarcely to say there are no valid questions about the bill from the perspective of those interested in reducing welfare dependency. The surest way to slow caseload growth probably would be to reduce benefits, and a conservative can make an intelligent case that it's better to stick with the present system now that the states are starting to cut back.

Especially so since the "hold harmless" provision would concentrate an incentive to reduce not in states paying welfare benefits above the official poverty level, but in intermediate states where benefits may not effectively compete with wages. The federal government, also, is far from immune to pressure for higher benefits. There will be attempts to raise the $2,400 floor in the Senate, and it probably would not take much of an increase to send rolls upward by making benefits competitive with wages throughout the South.

Still, the current state reductions may not reflect a long-term trend, given the incentives in the current sharing formula. Also, it's one thing to say benefits should not have been raised to present levels, but another thing to be enthusiastic about a state's cutting them after it has encouraged recipients to rely on them. In principle, finally, it would be far better to support the truly needy at a more generous level, and rely on an administrative mechanism to separate them from those who ought to be self-dependent.

A Key Question

Is it possible to create any such an administration? That's the key question the Ways and Means bill poses. History would not give much comfort, suggesting the most likely outcome is that the committee will once again find its intentions undermined by bureaucrats with different ideas. If the caseload increase does result from underlying cultural values, the same values will be present in the new bureaucracy as in the old one.

Still, a 1969 study of welfare use did find that administration matters. Several students of the problem believe that hard-headed administration is the only way to cope with the fact that a level high enough to support the needy will also be high enough to compete with wages. Blanche Bernstein of the Center for New York City Affairs, for example, writes of the need for a new "administrative ambience" and "public rhetoric."

Harvard's Edward C. Banfield agrees. "I am told that welfare bureaucracies willing to perform the function I have in mind simply do not exist anymore; most social workers, it is said, believe that their mission is to give as much as possible to as many as possible. Perhaps this is so, but I am not entirely convinced. I suspect that in general and within limits social workers do what is expected of them and that local welfare administrators have ways of checking indiscriminate generosity," he writes in The Public Interest. "Therefore I do not entirely despair of improving matters by using welfare bureaucracies to help strike a balance between the supply of assistance and the demand for it."

In effect, Rep. Mills and his committee are trying to do what such scholars recommend. Whatever the defects of their bill, it is based in a defensible rationale about what constitutes the welfare crisis and how it might be cured. It may not be a bill that actually succeeds in curbing the welfare explosion, but at least it's a bill that makes some sense.

Mr. Bartley, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau, contributes editorials and other commentary.

the work system.

This growth may be the result of social values toward low-status jobs, and these won't easily be altered. But it has also been closely associated with unprofessional welfare administration and with grant levels so high they compete with wages. The changes written into the welfare bill by Rep. Mills' committee are designed to have a definite impact in both these areas.

The changes, in fact, show a heavy preoccupation with the question of administration. The committee is definitely interested in curbing the break-neck expansion in the welfare rolls, and tried to do so as long ago as 1967 by writing work incentive and work training provisions into the law. Most of its members believe their intent was subverted by administrators bent instead on expanding the rolls. They are now trying to reduce the discretion of administrators, and to replace them wherever possible.

In particular, the committee is upset at the result of a provision in the 1967 law allowing states to decide which recipients are "appropriate" for work or training. This year's bill intends to do nothing less than eliminate state administration of welfare. The federal payments will be administered by a new set of officials under the federal civil service. And only by turning over any state supplemental payments to federal administration will states qualify for the "hold harmless" provision protecting them against future increases in welfare expenditures.

Similarly, many members of the committee are also unhappy with the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which has bent administrative pressure not toward putting recipients to work but toward higher benefits and reduced regulation. Accordingly, under this year's proposal, welfare families will be split in two groups, and all those with a potentially employable adult will come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor.

Nor would administrators have discretion about what recipients are "appropriate" or what jobs "suitable." The criteria for such decisions are explicit in the law. All recipients would be referred for work or training except the ill, aged, children under 16 (or under 22 for students), mothers of children under age six until 1974 and under age three subsequently. (Mothers of older children would not be required to work, however, unless adequate child care is available.) Jobs are suitable unless they involve union disputes or pay less than $1.20 an hour or the locally prevailing wage for the work in question.

Most important of all, there's at least a hope this new administrative structure will be infused with new attitudes, focusing not on adding more people to the welfare rolls but on getting them off the rolls and into a self-dependent life. HEW officials proposed, and the committee instantly rejected, bringing present state welfare workers into the new federal structure. It hopes the federal civil service will be able to recruit a higher grade of employe, and also one who defines his job a different way.

A 'Different Psychology'

"The social work will still be left to the states; this will be determining eligibility and making payments," Rep. Mills says. When it comes to work training, he adds, the Labor Department will have a "different psychology." And in any event, if rolls do continue to rise, "We've got people in the federal government we can hold responsible for the failures; that's always been difficult."

A similar clarification of responsibility is the keynote of the proposed changes affecting benefit levels. The bill would end the system under which state legislatures have been able to vote higher benefits and have the federal government pay much of the bill.

This effect has been especially pronounced because of a "sleeper" provision in the "Medicaid" law, allowing states to apply the sharing formula in that legislation to their welfare expenditures as well. Under the old welfare formula the federal government paid 50% to 65% of the cost, but federal expenses were limited to $32 per recipient per month. The Medicaid formula put the federal contribution as high as 83%, and pledged the government to contribute its share regardless of how high a state raised its benefits.

These changes allowed the states to increase benefits rapidly. Between January 1967 and October 1970, for example, "need levels" on which benefits are based were increased more than 40% in 17 states. This almost certainly played an important part in the exploding caseload, for there is considerable evidence that higher benefit levels mean higher caseloads, particularly when they get high enough to compete with wages for low-income workers.

It's important to understand, in fact, that the income distribution at low levels is an inverted pyramid, including ever more people tives on the American scene. Anyone upset because the President has proposed a guaranteed annual income, for example, ought to ask himself what the current system already is.

It's only slightly more sensible to stress the complaint that the bill expands the welfare rolls by some 14 million by including the working poor. At the rate we are going, many of these people will be added anyway. Beyond that, in terms of social consequences there is an enormous difference between supporting a non-working class with few social bonds and paying supplements to those who stick with the work system. Rep. Mills makes a point worth considering when he says, "The reason we included the working poor is to eliminate the temptation for them to become completely dependent."

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Ending Poverty

A federal review committee is considering eliminating poverty from official reports by banning the word itself. The Census Bureau has already decided to say "low-income" instead of "poverty" in its official releases. Government statisticians began thinking along these lines after the press discovered an embarrassing census report last May showing that the number of people below the poverty level, if you'll pardon the expression, is on the rise for the first time in ten years. The statistical change was due only partly to an administrative change in definition. The welfare rolls have increased by more than two and one-quarter million people since January of 1970 – a burden under which state budgets are cracking. Many states, including New York, California, New Jersey and Maine have lowered or are about to lower welfare budgets for the next fiscal year.

Because the states and the cities are complaining so loudly, President Nixon is anxious to have Congress ratify the new welfare bill, which has been passed by the House and is now called HR 1. Last year a similar administration proposal went as far as the Senate Finance Committee, where liberal and conservative members voted to defeat it 10-6. HR 1, drawn up largely by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D, Ark.), is carefully designed to satisfy demands for stricter screening of applicants, while establishing the principle of a guaranteed minimum income. Yet, the bill may die once again in the Finance Committee because the most liberal and the most conservative senators are unhappy with it.

As it stands, HR 1 contains several major improvements over the old system. In simplified terms, it sets a federally guaranteed minimum income of $2400 for a family of four. The major burden of welfare costs is transferred to the federal government, leaving states free to supplement federal payments if they choose. Federal assistance is given to the working poor as well as the unemployable (up to an income level of $4140), thus eliminating the invidious distinction between welfare families and working families. Finally, the bill provides jobs and job training for employable adults who need work but cannot find it, and establishes money incentives for fathers to stay with their families and seek work.

But HR 1 also has a number of loopholes and punitive features which make it unacceptable to Senators Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) and Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.) and groups like the Welfare Rights Organization. They point out, for example, that nothing in the bill would prevent states from lowering or completely eliminating their present welfare programs once the federal system goes into effect. If every state were to abdicate to the federal government and refuse to supplement the basic rate, families in 45 states and the District of Columbia would receive less than they do today. In addition, under the Family Assistance Plan, HR 1 allows a maximum of $3600 to any family, regardless of its size, whereas under the present system, assistance is proportionate to the number of children. Moreover, FAP is not consistent with other portions of HR 1; it grants $2400 to a family of four, while old-age benefits under another section come to the same amount for one couple.

Critics of the bill also note that it denies welfare payments to a family headed by a full-time college student, which means that welfare mothers attending college would have to drop out or give up welfare. It likewise denies welfare to a family whose income during the nine months before applying is higher than the poverty cut-off line. There is no relief for the improvident or the accident-prone. Penalties are imposed on mothers of small children, if the mothers do not seek work. Until 1974, mothers of children up to six years old would not have to get an outside-the-house job, but after that, only mothers of children under three would be exempt. A mother who did not want to put her children in a day care center would have to give up welfare. Employable welfare recipients would be required to accept jobs at 75 percent of the minimum wage ($1.20 an hour) if they could find nothing better. Those who refuse would lose benefits, and their childrens' payments would be turned over to a third-party administrator.

The punitive, coercive character of HR 1 is more offensive to many than its simple economic inconsistencies. The notion that people go on welfare because they're lazy is a myth which some congressmen and many more ordinary citizens accept without evidence. The Ways and Means Committee Report covering the Family Assistance sections of HR 1 says: "Your committee is convinced, both on the basis of specific studies and on the testimony of witnesses before the committee, that there are many thousands of people now on the AFDC rolls who do not belong there." It also expresses shock that the number of welfare recipients increased by *"2¼ million people in one year!"*

Common sense tells us that when a recession produces unemployment, people without jobs will ask for welfare. No one who follows the news should be shocked to learn that a 5.6 percent rate of unemployment coincides with a rush on the welfare offices. Forcing those who can't find regular jobs to work for less than the minimum wage leaves a bad taste when we know that the administration has deliberately induced an economic slow-down as part of its anti-inflation crusade.

On July 12, the President signed an Emergency Employment Act to provide 200,000 new public service jobs for the unemployed. These jobs are *not* specifically marked for poverty cases and they will directly benefit only one-twenty-fifth of the more than

 N. Rep

million unemployed in the country. If the government can muster nothing better than this, how does it expect welfare parents to respond favorably to the restrictions against goldbricking that are written into HR 1?

Senator Ribicoff, former Secretary of HEW and a member of the Senate Finance Committee, has sponsored with Senator Kennedy a list of amendments to refashion HR 1 into a more consistent, humane welfare bill. The most important of the 15 amendments ask for an increase in basic welfare rates for a family of four from $2400 to $2800; mandatory state supplements to the federal rate – stabilizing welfare payments at the 1971 level; aid to states with heavy welfare burdens; adjustment of all payments according to the cost-of-living index; and elimination of residency requirements and discouraging application processes.

There is little hope on Capitol Hill that all of these amendments will be approved. Indeed there is little hope that the Senate Finance Committee will report out any form of HR 1 that will meet the major criticisms made of it. Most of the members are skeptical of welfare programs anyway. Last year Chairman Russell Long (D, La.) called the Nixon Family Assistance Plan "Moynihan's monstrosity," something which could "utterly and completely destroy this country." Although he seems to like HR 1 more than the old bill, he now says that he will not approve it. He believes it would create a "permanent welfare subculture," and he expects the majority of the Finance Committee to go along with him in asking for a "workfare program" of guaranteed employment, not income.

HR 1 poses a dilemma for congressmen who don't like it as it stands but fear that no better proposal can survive passage through the labyrinth of conservative committees. Wilbur Mills may refuse to cooperate on a new proposal if his own bill is rejected. Welfare reform is a complicated, expensive, wearying task, and few congressmen or government officials will be eager to begin again from scratch if the 92nd Congress fails, as the 91st did, to come up with legislation. Those who believe that HR 1 is inadequate, and it is, should remember that state governments have already started to cut back welfare rates and will do so as the number of recipients increases. Former Secretary of HEW Wilbur Cohen believes that unless some form of HR 1 is passed, we may have to wait as long as five years for a new welfare system. He is willing to compromise for now on financial specifics if that will persuade congressmen to vote for the bill.

Despite its faults, HR 1 would move the federal government closer to a sensible welfare policy. Congress should make every effort to assure that welfare payments will not fall below their present level, and to eliminate the bill's harassing features. But the principle of a federally guaranteed minimum income makes it worth adopting. HR 1 provides a solid base on which future Congresses can build.

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1971.

WELFARE ROLLS CUT BY ALABAMA

New Policy Removes Many Who Show Any Income From Other Source

By BILL KOVACH

© New York Times News Service

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — More than 33,000 people, most of them Negroes, have been cut off the welfare rolls in Alabama in the last four months in a cutback that parallels a growing national trend to reduce aid to the poor.

Although welfare officials here refused to estimate the savings from the reduction, a rough calculation based on average payments in the programs affected indicates the state has cut its welfare budget by some $5 million a year.

Since the law here also ties Medicaid payments to public assistance, there is a double saving because none of those removed from public assistance rolls now qualifies for medical benefits under that program. The total amount saved will not be known for some time.

Trend Is National

Alabama's welfare cutbacks are only the most marked example of a national trend that has resulted in the first national decline in welfare cases in three years. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has announced that figures for May show caseload decreases in at least 19 states and Puerto Rico — the most prominent being found here and in Puerto Rico.

Even in the traditionally liberal states of New York and California, stringent measures have been taken to reduce welfare budgets, and these programs are bearing the brunt of the effects of inflation, rising government costs and taxpayer revolt.

Reuben K. King, Alabama's commissioner of pensions and security, defends the cutback here as an "effort to hurt only those best able to stand it."

The change, like any adjustment of a welfare program, is a complex one. But stripped of a web of technical complications, it reduced the number of people on welfare who had some other form of income.

More than 33,000 people with some outside income were removed from the rolls. Payments were reduced for 17,500 others.

"It was," says King, "the only equitable way to make an adjustment. Those people most in need — with no outside income — were unaffected. In this business you have to be a realist, not an idealist. We were faced with a budget deficit, which, under the law, we cannot do. We had to make a change and, after a lot of soul searching, this we thought most equitable."

Although welfare officials argue that their method of reducing welfare costs hurt those who can most stand it, King concedes that the major damage has come from their removal from the Medicaid rolls.

"This," he says, "is what is so tragic about the change."

State Welfare Cut Under Attacks In Federal Court

Ala. Journal 9/15/71

By JUDITH HELMS

A cut in state welfare payments this year is under attack in federal court by plaintiffs claiming their constitutional rights have been violated.

Three judges heard a lengthy cross examination by plaintiffs of Harris Hill Cory Jr. of the Department of Pensions and Security's Bureau of Accounts on why payments were cut when a surplus of some $3 million seems probable.

Plaintiffs, who filed suit in April as a class action, are three women who receive state aid.

They claimed a May 1 announcement by department head Reuben King that methods of determining eligibility for Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD) were being altered violated their rights.

U.S. Dist. Judge Frank Johnson Jr. denied a motion for temporary restraining order that accompanied the suit, saying the court was impressed that defendants promulgated the regulation "in good faith and by reason of the limitation of available funds."

He also noted that the regulation had been approved by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfard (HEW).

Johnson is hearing the case on the merits today along with U.S. Circuit Judge John Godbold and Dist. Judge Robert Varner.

Cory was this morning's only witness, called after introduction of voluminous documentary evidence.

He said he hoped to have some $3 million on hand at the end of the current fiscal year but said the department always carries a balance forward to continue operations "to maintain a steady program without fluctuations."

Cory said, however, the sum is an unusually large one to carry but he explained that the case load was not as great as had been anticipated.

He said the cut was necessary to come within estimated available funds.

Most Are Negroes Ala Journal 8/31/71

Welfare Rolls Slashed 33,000

Welfare - Ala.

More than 33,000 people, most of them Negroes, have been cut off the welfare rolls in Alabama in the last four months.

Although welfare officials here refused to estimate the savings from the reduction, a rough calculation based on average payments in the programs affected indicates the state has cut its welfare budget by some $5 million a year.

Since the law here also ties medicaid payments to public assistance, there is a double saving because none of those removed from public assistance rolls now qualifies for medical benefits under that program.

The total amount saved will not be known for some time. Some critics suspect that Gov. George C. Wallace will use the savings to increase payments next year to the state's 115,000 old-age assistance recipients, who are predominantly white and a potent group in state politics.

Reuben K. King, Alabama's Commissioner of Pensions and Security, defends the cutback here as an "effort to hurt only those best able to stand it."

The change, like any adjustment of a welfare program, is a complex one. But stripped of a web of technical complications, it reduced the number of people on welfare who had some other form of income.

An example of those made ineligible was a mother with three minor children who had been receiving aid-to-dependent children payments. The state calculated her needs to be $230 a month, leaving an unmet need of $100 a month.

Alabama paid its recipients 35 per cent of the unmet need (one of the lowest and far below the 100 per cent of need paid old-age recipients or, in this case, $35, giving her a total income of $165.

Under the new program, the 35 per cent of need calculation is applied to the need — in this case, 35 per cent of $230, or $80.50. Since her outside income ($130 a month) exceeds this figure, the woman no longer qualifies for any welfare payment and her total income has been reduced from $206.50 a month to $130.

In this way more than 33,000 people with some outside income were removed from the rolls. Payments were reduced for 17,500 others.

"It was," says King, "the only equitable way to make an adjustment. Those people most in need — with no outside income — were unaffected. In this business you have to be a realist, not an idealist. We were faced with a budget deficit, which, under the law, we cannot do. We had to make a change and, after a lot of soul searching, this we thought most equitable."

Although welfare officials argue that their method of reducing welfare costs hurt those who can most stand it, King concedes that the major damage has come from their removal from the medicaid rolls.

"This," he says, "is what is so tragic about the change."

1971 Federal Welfare Reform Proposals

(These proposals were introduced in the House of Representatives earlier this year and will be up for consideration shortly by the Senate Finance Committee)

	Major Provisions of:	PRESENT WELFARE PROGRAMS	FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN, HR 1 with revisions — supported by the Nixon Administration	HR 7388 supported by "CAMPAIGN FOR ADEQUATE WELFARE REFORM"	ADEQUATE INCOME ACT OF 1971 (National Welfare Rights Organization Bill, HR 7257)
1.	Annual grant for a family of four.	Varies $636 to $4,164 National Median: $2,650	$2400 (States may supplement but with no Federal matching funds)	$3,600 in 1972	$6,500
2.	Annual grant for an aged individual	Varies $585 to $1,475 National average: $900	$1800	$1,600 in 1972	$2,250
3.	Provision toward "adequacy" beyond 1972	None. Reduction possible in some states.	None. Reduction probable in many states.	4 annual steps to Lower Living Standard consumption level, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics.	Benefits maintained at approximately the Lower Living Standard consumption level according to BLS.
4.	Eligibility	Excludes non-disabled adults 18-65 who do not have dependent children, working poor, & in many states, families having two parents present.	Excludes non-disabled adults 18-65 who do not have dependent children.	Includes all persons in need.	Includes all persons in need.
5.	Rights & Protections	Rights of recipient often vague, often violated by states without redress except occasional court action on behalf of recipients.	Similar to existing program. May be more punitive.	Rights & due process requirements explicit.	Rights & due process requirements explicit.
6.	Employment requirements	Able-bodied adults, including Mothers with youngest child over 12 years.	Able-bodied adults, including Mother with youngest child over 6.	Able-bodied adults except Mothers caring for dependent children.	No work requirement, but positive work incentive.
7.	Wage standards for acceptable jobs.	Not in violation of any law.	Similar to existing program.	Wage must be at least Federal minimum wage rate or prevailing wage in community, whichever is higher.	Covered by other legislation.
8.	Work incentive: % of income that can be kept by recipients	Varies. Minimum: no incentive. Maximum: $30 per month and 1/3 of the remainder. Applies only earned income.	$60 per month plus 1/3 remainder. Applies only to earned income.	40% of all income.	33 1/3% of all income.
9.	Program Administration	Varies: State or state-local	Uncertain: May be Federal or a mixture of Federal and State-local.	Federal.	Federal.
10.	Estimated additional cost for 1972 over present program.	See note.	$5 - 8 Billion	$8 Billion	$50 Billion
11.	Estimated tax relief to states & localities as indirect revenue sharing.	None.	$1 -2 Billion, principally to states with average or below grant levels.	The $4 Billion expended on public assistance from state and local taxes.	The $4 Billion expended on public assistance from state and local taxes.

Note: Cost of present public assistance, medicaid, and food stamps programs, is approximately $15 Billion, of which about $6 Billion is state and local. $15 Billion is less than 1½% of the Gross National Product.

Welfare Priority Team
UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES
Revised April, 1971.

full employment economy with increasing job opportunities for all who seek work can deal effectively with the needs of America's working people and their families.

It can be achieved only if the federal government adopts and pursues expansionary fiscal and monetary policies with selective job-creating programs and manpower training programs to assure full employment—jobs at decent wages for all people who are able to work and want jobs.

The need for a large-scale public service employment program is particularly urgent in light of the continuing failure of the private sector of the U.S. economy to open up enough jobs to reach and maintain full employment. Public service jobs and public service facilities are needed not simply to provide jobs, although that in itself is important, but also to serve the people and to enhance the quality of American life.

Full employment policies will need to be supplemented, however, by a federalized U.S. Employment Service, by an effective federal unemployment insurance program for those people who can't find jobs in the private or public sector and by an effective welfare system for those people who are unable to work. Extended and improved unemployment insurance benefits are needed for long-term unemployed workers, including those displaced by automation and technological change. These workers must have available more adequate training and retraining opportunities to help them acquire the skills required by new technology. Furthermore, public and private action to assure equal opportunity in employment is needed.

Also, more information is needed on the process of automation and technological change. Federal action is needed to set up a technological clearing house to gather information on a continuing basis on technological change and its effects on the welfare of the American people, on jobs, skills, training needs and industry location. With more and better information, public and private adjustment programs can better avoid needless human hardship and suffering which too often result from the disruptive impact of spreading automation.

Through this clearing house, the federal government could provide unions and employers with comprehensive information and service, upon request, to help develop labor-management solutions for the complex problems related to the impact of automation and technological change at the workplace.

Collective bargaining has a key role in meeting the human challenges of automation and technological progress at the workplace—and this role must be expanded and strengthened. At the same time, national full employment programs must assure an economic climate in which collective bargaining can flourish. And these national programs must help solve the social and human adjustment problems created by automation and new technology which lie outside the scope of collective bargaining.

Welfare Reform

Welfare Reform and the Work Ethic

by Bert Seidman

The prevailing American mores about welfare have been expressed many times in recent years and by many people—in high and low status alike—but perhaps President Nixon summed it up most succinctly in his 1972 Labor Day message:

"We are faced this year with the choice between the 'work ethic' that built this nation's character—and the new 'welfare ethic' that could cause that American character to weaken."

Now when the President, or anyone else, says "welfare," what he means is AFDC—Aid to Families with Dependent Children—a program we have had since the enactment of the Social Security Act of 1935. AFDC is in fact a title in the Social Security Act. Of course, we have other categories of welfare, too—Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to the Blind. Like AFDC, all of these so-called "adult category" programs are federally-subsidized with considerably higher payment levels than AFDC. In the last Congress, they were brought together into a single federal program called Supplemental Security Income. But despite the desire of many people in these categories to obtain employment, nobody talks about the "work ethic" in connection with them. When you talk about "the work ethic" in relation to welfare, it means simply: "Why aren't those lazy bums on AFDC forced to work?"

Although unemployed fathers are now eligible for AFDC under very stringent conditions, only a minute percentage of those on the AFDC rolls are able-bodied men. The overwhelming majority—indeed 99 percent or more—are mothers and children in poverty. What is most striking about all the discussion about welfare reform, "workfare" and the work ethic is that this fundamental fact is virtually ignored.

BERT SEIDMAN is director of the AFL-CIO Department of Social Security. This article is based on his presentation to the Industrial Relations Research Association's recent winter meeting in Toronto.

The prime purpose of AFDC as it was originally conceived was exactly what its name specifies: to provide assistance to dependent children. Our whole approach to welfare reform therefore ought to be: What is best for these millions of disadvantaged and underprivileged children? Those are fancy words to describe kids who are hungry and ill-clothed and living in rat-infested tenements surrounded by filth, despair, degradation and often disease. Instead, their plight is ignored and all the attention is placed on the alleged sins of the adult, frequently referred to as "he" as if these were predominantly two-parent families where both father and mother are refusing to take the good jobs that are offered to them. But whatever may or may not be the sins of their parents, the guiltless children share heavily in the punishment.

Even well-intentioned welfare reformers most often forget about these children. I was absolutely amazed that in his Wall Street speech on welfare reform during the 1972 presidential election campaign, Sen. George McGovern referred to the children dependent on welfare exactly once. The rest of his welfare reform ideas all centered on the adults.

It is rare that anyone remembers the original purpose of AFDC but Sen. John O. Pastore (D-R.I.) did, if only briefly, in the 1972 Senate debate on welfare reform-social security legislation. Even Pastore seemed to give first priority to costs rather than the children's welfare, but this is what he said:

"Is it not going to be cheaper and better to keep that home intact by keeping the mother home with the children, rather than putting the children in a day care center, which is going to be much more expensive, and have the mother go to work? That was the whole principle of aid to dependent children."

If welfare reform were to focus first and foremost on the needs of the children, it would not begin with the work problem. Yet both conservative and liberal critics of the existing system have mainly concentrated on the relationship of welfare to work. They have paid scanty, if any, attention to whether their solutions benefit the hordes of children mired, through no fault of their own, in the welfare trap.

Everyone knows that conservatives have the all-consuming objective of getting the needy off welfare into work. Sen. Russell Long (D-La.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, coined the catchy word "workfare" for this approach and it seems to have been picked up widely. It rests on the assumption that most welfare recipients over the age of 16 are employable but are unwilling to work and therefore should be forced into jobs. If they refuse, welfare payments for them and their families should be cut off.

There seems to be some confusion as to whether the jobs already exist or would have to be created. The nature of these jobs is very unclear; Long talks about workfare enrollees picking up dead dogs on the highways. Clearly he and others mean to force lots of welfare mothers who are the sole parent in their families into cleaning the houses of more fortunate, two-parent families. Long's plan would have both subsidies to private employers and new unspecified jobs in public employment. But no labor standards or guarantees of suitable employment would be provided as they are in unemployment insurance. Wages in most cases would be far below the statutory minimum. This is by no means an untried approach—but, whenever it has been tried, it has failed.

What is not often noted is that the liberals (and some conservatives like Milton Friedman) who have proposed the negative income tax as the welfare reform panacea are also mesmerized by the relationship between welfare and work.

The negative income tax provides every family (including in some versions childless couples and single individuals) a base amount, usually geared to family size, which is then reduced by a certain percentage of every dollar of other income received.

For example, suppose a negative income tax pro-

gram provides a base amount of $4,000 for a 4-person family (approximately the current poverty level) with a "tax" of 50 percent. If the family has $2,000 in earnings, 50 percent of that amount, or $1,000, is subtracted from the base of $4,000. Thus the family has $3,000 from the program plus $2,000 of earnings, or $5,000.

Now suppose the family has $8,000 of earnings. Fifty percent of $8,000 is $4,000, which is subtracted from the $4,000 base amount so that the family gets nothing from the program and only the $8,000 of earnings. Under the stated assumptions, the "break-even point" is $8,000 and any 4-person family with less than that amount of earnings would get something additional from the program. Of course, with different specifications of the base amount or the tax rate, the amounts families would receive and the break-even point would also vary.

A major objective in a negative income tax program is for it always to be financially rewarding for a family member to shift from a non-work to a work status. This objective has to be reconciled with two other constraints that liberals nearly always accept. The first they share with the workfare proponents—that is, to hold down the overall cost of the program—although they would perhaps accept higher costs than the conservatives would agree to. The second is to provide payments at a decent level for those who can't work. Surprisingly, faced with these three constraints that I call the negative income tax dilemma—work incentive, cost and base payment paid to families with no wage earner—it's the base payment that is most likely to be given the lowest priority in welfare reform proposals based on the negative income tax. So as in AFDC and in workfare, it is the poorest children who are once more the victims.

Now the reason this happens in the negative income tax approach is that it is an all-embracing program intended to cover employables and unemployables alike. Indeed, the most enthusiastic negative income tax advocates would substitute it for all existing income protection programs, including social security, unemployment insurance and the income aspect of workmen's compensation as well as all forms of public assistance. Others don't go that far but nevertheless construct it so that it covers low-income people, working and non-working alike, and especially the transition from non-work to work.

It has to be said that nobody has come up with an acceptable solution to the negative income tax dilemma and I think it is highly unlikely that anyone will. As I have said, a fundamental principle of the negative income tax is that nobody should ever be better off if he is not working than if he is. It turns out, however, that because we have so many income or income-substitute programs (like food stamps, Medicaid and subsidized public housing), the so-called "notch" is always at least a theoretical possibility. The notch is simply an economist's term for the situation where the individual has a higher income not working than working.

The main reason this is considered so important is that the negative income tax is a universal program covering both employables and unemployables which, depending on the base level and the negative tax rate, may cover a very substantial proportion of the population and cost a lot of money. This makes it exceedingly vulnerable to the charge that it is rewarding people to remain idle. Since it does cover both those who can and ought to work and those who either can't work or at least ought not to be made to work, it results in a confusing picture which is difficult to sort out and easy for those with ulterior purposes to distort. And this is exactly what has happened because, to varying degrees, both the AFDC program in its present form (though not originally) and most alternatives liberals have proposed are based on negative income tax principles.

The answer, it seems to me, is not to depend on welfare, even if "reformed," to solve employment problems by providing work or even the incentive to work. Instead, what the nation really needs is an effective full employment policy, including a large-scale public service employment program, to provide suitable jobs at decent wages for everyone, not just welfare recipients. A commitment to this approach would reduce the number of those needing welfare assistance and tend to assure that those receiving welfare are among the least employable. In other words, it would tend to reduce the numbers and enhance the homogeneity of those forced to rely on welfare or whatever the residual income maintenance program is called. This would be all the more likely if, in addition to assuring jobs to employables, minimum wages were raised to a level that would keep all workers, except possibly those with very large families, out of poverty, unemployment insurance payments were raised from their present sub-poverty levels and National Health Security were enacted. If

all of these things were done most families, except those without employables, would not need income supplementation from welfare or its substitute.

This brings me back to my original point—that welfare should concern itself primarily with the needs of the children dependent on it and not on the work or non-work of their mothers. This will be possible if it is recognized that most mothers on welfare should not be expected or even encouraged—and certainly not be required—to work. This does not mean that mothers will be prevented from getting off welfare by obtaining employment. With a full employment commitment, a large-scale public service employment program and higher minimum wages, many more mothers will undoubtedly be doing just that. I would hope that in these one-parent families, however, such mothers would not be encouraged to participate in training programs or to seek employment until meaningful and appropriate training and employment opportunities are provided, together with sufficient child care facilities and services. Today the shortage of child care resources is appalling, even for the children of mothers already working.

But no set of rules can be morally or ethically defensible if it allows the mother in a two-parent family to stay home and take care of her children, but tells the mother who is the only parent of her children that she must work or both she and her children will starve. It is all the more indefensible since because she is poor and because she is alone, the mother, where there is no father, has the heavier parental and household responsibilities. And if she is not forced to work but is expected to consider the physical and emotional needs of her children first, it won't make any difference if the welfare program does or does not include a perfect work incentive.

A work mandate applying to mothers with children is not ethical. Experience with it demonstrates that it is also undesirable from other standpoints.

Such a work mandate is based on the misconception that most welfare mothers don't want to work. What limited information we have does not bear this out. In fact, I would be tempted to argue that because welfare payments are so low, too many welfare mothers want to work for the good of their families.

A number of surveys which have been taken at various times have shown that the overwhelming majority of welfare mothers would be ready to take suitable jobs at decent pay if there were also a satisfactory way of having their children cared for. Leonard Goodwin's recent study, Do the Poor Want to Work?, has shown that the poor, including welfare recipients and their sons, "have a strong work ethic and do not need to be taught the importance of work. To encourage welfare mothers to enter the workforce, it is necessary to present them with a chance to experience success in jobs that will support them. . . . (But) working in jobs that do not pay them enough to support their families is likely to reinforce just those psychological orientations that characterize the poor and discourage them from further work activity. . . . The ways in which the poor differ from the affluent can reasonably be attributed to their different experiences of success and failure in the world."

One illustration of this strong work motivation is particularly interesting. A few months ago, the California Welfare Rights Organization joined with the National Organization for Women in a class action suit attacking alleged sex discrimination in the Work Incentive Program (WIN). WIN is the current work and training scheme in the welfare program which has had less than a shining success in placing registrants in training or trainees in jobs. Nevertheless, the petitioners charged that the California Department of Social Welfare was discouraging women from applying to WIN under regulations giving priority to unemployed men. They argued that female welfare recipients were denied critical job training. In view of the overwhelming proportion of women on welfare, they asked that 9 out of every 10 persons admitted to WIN be women.

This is all the more astonishing in light of the disastrous experience of WIN and similar non-federal mandatory work programs such as those in New York, Massachusetts and other states. A recent staff study by a subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress demonstrates what a failure WIN has been. Of about 2.25 million AFDC recipients "assessed" from July 1968 to the end of 1970, state welfare agencies found about 500,000 "appropriate for referral" to training or work. Actual referrals were just under 400,000 and enrollments were a bit more than half of that number. Shifting to April 30, 1972, of nearly 400,000 training enrollments, in almost four years, somewhat more than 250,000 completed their training but only 61,500 had successful completions, that is, had been on the job three to six months after placement. The study commented that in view of "the documented reluctance of employers to hire AFDC recipients, it is remarkable that WIN's placement rate is as high as it is."

It also stated: "Since there is evidence that WIN authorities creamed in selecting enrollees, the prospects for improved placement rates and for substantial reduction in welfare rolls by expanding a structurally unaltered program are not encouraging. . . . Reducing the large number of WIN participants who drop out for legitimate reasons is going to require improved labor market conditions, longer periods of training to provide greater skills and solutions to participants' health, transportation and family care problems, all of which may prove expensive."

One Labor Department official cited in Business Week magazine recently summed it all up: "I think it's fair to say that we've emphasized the preparation of people for work—as if the work were there."

In the prevailing situation of continuing high unemployment, especially for the unskilled and the inexperienced, it is no wonder that WIN and similar mandatory work and training programs have failed

so miserably. But in addition to all the other problems of welfare recipients, they now have to contend with two bureaucracies which are often in conflict—the welfare agency and the employment service. They are shunted back and forth from one to the other, all too often losing their meager welfare check because they don't understand the regulations of one or the other agency, can't find transportation, are too sick or can't get anyone to take care of their children so they can show up when and where they are required to be. And yet, if they can somehow get through the whole obstacle course, including finding permanent child care services, the overwhelming majority winds up either jobless again or working in substandard employment at the most meager wages with no fringe benefits and with almost no job security. Yet on those very low incomes, they become ineligible for most means-tested health, food and housing programs and must somehow pay for child care as well as all their other regular family expenses.

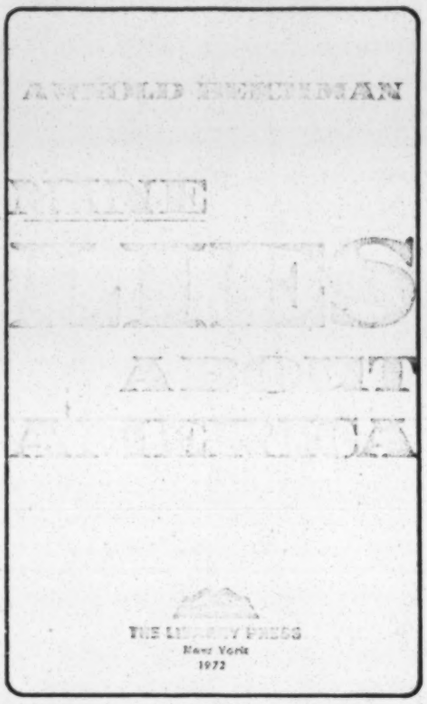
Is there a legitimate "work ethic" which can compel mothers to offer themselves for training or work under such circumstances? Certainly these training and employment programs should be and can be improved—but mothers ought not be forced to participate in them under pain of loss of all income for themselves and their families.

But if genuine training programs led to suitable jobs with decent pay and adequate child care services, I have no doubt that far more mothers in what are now welfare families would voluntarily participate in such programs. Perhaps the most important prerequisite to assure such jobs is a greatly expanded public service employment program.

In summary, any genuine welfare reform must, first and foremost, emphasize the children's welfare. It should rely primarily on non-welfare programs to develop and assure suitable jobs at decent wages supplemented by improved social insurance, health security and other programs aimed at eliminating poverty. This will require a multi-faceted approach, but the one I would suggest is very different from the ideas which have been most popular in the academic community. These have tended to focus on some variant of the negative income tax as a single, all-embracing solution to poverty. Qualified academicians have devoted much time and effort to developing simulated models, pilot tests and other research studies which have produced a data base for the policy they espouse. But little work has been done to provide a research foundation for the multi-faceted approach I think is much more promising.

With this multi-faceted approach, welfare, or whatever it is called, could become a residual program providing a decent level of living to people who can't work at all or ought not to be required to work if they wish to devote themselves to their children's care. Under these circumstances, welfare would be far less costly and the "work ethic" would be irrelevant to welfare. The nation might even turn once again to helping instead of punishing the poor.

EV



by Tom Kahn

This is a powerful, biting, yet carefully reasoned polemic against some of the more outrageous manifestations of anti-Americanism that were spawned by the New Left of the 1960s and, more importantly, came to dominate fashionable sections of the intellectual and academic world.

The author, happily, is no knee-jerk flagwaver, no crusty conservative clinging to the status quo, no mouthpiece for its privileged beneficiaries. Nor is he an anti-intellectual. Arnold Beichman, currently a political science professor at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, was years ago the city editor of the New York liberal newspaper PM, was a pioneer in international labor journalism and was denied a visa by South Africa to accompany Sen. Robert Kennedy there in 1965 because of what he had written about South Africa before. In short, he has good liberal and intellectual credentials.

What bothers Beichman, like so many others who have stood up to the intellectuals of the New Left, is the notion that basic social change must be fueled by hostility toward things American—American values, American institutions, even the American people themselves. That this hostility has become the creed not of society's real victims but of its more comfortable, protected and unoppressed elite suggests that underneath, it signifies not a resurgent radicalism but an old-fashioned conservative snobbism temporarily dressed in the vocabulary of revolution.

Beichman boils this creed down to "Nine Lies About America"—among them: America Is a Fascist Country; America Means Genocide; The American Worker Is a Honky; America Is Insane; America

TABLE 3.—*Estimated fiscal year 1973 Federal and non-Federal costs of maintenance payments by State and program (existing law)*

[In millions]

State	Combined programs			Adult programs			Family programs		
	Total	Federal	Non-Federal	Total	Federal	Non-Federal	Total	Federal	Non-Federal
Alabama	166.8	130.9	35.9	120.2	94.4	25.8	46.6	36.5	10.1
Alaska	16.6	5.2	11.4	5.6	1.7	3.9	11.0	3.5	7.5
Arizona	63.1	36.3	26.8	21.5	15.7	5.8	[1] 41.6	[1] 20.6	[1] 21.0
Arkansas	83.9	66.9	17.0	61.4	49.0	12.4	22.5	17.9	4.6
California	2,196.4	1,098.2	1,098.2	962.4	481.2	481.2	1,234.0	617.0	617.0
Colorado	110.2	63.5	46.7	46.5	26.8	19.7	63.7	36.7	27.0
Connecticut	124.2	62.2	62.0	25.9	13.0	12.9	98.3	49.2	49.1
Delaware	19.1	11.1	8.0	5.7	3.1	2.6	13.4	8.0	5.4
District of Columbia	86.2	43.2	43.0	20.8	10.4	10.4	65.4	32.8	32.6
Florida	326.4	152.9	173.5	92.7	57.3	35.4	[1] 233.7	[1] 95.6	[1] 138.1
Georgia	214.8	164.7	50.1	97.2	74.9	22.3	117.6	89.8	27.8
Hawaii	42.5	21.6	20.9	7.1	3.6	3.5	35.4	18.0	17.4
Idaho	23.2	16.0	7.2	6.4	4.4	2.0	16.8	11.6	5.2
Illinois	535.9	268.0	267.9	115.9	58.0	57.9	420.0	210.0	210.0
Indiana	82.7	50.8	31.9	20.8	14.4	6.4	61.9	36.4	25.5
Iowa	113.0	62.4	50.6	46.0	25.4	20.6	67.0	37.0	30.0
Kansas	82.8	47.8	35.0	20.0	11.6	8.4	62.8	36.2	26.6
Kentucky	127.1	96.6	30.5	64.8	49.5	15.3	62.3	47.1	15.2
Louisiana	221.0	162.9	58.1	136.6	100.8	35.8	84.4	62.1	22.3
Maine	53.5	36.6	16.9	16.6	11.4	5.2	36.9	25.2	11.7
Maryland	128.1	65.9	62.2	27.8	16.9	10.9	100.3	49.0	51.3
Massachusetts	447.6	223.8	223.8	125.8	62.9	62.9	321.8	160.9	160.9
Michigan	404.6	202.3	202.3	79.1	39.5	39.6	325.5	162.8	162.7
Minnesota	168.1	95.8	72.3	40.7	23.2	17.5	127.4	72.6	54.8
Mississippi	98.9	82.1	16.8	74.7	62.0	12.7	24.2	20.1	4.1
Missouri	185.9	130.4	55.5	111.9	77.3	34.6	74.0	53.1	20.9
Montana	15.6	10.1	5.5	5.6	3.6	2.0	10.0	6.5	3.5
Nebraska	33.0	19.4	13.6	11.0	7.7	3.3	22.0	11.7	10.3
Nevada	10.6	7.2	3.4	3.3	2.2	1.1	7.3	5.0	2.3
New Hampshire	33.8	20.1	13.7	13.4	8.0	5.4	20.4	12.1	8.3
New Jersey	438.6	219.3	219.3	45.2	22.6	22.6	393.4	196.7	196.7
New Mexico	49.2	34.3	14.9	17.2	11.2	6.0	32.0	23.1	8.9
New York	1,475.8	737.9	737.9	277.8	138.9	138.9	1,198.0	599.0	599.0
North Carolina	138.0	100.1	37.9	70.5	50.9	19.6	67.5	49.2	18.3
North Dakota	16.0	11.2	4.8	6.7	4.7	2.0	9.3	6.5	2.8
Ohio	292.1	163.8	128.3	77.7	53.2	24.5	214.4	110.6	103.8
Oklahoma	151.4	102.8	48.6	103.7	71.0	32.7	47.7	31.8	15.9
Oregon	88.2	50.6	37.6	19.7	11.3	8.4	68.5	39.3	29.2
Pennsylvania	680.2	377.0	303.2	130.4	72.2	58.2	549.8	304.8	245.0
Rhode Island	49.1	24.7	24.4	6.9	3.5	3.4	42.2	21.2	21.0
South Carolina	46.7	37.4	9.3	21.7	17.0	4.7	25.0	20.4	4.6
South Dakota	22.5	15.7	6.8	5.6	3.9	1.7	16.9	11.8	5.1
Tennessee	167.1	126.9	40.2	73.7	56.1	17.6	93.4	70.8	22.6
Texas	382.9	285.9	97.0	215.2	160.4	54.8	167.7	125.5	42.2
Utah	36.8	25.8	11.0	8.9	6.2	2.7	27.9	19.6	8.3
Vermont	20.5	13.3	7.2	7.6	4.9	2.7	12.9	8.4	4.5
Virginia	116.7	74.7	42.0	24.9	16.0	8.9	91.8	58.7	33.1
Washington	159.9	79.9	80.0	41.9	20.9	21.0	118.0	59.0	59.0
West Virginia	65.3	45.9	19.4	24.7	16.7	8.0	40.6	29.2	11.4
Wisconsin	103.7	58.3	45.4	34.9	19.6	15.3	68.8	38.7	30.1
Wyoming	7.6	4.6	3.0	2.0	1.5	0.5	5.6	3.1	2.5
Guam	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.5	0.4
Puerto Rico	43.0	21.5	21.5	9.3	4.7	4.6	33.7	16.8	16.9
Virgin Islands	1.4	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.2	1.1	0.4	0.7
Total	10,769.5	6,067.7	4,701.8	3,614.2	2,177.6	1,436.6	7,155.3	3,890.1	3,265.2

[1] These estimates incorporate a State expectation of major program change under current law.

Univ Labor Ed.
1966
OEOD

March 9, 1966

Professor Richard L. Rowan
Wharton School of Finance and
Commerce
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Professor Rowan:

It was thoughtful of you to send us a copy of your paper, "Discrimination and Apprentice Regulation in the Building Trades".

I hope you will send us copies of any further studies you or your colleagues do related to employment discrimination.

If you have not already done so I would suggest you send a copy to the persons listed on the attached sheet.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

Donald Slaiman
Director
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

E. T. Kehrer
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
Southern Office
40 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Professor T. Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Benjamin Segal
Liason Officer
Equal Employment Opportunities
Commission
Washington, D. C.

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA 19104

Wharton School of
Finance and Commerce

February 28, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The enclosed is forwarded for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Rowan

Richard L. Rowan
Assistant Professor of Industry

RLR:r

Encl.

April 21, 1966

Mr. Robert W. Miller
Project Associate Director
West Virginia University
Institute for Labor Studies
Morgantown, West Virginia 26506

Dear Mr. Miller:

I have your invitation to be an observer at your Community Action Training Program for Appalachian trade-union leaders. I knew of the program and want to thank you very much for the invitation.

It is with real regret that I must face the facts of a pressing schedule and will not be able to be with you.

All good wishes for this conference. I would be happy to be kept informed of your other activities along this line. It is my understanding that W. H. Montague of the Georgia AFL-CIO will attend.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY • MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506
THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT • CABLE ADDRESS: CASAD

April 18, 1966

INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Robert Winn of our staff has suggested that you would be interested in observing our Community Action Training Program for Appalachian trade-union leaders.

We would be pleased to have you observe if you so desire. The second week of training will be held in the annex of the First Presbyterian Church of Morgantown, the week of April 24-29. Trainees will be housed at the Morgan Hotel.

Call me at 293-3323 if you have any questions about this.

Yours truly,

Robert W. Miller

Robert W. Miller
Project Associate Director

293-0111

Aim: Some framework before getting into the nitty-gritty

Prejudice —

What we know about race

Working with the poor —

minority groups —

The special problems of the ~~minority~~ Negro poor.

Civil Rights

Labor's Stake in Civil Rights — | Problems within the labor movement are real relations

Employment problems of minority groups.

File — W. Va. Univ. (also check to see if similar correspondence is under Appalachian Project - W. Va. or W. Va. Appalachian Project

COURSE: DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND THE NATIONS POOR*

MONDAY: THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

This session relates the structure and functions of government, the role of group pressure politics and basic democratic constitutional values (Bill of Rights).

TUESDAY: THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS,
and THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHANGING SOUTH,
WED. AND CHANGING SOCIAL RELATIONS

The Impact of Economic Developments: This session considers the rate and character of industrialization in the South and its effect on people, politics, and the state governments.

The Political Developments: In this session a discussion of the effects of reapportionment, Negro voter registration, end of the poll tax, Negro political organizations, and Union-Negro coalitions.

Changing Social Relations: In this session the nature of prejudice, how people become prejudice, and the Civil Rights groups (what they do and what they are) will be discussed.

THURSDAY: THE UNIONS RESPONSIBILITY TO SOCIETY AND TO ITSELF

* Classes are to be held two times per day. Length of class to be one and one-half hours.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY • MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT • CABLE ADDRESS: CASAD

July 22, 1966

INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Arrangements have been completed to hold our August 12 evaluation conference at the newly opened Heart O'Town Motor Inn in Charleston, West Virginia.

(304) 343-4661

Room reservations can be made directly with the Inn, mentioning either the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council or the Institute for Labor Studies as the sponsoring party. The address of the Inn is Broad and Washington Streets, Charleston. If you prefer, reservations can be made through the West Virginia State Labor Federation office.

A meeting room has been reserved for all day and a lunch will be served. I would suggest that we begin at 9:30 A.M.

Thanks are due to Jim Nelson of the West Virginia Labor Federation for making these arrangements.

We are looking forward to meeting with you on the 12th.

Yours sincerely,

Robert W. Miller

Robert W. Miller
Associate Project Director

293-3324

W. Va. AFL-CIO
Mines Study Office
(304) 344-3557

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY • MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506
THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT • CABLE ADDRESS: CASAD

July 22, 1966

INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I sent under separate cover the workbooks we used for our first two weeks of training. In addition, I have enclosed the course outline we discussed in Lexington.

We hope you can arrange to attend the meeting in Charleston on August 12. Let me hear from you when you make a final determination.

Fraternally,

Bob W.

Robert Winn
Project Associate

Enclosure
RDW/ldi

Apprenticeship

How About It?

Report to the
UNITED ASSOCIATION
Membership

From General President
PETER T. SCHOEMANN

Reprinted From
UA JOURNAL
April 1965

Univ of W. Va

EMPLOYMENT SERIES

* CHANGING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

experience report 102

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

LABOR MARKET OBSTACLES TO MINORITY JOB GAINS

by

Walter Fogel

Reprint No. 187

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024
1968

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE UNION'S DUTY OF FAIR REPRESENTATION UNDER THE RAILWAY LABOR AND NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACTS

by

Benjamin Aaron

Reprint No. 189

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024
1968

Univ of W. Va

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY • MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT • CABLE ADDRESS: CASAD

INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES

February 17, 1969

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

You are scheduled to make your presentation -- Title VII and Affirmative Action -- at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, February 28. Your presentation will last until about noon.

Carl Glatt, Executive Director of the West Virginia Human Rights Commission will precede you on the program. We have asked him to confine his remarks to purposes of the Human Rights Commission. Similarly your subject will not conflict with that of Lou Sherman. He will confine his remarks to the general subject of Labor Law -- specifically jurisdictional disputes and picketing. There may be some overlap with the remarks of J.B. Archer of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. However, the main thrust of his remarks will be directed towards projected skill needs and the effect of technology on the apprenticeship processes.

We are prepared to offer you an honorarium in lieu of expenses of $200. This includes air ($60 via Piedmont), hotel, meals, and taxi as expenses.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Charleston and I hope to be able to report some startling gossip of several kinds.

Fraternally,

Owen Tapper

Owen A. Tapper
Assistant Director
for Education

OAT/dn
Enclosure

cc: H. Janney

February 17, 1969

Mr. Carl Glatt
Executive Director
West Virginia Human Rights Commission
State Capitol
Charleston, West Virginia 25305

Dear Mr. Glatt:

You are cordially invited to attend and to participate in the Second Winter Education Conference of the West Virginia Building and Construction Trades Council. This conference is being held at the Heart-O-Town Motel in Charleston on February 26, 27, 28.

Your presentation is scheduled for 9:00 a.m. on February 28. We hope that you will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes to tell us of the purposes of and the work of the Human Rights Commission.

Following your presentation Dr. Emory Via of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta will handle a session entitled "Title VII (of the Civil Rights Act) and Affirmative Action" in the construction industry.

You are certainly invited to remain for this session.

Enclosed is a conference brochure.

Sincerely,

Owen A. Tapper
Assistant Director
for Education

OAT/dn
Enclosure

cc: H. Janney
E. Via ✓

THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES and MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

and

THE WEST VIRGINIA BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL
AFL-CIO

announce
the second

WINTER EDUCATION CONFERENCE

February 26, 27 and 28, 1969

Heart-O-Town Motor Inn

Charleston, West Virginia

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

LABOR LAW AND THE BUILDING TRADES

N.L.R.B. PROCEDURES

WEST VIRGINIA LEGISLATIVE REPORT

APPRENTICESHIP

JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

TITLE VII AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

ECONOMICS IN THE INDUSTRY

PREVAILING WAGES IN WEST VIRGINIA

NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND THE BUILDING TRADES

KEYNOTE SPEAKER — 7:30 P.M. — February 26

REGISTER — 6:00 P.M. — February 26

Problems And Prospects – A Look At Unions In The Building And Construction Industry

WHERE: Heart-O-Town Motor Inn
Broad and Washington Street
Charleston, West Virginia 25301
Phone (304) 343-4661

WHEN: Beginning Wednesday, February 26 at 6:00 P.M.
and Continuing through Friday, February 28 at 3:30 P.M.

FEE: $15.00 — Includes lunch on Thursday and Friday

REGISTER: At the Motel
6:00 P.M. — 7:30 P.M. — February 26
8:30 A.M. — 900 A.M. — February 27

CUT OFF AND RETURN

REGISTRATION FORM — BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES WINTER EDUCATION CONFERENCE

PARTICIPANTS FROM OUR LOCAL ARE:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

LOCAL NO. _____

INTERNATIONAL _____

Check Enclosed ☐ ($15 per participant)

Will Pay at Conference ☐

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

Return To:

Harry Janney, Secretary-Treasurer
State Building Trades Council
606 Tennessee Avenue
Charleston, W. Va. 25302

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO:
W. VA. State Building Trades Council

Heart of Town Motor Inc.

THE WEST VIRGINIA BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL

SECOND

WINTER EDUCATION CONFERENCE

PROGRAM

February 26, 1969

6:00 p.m. - 7:15 p.m. -	Registration	
7:15 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. -	Welcome and Orientation	- Owen A. Tapper Harry Janney
7:30 p.m. - 8:45 p.m. -	Keynote "Problems in the Construction Industry"	- William Naumann
About 9:00 p.m. -	Social Hour	

February 27, 1969

8:30 a.m. - 10:15 a.m. -	"Developments in Labor Law"	- Louis Sherman
10:15 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. -	Coffee	
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon -	"N.L.R.B. Procedures"	- Emil Farkus
12:00 noon - 1:50 p.m. -	Lunch - Speaker "Apprenticeship and Skill Needs"	- J. B. Archer
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. -	"National Legislation and the Building Trades"	- Walter Mason
3:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. -	Coffee	
3:15 p.m. - 4:15 p.m. -	"Economics of the Industry"	- Keith Dix
4:15 p.m. - 5:45 p.m. -	"West Virginia Prevailing Wages"	- Walter Snyder
	"Safety Regulations in the Industry"	- Curtis Yago

February 28, 1969

9:00 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. -	"The West Virginia Human Rights Commission"	- Carl W. Glatt
9:45 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. -	Coffee	
10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon -	"Title VII and Affirmative Action"	- Emory F. Via
12:00 noon - 1:50 p.m. -	Lunch - Speaker "A Union Attorney Views the N.L.R.B."	- Edward C. Verst
2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. -	West Virginia Legislative Report	- Miles Stanley

OAT:GB
February 20, 1969

February 24, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: EMORY VIA

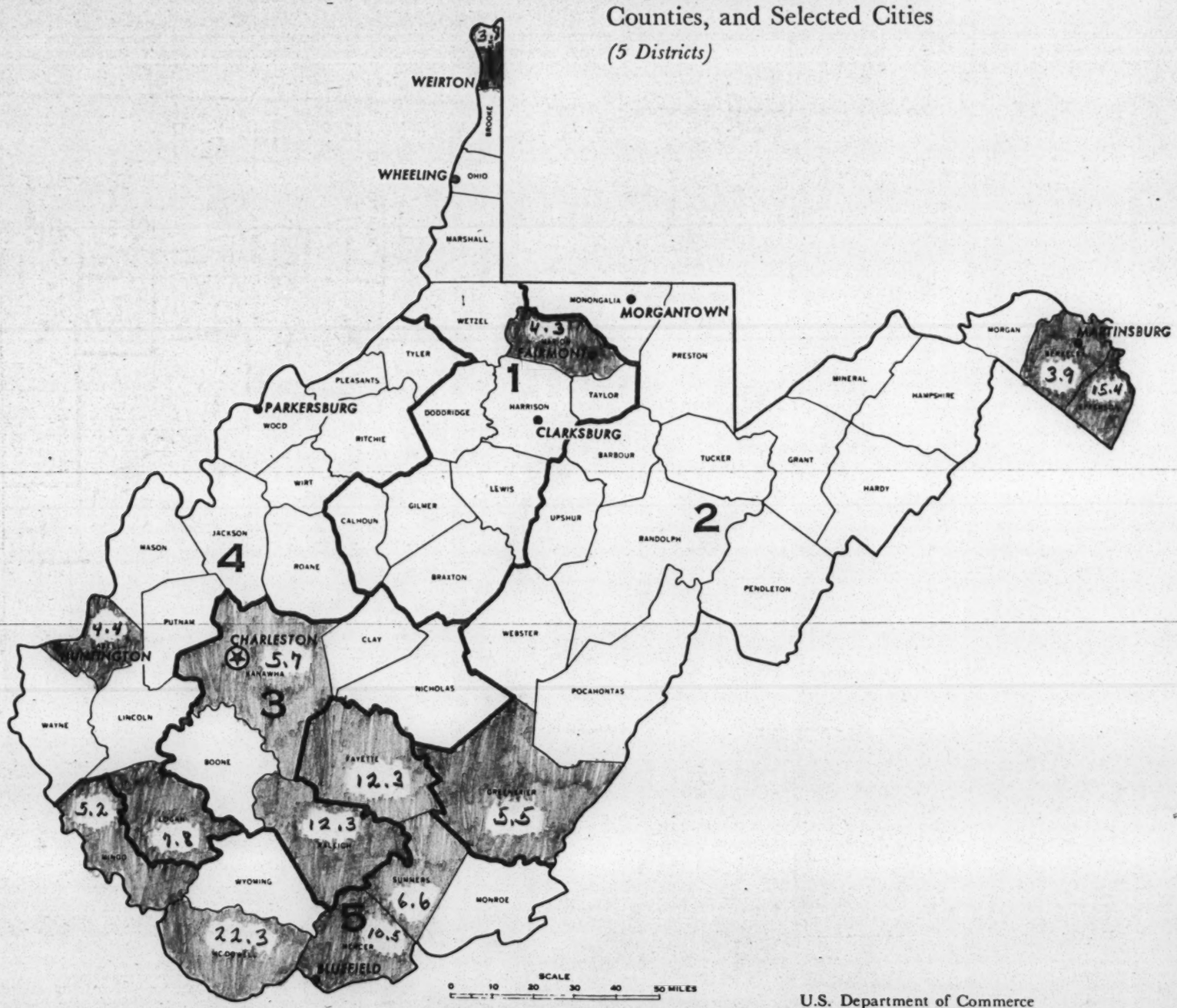
FROM: GLENDA BARTLEY

Attached is a map of West Virginia, showing the fourteen counties in the top quartile of Negro population. West Virginia's total population is 1,860,421, of which 89,378 (4.8) are Negro. The Negro population of the top quartile counties ranges from 22.3 per cent of the total 71,359 in McDowell (a relatively populous southern county which borders on Virginia) to 3.8 per cent of northern Hancock's 39,615. There are only two counties in the state with over 100,000 total population. Both Cabell (Huntington) and Kanawha (Charleston) are in the top quartile.

Source: 1960 Census of Population.

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities

(5 Districts)



U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

WEST VIRGINIA
July 1, 1964

WEST VIRGINIA

County	Total	Non-white	Negro			
			1960		1950, number	Percent change, 1950 to 1960
			Number	Percent of total		
1 Barbour	15,474	212	193	1.2	1,116	-82.7
2 Berkeley	33,791	1,316	1,301	3.9	1,169	11.3
3 Boone	28,764	355	342	1.2	569	-39.9
4 Braxton	15,152	136	119	0.8	111	7.2
5 Brooke	28,940	412	410	1.4	568	-27.8
6 Cabell	108,202	4,841	4,760	4.4	4,550	4.6
7 Calhoun	7,948	12	11	0.1	10	(B)
8 Clay	11,942	68	66	0.6	58	(B)
9 Doddridge	6,970	1	1	-	2	(B)
10 Fayette	61,731	7,625	7,601	12.3	11,387	-33.3
11 Gilmer	8,050	1	1	-	24	(B)
12 Grant	8,304	233	232	2.8	242	-4.1
13 Greenbrier	34,446	1,891	1,879	5.5	2,014	-6.7
14 Hampshire	11,705	163	162	1.4	127	27.6
15 Hancock	39,615	1,547	1,521	3.8	1,338	13.7
16 Hardy	9,308	241	239	2.6	287	-16.7
17 Harrison	77,856	1,340	1,317	1.7	1,571	-16.2
18 Jackson	18,541	6	6	-	3	(B)
19 Jefferson	18,665	2,893	2,882	15.4	2,735	5.4
20 Kanawha	252,925	14,747	14,535	5.7	15,674	-7.3
21 Lewis	19,711	103	95	0.5	62	(B)
22 Lincoln	20,267	5	3	-	33	(B)
23 Logan	61,570	4,798	4,776	7.8	7,277	-34.4
24 McDowell	71,359	15,922	15,899	22.3	24,127	-34.1
25 Marion	63,717	2,757	2,737	4.3	3,483	-21.4
26 Marshall	38,041	371	360	0.9	323	11.5
27 Mason	24,459	532	529	2.2	755	-29.9
28 Mercer	68,206	7,205	7,186	10.5	8,405	-14.5
29 Mineral	22,354	686	681	3.0	673	1.2
30 Mingo	39,742	2,063	2,053	5.2	2,717	-24.4
31 Monongalia	55,617	1,171	1,133	2.0	1,427	-20.6

County	Total	Non-white	Negro			
			1960		1950, number	Percent change, 1950 to 1960
			Number	Percent of total		
32 Monroe	11,584	348	346	3.0	468	-26.1
33 Morgan	8,376	173	126	1.5	147	-14.3
34 Nicholas	25,414	9	6	-	32	(B)
35 Ohio	68,437	2,149	2,089	3.1	2,637	-20.8
36 Pendleton	8,093	172	172	2.1	146	17.8
37 Pleasants	7,124	8	8	0.1	3	(B)
38 Pocahontas	10,136	383	373	3.7	628	-40.6
39 Preston	27,233	113	100	0.4	124	-19.4
40 Putnam	23,561	19	13	0.1	12	(B)
41 Raleigh	77,826	9,571	9,538	12.3	12,574	-24.2
42 Randolph	26,349	277	260	1.0	385	-32.5
43 Ritchie	10,877	6	1	-	5	(B)
44 Roane	15,720	18	17	0.1	23	(B)
45 Summers	15,640	1,056	1,038	6.6	1,024	1.4
46 Taylor	15,010	194	193	1.3	683	-71.8
47 Tucker	7,750	24	20	0.3	45	(B)
48 Tyler	10,026	12	12	0.1	20	(B)
49 Upshur	18,292	84	71	0.4	92	(B)
50 Wayne	38,977	36	24	0.1	39	(B)
51 Webster	13,719	4	1	-	4	(B)
52 Wetzel	19,347	7	5	-	33	(B)
53 Wirt	4,391	13	13	0.3	20	(B)
54 Wood	78,331	673	643	0.8	661	-2.7
55 Wyoming	34,836	1,286	1,279	3.7	2,225	-42.5

WASHINGTON POST

FEB 11

Labor Seeks $1 Billion for Slum Housing

MIAMI BEACH, Fla. Feb. 10 (AP) — Labor officials launched a campaign to raise $1 billion in union money to invest in low-cost housing to help rebuild city slums.

"It will give you a secure investment, a reasonable interest yield, create jobs for yourself and your community and do a job the Nation needs in rebuilding city ghetto areas." John E. Evans told leaders of 17 AFL-CIO construction unions.

Evans, director of the AFL-CIO's recently created Department of Urban Affairs, said he will make an individual pitch to the presidents of all 125 AFL-CIO unions to put pension, welfare and other union funds into the labor federation's mortgage investment trust, which now totals $11 million.

"There was healthy discussion, none of it negative. There was a great deal of indication of interest," Evans said afterward.

He said he already has verbal pledges of about $8 million in new union money for the fund.

REPRINTED FROM THE FEDERAL REGISTER, DECEMBER 18, 1963, TITLE 29-LABOR:
SUBTITLE A-OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR-NONDISCRIMINATION IN APPRENTICESHIP

Title 29—LABOR

Subtitle A—Office of the Secretary of Labor

PART 30—NONDISCRIMINATION IN APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

On October 23, 1963, notice of the substance of proposed rules regarding equality of opportunity in apprenticeship and training was published in the FEDERAL REGISTER (28 F.R. 11313). Interested persons were given 15 days in which to submit written statements of data, views, and arguments concerning the proposal. Having considered all relevant material submitted, I have decided to, and do hereby establish a new 29 CFR Part 30, effective January 17, 1964, to read as follows:

Sec.
30.1 Scope and purpose.
30.2 Definitions.
30.3 Equal opportunity standards.
30.4 Selection of apprentices.
30.5 Necessary action on prior application lists.
30.6 Nondiscriminatory operation.
30.7 Formal nondiscrimination provisions.
30.8 New registrations.
30.9 Program reviews.
30.10 Review by Regional Director.
30.11 Review by Administrator.
30.12 Complaint procedure.
30.13 Adjustments in schedules for program review or complaint processing.
30.14 Reinstatement of program registration.

Sec.
30.15 Quota system barred.
30.16 State agencies.

AUTHORITY: §§ 30.1 to 30.16 issued under 50 Stat. 665, R.S. 161; 29 U.S.C. 50, 5 U.S.C. 22.

§ 30.1 Scope and purpose.

This part sets forth policies and procedures to promote equality of opportunity in apprenticeship and training programs registered with the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. These policies apply to the selection of apprentices, to waiting lists, and to employment during apprenticeship, and the procedures established provide for review of apprenticeship programs, for processing complaints, for deregistering noncomplying programs and for registering new programs. Provision is also made for cooperative relationships with appropriate State agencies. The purpose of this part is to promote equality of opportunity and to prevent discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin in all phases of apprenticeship.

§ 30.2 Definitions.

(a) "Bureau" means the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

(b) "Administrator", "Regional Director", and "field representative" mean the Administrator, the Regional Directors and the field representatives of the Bureau.

(c) "Program" means an apprenticeship program registered with the Bureau.

(d) "Employer" means any person or organization employing an apprentice whether or not the apprentice is indentured to such person or organization or to some other person or organization.

(e) "Program sponsor" means any person or organization operating an apprenticeship program, irrespective of whether such person or organization is an employer.

§ 30.3 Equal opportunity standards.

Each apprenticeship program registered with the Bureau shall operate on the basis of the following standards:

(a) The selection of apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone, in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application, unless the selections otherwise made would themselves demonstrate that there is equality of opportunity.

(b) The taking of whatever steps are necessary, in acting upon application lists developed prior to this time, to remove the effects of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment may have resulted.

(c) Nondiscrimination in all phases of apprenticeship and employment during apprenticeship after selections are made.

§ 30.4 Selection of apprentices.

Apprentices may be selected by any of the methods prescribed in paragraphs (a), (b) or (c) of this section.

(a) *Selection on the basis of qualifications alone.* (1) (i) Selection "on the basis of qualifications alone" means that apprentices are chosen from those applicants meeting the minimum qualifications for the trade or craft solely on the basis of their qualifications compared to those of other applicants. Examples of standards by which comparative qualifications may be determined are fair aptitude tests, school diplomas, age requirements, occupationally essential physical requirements, fair interviews, school grades and previous work experience. Under this test, both actual selection for and entry into apprenticeship must be on the basis of comparative qualifications alone. It is not enough for a program sponsor to establish a lengthy list on the basis of minimum qualifications standards and then select apprentices from the list on a basis other than comparative qualifications, such as on the basis of time of application.

(ii) Where the number of applicants meeting the minimum qualifications requirements is greater than the number of job openings, "qualifications alone" means (*a*) that the applicants are ranked on the basis of criteria which measure comparative qualifications (e.g., fair aptitude tests, etc.) and are selected on the basis of the rankings, or (*b*) that without ranking each individual, criteria which measure comparative qualifications are used to identify the "best qualified" in a total number not in excess of the total number of apprentice openings and the order of selection for employment from within the "best qualified" group is determined through any nondiscriminatory system.

(2) "Objective standards" means that qualifications and eligibility must be determined by specific requirements so that questions of discrimination in selection can be fairly adjudicated. It does not mean that all programs must have identical standards for selection. Requirements must be established and disseminated publicly prior to selection. (See § 30.4(a)(4).)

(3) To "permit review" adequate records of the selection process must be kept and made available to the Bureau upon request. These must include a brief summary of each interview and the conclusions on each of the specific factors, e.g., motivation, ambition, willingness to accept direction, which are part of the total judgment. Such records must be retained for at least two years.

(4) "After full and fair opportunity for application" means, with respect to application lists developed prior to January 17, 1964, that in the development of the list the program sponsor had publicly disseminated information about the availability of apprenticeship opportunities and had allowed a substantial period of time for applicants to apply. After January 17, 1964, "After full and fair opportunity for application" means that the program sponsor, prior to time of selection and at least once annually, except in years when no selections are made, has allowed a substantial period of time for new applicants to apply and former applicants to reapply for apprenticeship, has publicly disseminated full information about the availability of apprenticeship opportunities, and has ranked the new applicants thus received along with previous applicants on the basis of their comparative qualifications. After January 17, 1964, such information shall be posted at the normal place of application for apprenticeship and disseminated to the local employment service and the local schools, except that where selection is made exclusively from a restricted pool (see § 30.4(c)), information need not be disseminated to the local employment service and the local schools.

(b) Selections demonstrating equality of opportunity.

(1) Apprentices may be selected in any manner in which the selections themselves demonstrate equality of opportunity.

(2) Apprentices may also be selected in accordance with any plan which assures equality of opportunity and which is acceptable to the Administrator.

(c) Selection from existing employees. Where apprentices are selected from a restricted pool, e.g., from present employees, admissions to the pool as well as selection for apprenticeship must be on a nondiscriminatory basis after January 17, 1964. Selections from the pools may be made on the basis of seniority of employment.

§ 30.5 Necessary action on prior application lists.

Where program sponsors have or adopt a selection system based on qualifications alone as specified in § 30.4(a), the standard stated in § 30.3(b) does not require any action with regard to "application lists developed prior to this time" beyond that required by § 30.4(a). Where program sponsors do not have a selection system based on qualifications alone, the standard stated in § 30.3(b) requires that "application lists developed prior to this time" be opened to the extent necessary to provide current opportunities for selection of qualified members of racial and ethnic minority groups.

§ 30.6 Nondiscriminatory operation.

There must be no discrimination in apprenticeship or employment during

apprenticeship after selections have been made, including but not limited to job assignment, promotion, layoff or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation or conditions of work. All apprentices employed shall be subject to the same job performance requirements.

§ 30.7 Formal nondiscrimination provisions.

(a) *Formal provision required.* Except as provided in § 30.7(b), each program registered with the Bureau must contain in its formal apprenticeship standards or in its underlying collective bargaining agreement a formal nondiscrimination provision which is consistent with the standards in § 30.3. The Bureau suggests the following language as appropriate for adoption by program sponsors desiring to select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone: "Selection of apprentices under the program shall be made from qualified applicants on the basis of qualifications alone and without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, sex, or occupationally irrelevant physical requirements in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application; and this program shall be operated on a completely nondiscriminatory basis."

(b) *Previously registered programs.* Programs registered prior to January 17, 1964, which contain the following provision or generally equivalent language are not required to revise such language in order to comply with paragraph (a): "Selection of apprentices under this program shall be made from qualified applicant without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or physical handicaps; women shall not be barred from apprenticeships for which they qualify."

(c) *Equal opportunity standards applicable.* Irrespective of the form of the formal nondiscrimination clause adopted or in use, all federally registered programs are required to operate in accordance with the equal opportunity standards in § 30.3 as interpreted in this part.

§ 30.8 New registrations.

Any program sponsor seeking federal registration of a program after January 17, 1964, must select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application and must adopt a nondiscrimination clause in the form suggested in § 30.7(a) or its equivalent. In addition to the formal provision requirement, the submission to the Bureau must include a concise statement of the selection procedure and of the selection standards which the program sponsor proposes to apply.

§ 30.9 Program reviews.

The Bureau shall conduct a systematic field review of existing federally registered programs, inform program sponsors of the equal opportunity standards, encourage their adoption, and take appropriate action regarding programs which do not adopt and operate in accordance with the standards. Each program field review shall involve the following steps:

(a) Notification to the program sponsor of the equal opportunity standards and the taking of all appropriate action to urge their voluntary acceptance.

(b) Maintenance of a file on the program field review: The file shall accompany the report forwarded by the field representative.

(c) Determination of racial and ethnic composition of the program: Where the composition of the program demonstrates that there is equality of opportunity no further field review will be made. A file shall be maintained regarding such programs, which will contain the information which indicates that equal opportunity is being provided. This file shall be forwarded through supervisory channels to the Administrator for review.

(d) Use of the following checklist where further field review is required:

(1) The formal program language requirement. Does the program contain a formal nondiscrimination clause consistent with the equal opportunity standards in § 30.3? (Programs already containing language generally equivalent to that required by Bureau Circular 62-5 are not required to adopt new written provisions. See § 30.7.)

(2) Selection of apprentices:

(i) Selection on the basis of qualifications alone: Does the program select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application? (See § 30.4(a)), and is the application list composed entirely of applicants selected and ranked solely on the basis of qualifications alone in accordance with objective standards that permit review after full and fair opportunity for application? (See §§ 30.4(a)(4) and 30.5.)

(ii) Alternative selection plan: If the program does not select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone, has the program adopted an alternative equal opportunity plan for selecting apprentices which assures equality of opportunity and which is acceptable to the Administrator? Does the program operate in accordance with such plan? Field representatives should submit through channels to the Administrator for approval alternative selection plans which appear to assure equal opportunity. A copy of the approved plan should be included in the case file.

(3) Program operation: Is there any discrimination in apprenticeship or employment during apprenticeship, including but not limited to job assignment, promotion, demotion, layoff, or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation or conditions of work? (See § 30.6.)

(e) Where the program sponsor has not adopted or is not operating in accordance with the equal opportunity standards in § 30.3, the field representative shall notify the program sponsor in writing (even in group programs where it is an individual employer who is deficient) and indicate possible methods of providing equal opportunity in accordance with this document. For a reasonable time, not to exceed 30 days from the time the program sponsor is notified of the lack of equal opportunity, the field representative shall make every reasonable effort to encourage corrective action, recording the facts and information in the case report. This effort to obtain corrective action shall include an opportunity for any body designated by the program sponsor or industry group for reviewing complaints of discrimination to resolve the issue.

§ 30.10 Review by Regional Director.

(a) *Forwarding of file.* At the close of the field review for programs found to be in conformity, or at the close of the time allowed for voluntary corrective action for programs found not to be in conformity, the field representative shall forward the case file with his recommendations through supervisory channels to the Regional Director for review.

(b) *Conformity findings.* The Regional Director shall review findings of conformity or achievement of corrective action on a spot check basis in sufficient proportion to assure himself that the Bureau's equal opportunity policy is being properly carried out. Where upon review the Regional Director does not concur in the findings of the field representative, he may order further investigation or such other action as may be necessary and appropriate.

(c) *Nonconformity findings.* Upon receipt of any finding of nonconformity by a field representative, the Regional Director shall notify the program sponsor in writing that such a finding has been made, of the facts on which the finding is based, and that the program will be deregistered unless the finding is set aside or appropriate corrective action taken. The program sponsor shall have 15 days from the date of receipt of the notification within which to file a written request for a hearing with the Regional Director.

(1) *Hearing not requested.* If the program sponsor does not request a hearing within 15 days, the Regional Director shall review the case. Where, upon review, the Regional Director concurs in the finding of noncompliance and failure to achieve satisfactory corrective action, he shall so notify the program sponsor and the complainant, if any, and shall forward the case file to the Administrator, stating his concurrence and his recommendations, if any. Where, upon review, the Regional Director does not concur in the finding of the field representative, he may order further investigation or such other action as may be necessary and appropriate.

(2) *Hearing procedure.* If the program sponsor within 15 days of receipt of the notice files a written request, the program sponsor shall be accorded a hearing before a hearing officer designated by the Under Secretary of Labor. The hearing shall be informally conducted. Every party shall have the right to counsel and a fair opportunity to present its case or defense, including a right of cross-examination. The hearing officer shall prepare a decision on the basis of the record before him, setting forth findings and conclusions on the question of noncompliance and recommendations, if any. Copies of the decision shall be furnished to the program sponsor, and the complainant, if any. The decision shall be final except that any program sponsor as to whom the decision is adverse may file exceptions with the Administrator within 15 days of its receipt. If exceptions are filed and if there is a complainant, a copy of the exceptions filed shall be furnished to him

and he shall be given 15 days in which to file a reply with the Administrator. A copy of such reply shall be furnished to the program sponsor.

§ 30.11 Review by Administrator.

(a) *Voluntary corrective action.* Upon receipt of the Regional Director's concurrence in the finding of the field representative or of a decision of a hearing officer that a program is not in conformity, the Administrator shall so inform any private organization designated by the industry in question to assist in achieving equal opportunity and shall allow the organization a reasonable time, normally not to exceed 20 days, to achieve voluntary corrective action.

(b) *Final determination.* Following the receipt of exceptions and replies to be filed or the expiration of the time for action provided for in paragraph (a) of this section, the Administrator shall render a final decision in writing based on the file or the record as the case may be. If the decision is that the program is in nonconformity and that satisfactory action to achieve conformity has not been taken, the program shall be deregistered. The Administrator shall notify the Regional Director, the program sponsor, the complainant, if any, and any private organizations of the type described in paragraph (a) of this section. In each case in which deregistration is ordered the Administrator will make public notice of the order and will notify the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the Solicitor of Labor.

§ 30.12 Complaint procedure.

(a) *Filing.* Any applicant or apprentice who believes that he has been discriminated against on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin with regard to apprenticeship or that the equal opportunity standards have not been followed in his case may file a complaint with the Bureau or any field representative. The complaint shall be in writing and shall be signed by the complainant. It must include the name, address and the telephone number of the person allegedly discriminated against, the program sponsor involved and brief description of the circumstances of the alleged discrimination or failure to follow equal opportunity standards. Complaints received by the Bureau Headquarters Office will be transmitted to the field for processing. The complaint must be filed not later than 180 days from the date of the alleged discrimination or specified failure to follow equal opportunity standards; and in the case of complaints filed directly with private review bodies designated by program sponsors to review such complaints, any referral of such complaint by the complainant to the Bureau or any field representative must occur within the time limitation stated above or 30 days from the final decision of such body, whichever is later. The time may be extended by the Administrator for good cause shown. Local program sponsors should be immediately encouraged to establish, either individually or in an industry group, fair, speedy, and effective procedures for reviewing complaints of discrimination.

(b) *Processing of complaints.* Upon receipt of any complaint the field representative shall:

(1) Prepare and maintain a complete case file for each complaint received. It shall contain the original complaint, reports of investigations and visits, and correspondence with the employer, the program sponsor, and others regarding all phases of the case in chronological order, including recommendations made and final disposition of the case. This file shall be forwarded to the Regional Director for review upon local disposition of each complaint. A separate local office correspondence and reports file shall be maintained for essential internal records and correspondence regarding each case.

(2) When the program sponsor or an industry group has designated a body for reviewing complaints of discrimination, the field representative, upon receiving a complaint, shall establish a case file and direct the complainant to file his complaint with the representative of the review body. He shall give the complainant the name and address of this representative.

(3) No later than 60 days following the filing of a complaint with the review body by the complainant the field representative shall obtain reports from the complainant and the review body of the disposition of the complaint. If the complaint has been satisfactorily adjusted and there is no other indication of failure to apply equal opportunity standards, the case shall be closed and the parties appropriately informed.

(4) When a complaint has not been resolved through local review procedures within 60 days, where no local review procedure exists or where despite satisfactory resolution of the complaint, there is evidence that the equal opportunity practices of the program are not in accordance with these rules, the field representative shall notify the program sponsor of the complaint or such evidence, solicit a response from the program sponsor and conduct whatever other investigation is necessary to determine the facts, including where necessary, interrogation of the complainant, the employer and the other involved persons. The pertinent facts shall be recorded.

(5) Where the program is not operating in accordance with the equal opportunity standards, the field representative shall notify the program sponsor (even in group programs where it is an individual employer who is deficient) and indicate possible methods of providing equal opportunity in accordance with these regulations. For a reasonable time, not to exceed 15 days from the time the program sponsor is notified of the lack of equal opportunity, the field representative shall make every reasonable effort to encourage corrective action, recording the facts and information in the case report.

(6) From this point on, complaints shall be processed procedurally in the same manner as program reviews. (See §§ 30.10–11.)

§ 30.13 Adjustments in schedule for program review or complaint processing.

If, in the judgment of the Administrator, a particular situation warrants and requires special processing and either expedited or extended determination, he shall take the steps necessary to permit such determination if he finds that no person or party affected by such determination will be prejudiced by such special processing.

§ 30.14 Reinstatement of program registration.

Any program deregistered pursuant to these regulations may be reinstated upon presentation of adequate evidence to the Administrator that the program has established and is operating under a selection system based on qualifications alone and is in compliance with § 30.3(c).

§ 30.15 Quota system barred.

Nothing contained in this part shall be construed to require any program sponsor or employer to select or employ apprentices in the proportion which their race, color, religion, or national origin bears to the total population.

§ 30.16 State agencies.

(a) (1) Regional Directors shall encourage State Apprenticeship Council (SAC) States to adopt and implement the equal opportunity standards set forth in § 30.3 and to adopt effective procedures to implement the standards including program reviews, the processing of complaints, deregistration of noncomplying programs, and the consultation and cooperation with private organizations designated by the industry in question to assist in achieving equal opportunity in apprenticeship. Regional Directors shall submit the State equal opportunity programs to the Administrator for determination of their consistency with such equal opportunity standards.

(2) Where State programs are determined to be consistent with such equal opportunity standards, Regional Directors shall work out with SAC States a division of responsibilities between Federal and State personnel for carrying out the procedures adopted to implement the policy.

(3) When the Administrator determines that a State program is not consistent with such standards, he shall notify the Secretary of Labor that a question exists as to whether the Federal Government should continue to recognize, for Federal purposes, programs registered by the State agency.

(b) Regional Directors shall request that SAC State agencies notify them of any State deregistration. Regional Directors shall then notify the Administrator who will in turn notify the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity and the Solicitor of Labor.

(c) Regional Directors shall consult with State officials regarding methods of cooperation with State fair employment practices commissions and shall report the results of such consultations to the Administrator with recommendations for coordination of activities and for a division of responsibilities where appropriate.

Signed at Washington, D.C., this thirteenth of December 1963.

W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

GPO 870-070

Background
Discr.

Negro Educ.
Econ Contrib.

Employment Barriers

Law & Discr.
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Affirmative Action

Plans for Program
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A layman's guide to basic law

under the

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

SECOND

WINTER EDUCATION CONFERENCE

FOR

THE WEST VIRGINIA BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL

HEART-O-TOWN MOTOR INN
CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA

FEBRUARY 26, 27 AND 28, 1969

THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES AND MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT

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A FEW NOTES ON SAFETY LEGISLATION

Amended Safety Bill Advances: House Labor Committee reports revised legislation relating to federal occupational safety and health standards after writing in additional amendments which further diminish bill's resemblance to original Administration proposal. One change makes it mandatory, rather than optional, for Secretary of Labor to adopt "national consensus" standard when one exists.

Construction Safety Bill Fails In House: House, under suspension of rules, votes 196 to 126 for substitute construction safety bill (H.R. 2567) but is short of required two-thirds majority. Measure would have amended Contract Work Hours Standards Act to bar contractors from employing tradesmen on federally financed or assisted projects under "unsanitary, hazardous, or dangerous" conditions.

House Vote On Safety Bill Decried: Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson labels as "disgraceful" and "incredible" the failure of House to pass bill to establish construction safety standards. She blames "powerful private interests" who oppose effective measures necessary to cut "tragically high rate of deaths and disabling injuries".

NOTES ON PREVAILING WAGE PROBLEMS

Unions Lose Prevailing Wage Appeal: Davis-Bacon Wage Appeals Board affirms decision of Solicitor of Labor that prevailing heavy-highway, not building, rates are applicable to initial contract work for site preparation, clearing, grading, and drainage in connection with construction of giant Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Airport. Board rejects contention of building trades that because work is part of "overall planned undertaking" building rates should be considered prevailing for all phases of airport project.

WAB Turns Down Petition As Untimely: Davis-Bacon Wage Appeals Board declines to review case of contractor who did not file proper appeal from decision of Solicitor of Labor until 10 months after decision. Board calls review petition by Jack Picault untimely.

GAO Criticizes Housing Unit Determinations: Reviewing wage rate determinations issued for four military family housing and low-rent public housing projects in Washington, D.C., area, Comptroller General takes Labor Department to task for applying negotiated rates paid on commercial building construction rather than on lower scales prevailing for comparable private residential construction. He says "more realistic" determinations could produce substantial cost savings to government on national basis.

Wage Case Again Returned To Solicitor: In what is described as "close, difficult" case relating to administration of Davis-Bacon Act, Wage Appeals Board for second time instructs Solicitor of Labor to include rates paid on certain highway projects of similar character in making minimum wage determination covering levee construction contract in Jefferson County, Tex. AGC challenged Solicitor's reissuance of wage decision based solely on heavy construction projects.

WAB Remands Case For Additional Facts: Davis-Bacon Wage Appeals Board instructs Solicitor of Labor to clarify evidence underlying his wage determination applicable to operators of small dredges on highway project near Savannah, Ga. Ordering reconsideration of decision, Board says appealing contractor has not affirmatively shown that determination was erroneous but that its factual basis is "confused enough" to warrant gathering of more evidence as to prevailing wage practices in Georgia.

WAB To Hear Previously-Rejected Case: In light of unusual circumstances growing out of contractor's attempt to pursue two channels of appeal, Davis-Bacon Wage Appeals Board cancels prior ruling that petition for review was untimely filed and decides to hear case on its merits. Question at issue is whether contractor employing apprentices operating under program registered in New York is obliged to pay rates established by that program or rates prevailing for apprentices in New Jersey areas where his jobs are located.

D-B Protection Applies Fully To Apprentices, Panel Holds: As laborers and mechanics within meaning of Davis-Bacon Act, apprentices are entitled to be paid rates prevailing in area where project work is being performed, Wage Appeals Board decides, and Labor Department's action in 1964 eliminating listing of apprentice rates in wage determinations in no way impaired this protection. Opinion comes in case in which outstate contractor employing apprentices registered under New York program maintained he was justified in paying rates fixed by this program on projects undertaken in New Jersey. Board finds that payment of rates other than those prevailing in New Jersey would be "totally inconsistent" with purpose of Act.

NOTES ON JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

Sheet Metal Workers Lose "Metal Pan" Dispute: NLRB rejects claim of Sheet Metal Workers to portion of work involved in installing "metal pan" acoustical ceilings at construction site in Lincoln, Neb., and upholds employer's assignment of all tasks necessary to complete ceilings to his own work crews, who were members of Carpenters. Board says dispute is not moot by virtue of fact disputed work has been completed since there is no showing similar jurisdictional arguments will not erupt in area in future.

NLRB Overrules Joint Board Jurisdiction Award: Rejecting contention of Operating Engineers that award of National Joint Board for Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes should be accorded controlling weight, NLRB decides that it is outweighed by other factors favoring assignment of power equipment operation at Virginia construction site to IBEW-represented employees. In holding that Joint Board award is not determinative of dispute, NLRB says employing contractor was not bound to Joint Board and that panel's decision did not specify reasons for awarding work to Engineers.

Operating Engineers Lose In Power Line Dispute: National Labor Relations Board rejects contentions of Operating Engineers, upholds assignment of disputed work on underground utility line to members of IBEW. Board's economy and efficiency criterion was clincher for IBEW. Work in dispute involved operation of hydrolift, welding machine, winch, and pumps on Utility Service Corporation project in Stamford, Conn.

Spray Gun Dispute Decided In Contractor's Favor: Arbitrator Ben Nathanson rules for Pete King Corp., Phoenix, Ariz., represented by Painting and Decorating Contractors Association, that cement ceilings of Oakland, Calif., postal distribution center may be sprayed where hangers, ducts, and pipes make use of rollers "laboriously impractical."

NLRB Awards Conveyor Installation To Millwrights: Sifting conflicting claims of Millwrights and Machinists to installation of overhead conveyor system at Indiana brewery, National Labor Relations Board decides in favor of Millwrights employed by outside contractor. Company practice, contractor's agreement with Brotherhood of Carpenters, comparative skills, and efficiency of operation are deciding factors,

AFL-CIO Arbiter Sustains Raiding Charge: AFL-CIO Umpire David L. Cole upholds complaint of Marble Workers in Atlanta that Laborers violated Federation's Internal Disputes Plan by attempting to undermine its established collective bargaining relationships in seeking recognition as bargaining agent for tile setter helpers represented by Marble Workers. Cole rejects LIU argument that squabble was jurisdictional in nature, precluding settlement under Internal Disputes.

Trenching Work Awarded To Electricians: In case involving dispute over hand digging and backfilling of trenches for electrical conduit, NLRB determines that contractor in Louisville was justified in hiring IBEW groundmen to replace members of Laborers initially assigned to job after learning that IBEW-represented workers were available to perform work. Board relies on employer's customary practice, under its bargaining agreement with Electricians, of using workers represented by IBEW when they are available.

Engineers Win Barge Work Dispute: While noting that disputed work bears close relationship to tasks traditionally performed in maritime industry, National Labor Relations Board decides members of Operating Engineers, not Longshoremen, are entitled to job of loading and unloading imported borrow transported by river barges to California highway construction site. Award, limited to facts of case, upholds work assignments of contractors which were challenged by two waterfront locals.

Shopmen's Dispute Resolved In Employer's Favor: Jurisdictional dispute arising from acquisition of one fabricating company by owners of another is resolved by National Labor Relations Board on ground that two companies remain separate employers. Owners' contract with Sheet Metal Workers does not cover new plant, Board holds, thus continued use of Electricians to paint electrical control panels and boxes is justified by established practice, IBEW's contract, and economy and efficiency of operation.

Sheet Metal Workers Lose Spray Booth Wrangle: NLRB rejects claim of Sheet Metal Workers in Escanaba, Mich., to jurisdiction over task of erecting traveling paint spray booth to be installed in new building under construction. Panel decides that manufacturer for whom new facility was being built properly assigned its own UAW-represented production and maintenance workers to perform job. Because disputed work does not require superior skills of sheet metal workers, Board comments, award of job to them would resultin their "substantial underutilization."

NLRB Awards Scaffolding Work To Laborers: Turning down claim of Carpenters, who took case to National Joint Board, NLRB decides that members of Laborers employed by masonry subcontractor at Iowa City construction site are entitled to work of erecting and mismantling all-metal tubular scaffolding. NLRB bases award primarily on factor of economy and efficiency, plus jurisdictional clause in national contract between mason contractors and Laborers International Union.

Carpenters Lose Again On Masonry Scaffolding: For second time within a week, and again primarily for reason of economy and efficiency of operation, National Labor Relations Board rejects Carpenters' claim to jurisdiction over erection of prefabricated metal scaffolding for outside masonry work on high rise building. Contrary to National Joint Board determination, NLRB awards disputed work at University of Alabama Medical Center project in Birmingham to mason tenders represented by Laborers.

AFL-CIO Umpire Rejects Charge Against Laborers: Pointing out that jurisdictional disputes are excluded from AFL-CIO Internal Disputes Plan, Impartial Umpire, Howard W. Kleeb, limits his decision on complaint filed by United Association against Laborers International Union to narrow question of whether UA had "established work relationship" entitling its members to lay underground pipe at Bechtel Corporation refinery project in Robinson, Ill. He decides to the contrary, declaring issue can be resolved only by National Joint Board for Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes.

Carpenters Win Fume Hood Dispute: Determining jurisdictional dispute between Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers, NLRB sees no reason to overturn employer's assignment to Carpenters of work of installing fume hoods as part of complete sets of laboratory furniture being moved into building at University of West Virginia. Skills and experience needed to perform work are those of carpenters, not sheet metal workers, Board says. Determination is applied to employer's jobsites throughout West Virginia in view of likely recurrence of dispute.

NLRB Awards Equipment Operation To Electricians: Declining company's request that it frame definition of "inside" and "outside" work on power generating station project, Labor Board holds that IBEW members are entitled by industry, company, and area practice and in interests of economy and efficiency to operate hydrocranes, holediggers, ditchwitches, bulldozers, and any similar equipment in connection with installation of steel towers on Kentucky Power Company site. Operating Engineers' claims to work are rejected.

NOTES ON NLRB AND COURT DECISIONS

Carpenters' Pre-Hire Contract Held Invalid: NLRB Trial Examiner Martin S. Bennett decides that Arizona manufacturer of furniture and cabinets is not engaged primarily in construction industry, thus its pre-hire agreement with Carpenters is invalid and union's picketing to enforce agreement was unlawful recognition picketing. Since less than one-third of company's business is installation work, Bennett says it would be "a case of the tail wagging the dog" to say company is engaged primarily in construction.

Four-Year-Old Certification Still "Fresh": IBEW local remains certified representative of Colorado electrical contractors' employees even though it has not been able in four years to negotiate first contract, NLRB Trail Examiner Herbert Corenman holds. Charge of unlawful recognition picketing is dismissed.

Court Orders Daniel To Produce Voter List: Federal court in South Carolina orders Daniel Construction Company to submit to NLRB regional director names and addresses of employees and former employees eligible to vote in six-state election on representation by United Association. Court, however, says union can communicate with former employees "solely by mail," in order that it not have unfair advantage over company.

Safety Confab Held Protected Activity: NLRB agrees with trial examiner that company employed on bridge project in Idaho unlawfully discharged and refused to rehire crew of piledrivers who met to discuss "abnormally dangerous" working conditions. Safety meeting was approved by company agent and constituted concerted activity guaranteed by Section 7 of Taft-Hartley Act, Board holds.

Court Backs Ouster Of Local President; Sixth Circuit reverses lower court and decides Sheet Metal Workers International Association was justified in expelling from membership president of local union on grounds other than that he had circulated letter libeling international officers. Appeals court stresses finding of union trial board and executive council that any of four charges on which he was convicted would warrant his expulsion, and only one of these involved libelous letter which district court held was protected by Landrum-Griffin's free-speech proviso.

Operating Engineers Win Subcontracting Beef: Arbitrator Clair V. Duff decides general contractor at University of Pittsburgh building site was obligated under contract with union to provide engineer at sump pump when only subcontractor's employees were on job. "Make-work" argument, Duff says, "may be persuasive at the bargaining table, but it cannot change the negotiated bargain of the parties".

Refusal To Bargain Complaint Dismissed: NLRB trial examiner concludes that Plumbers in Nashville did not verbally agree to accept contract identical to that negotiated by Steamfitters with contractors association, and that, in consequence, union's refusal to sign did not constitute bad-faith bargaining.

Florida Court Cancels Anti-Picket Order: Appeals court in Florida dissolves injunction issued by lower court at request of project owners against picketing by Laborers at construction site near Florida State University campus. Court says dispute lies within exclusive jurisdiction of NLRB and state has no authority to intervene.

Case Of Fined Member Denied Review: Supreme Court rejects petition to review NLRB finding that union unlawfully caused employers to deny employment to worker whose union membership had been cancelled for refusal to pay disciplinary fine.

Right To Sue Upheld By Federal Court: Federal district court in New York rules that former members of union have right to sue under Section 301 of Taft-Hartley Act over alleged violation of bargaining agreement stemming from complaint that union-management trustees improperly diverted money from annuity, welfare, and pension funds. Plaintiffs have standing to sue as individuals, court says, and fact that they are former employees and union members makes no difference in their legal right to seek contract enforcement.

Illegality Of Product Boycott Reaffirmed: After taking second look at case at direction of Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, NLRB affirms finding that Asbestos Workers in Hamilton, Ohio, conducted unlawful secondary boycott by refusing to install precut insulation jacketing at jobsite. Work of manufacturing jacketing was not reserved to union members by bargaining agreement, Board says, nor was it work "regularly or traditionally" performed by them.

Bargaining Unit Pull-Out Held Invalid: NLRB affirms finding of trail examiner that move by California roofing contractor to withdraw from association and go nonunion after start of multi-employer bargaining was neither timely nor unequivocal and that, as consequence, he was bound to sign and abide by master contract subsequently negotiated by employer association and Roofers.

Strike-Breaking Fines No Business of Contractor: NLRB Trial Examiner David S. Davidson holds that Florida air conditioning contractor violated obligation to bargain in good faith by refusing to sign agreement with Local 583 of United Association unless union agreed to lift fines imposed on some of his employees for continuing to work during strike. Fines, Davidson says, were internal union matter and not mandatory subject of bargaining.

Picketing At Reserved Gate Found Unlawful: NLRB trial examiner holds that Electricians in Glendale, Ariz., violated secondary boycott ban by posting pickets at entrance to construction site set aside for neutral union employers in course of dispute with unorganized subcontractor. Examiner finds no evidence that employees of picketed subcontractor used neutral gate instead of one set aside for them, or that they even worked at site during two days at issue.

Picketing In Two Circumstances Deemed Unlawful: NLRB trial examiner decides that picketing by Electricians at Texas construction site both before and after reserved gates were established constituted secondary boycott -- before, because employees of subcontractor with whom union had dispute were not working during time of picketing, and, after, because union picketed at entrance set aside for exclusive use of neutral employers.

Court Questions NLRB Rule In Prefab Disputes: Looking for second time at "packaged boiler" cases in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Eighth Circuit decides that contractor's "right of control" over products to be installed at construction site is not crucial in determining legality of union attempts to enforce work-preservation agreements. Fact that contractor is bound by job specifications to use prefabricated product is relevant consideration, court says, but it's not controlling, as maintained by NLRB. In companion decision, court also construes Supreme Court's National Woodwork ruling as allowing unions to enforce prefabrication clauses not only for purpose of preserving present jobsite tasks but also to reacquire work previously performed but not wholly lost.

Court Sustains NLRB On Penalty Clause: Ninth Circuit rules that Bricklayers in Washington State acted unlawfully by insisting "to impasse" on contract clause requiring employers who violate subcontracting agreement to pay to union sum of money equivalent to union dues and initiation fees lost as result. Court agrees with NLRB that provision, like clauses relating to performance bonds, is nonmandatory subject of bargaining and that union engaged in bad-faith bargaining in pushing demand to point of contract deadlock.

Dual Role of Foremen Splits Labor Board: Wrestling with issue of applying Section 8(a)(2) of Act to special conditions of construction industry, NLRB holds by three to two vote that New Jersey contractors did not unlawfully interfere in internal affairs of Electricians union by employing as foremen seven individuals who at same time served as union officers. In dismissing complaint, majority agrees with trial examiner that employers had little knowledge of official union positions of foremen and made no attempt to influence or dominate union activities through them. Dissent of McCulloch and Brown sees impermissible conflict of interest in dual role of foremen that goes beyond normal "overlapping of allegiance" found in construction industry because union posts held by supervisors were key ones.

NLRB Sustained On Boycott Finding: Court of Appeals for District of Columbia affirms decision of NLRB that Glaziers in Kansas City ran afoul of secondary boycott ban by picketing and causing work stoppages during its protest over alleged violation of area standards by manufacturer whose preglazed windows were being installed at jobsite. Court rejects union contentions that Board had made "crucial error" in its findings of fact and that picketing was informational in character and protected by Supreme Court's decision in Tree Fruits case.

Handbilling at Secondary Sites Called Lawful: NLRB rules that Sheet Metal Workers in Houston had right, under consumer publicity proviso, to publicize its grievance against contractor by handbilling downtown stores of retailers who were doing business with contractor at suburban shopping center under construction. Proviso has no geographical limitation restricting handbilling to site of shopping center where contractor was performing services for retailers.

Employer Race Bias May Be Unfair Labor Practice: Circuit court in District of Columbia declares that Title VII of Civil Rights Act does not preclude NLRB from determining that employer discrimination against workers based on race or national origin restrains rights of employees to engage in concerted activity in violation of Section 8(a)(1) of Taft-Hartley Act. Board has jurisdiction to examine racial policies of employers as well as unions for possible unfair labor practices, court says. It directs Board to take further evidence on whether West Texas employer practices discrimination and, if so, to issue "appropriate remedy."

NOTES ON ECONOMICS, EFFICIENCY AND INFLATION

Congress Probes Waste Of Seasonality: House subcommittee opens examination of seasonality problem in construction and possible cures, with all witnesses agreeing that economic cost to employers, building tradesmen, government, and public stemming from periodic shutdown of industry is enormous and often needless. Consensus is that government should show way in breaking habitual seasonal patterns and private construction will follow.

Selected Controls Suggested To Curb Inflation: Attorney William J. Curtin declares that if government persuasion is unable to keep wages and prices in check, only viable alternative may be "selected mandatory controls" on problem segments of economy. And, in Curtin's opinion, construction industry well might be first target unless employers and unions "earmark wage and price restraint as their prime objective during the coming months and into next year."

Tradesmen Underutilized, Report Says: Study commissioned by President's Committee on Urban Housing says improved utilization of existing construction work force is key to meeting nation's need for more low and middle-income housing during coming decade. It presently takes more than five million persons to fill yearly average of 3.2 million construction jobs, report says.

Congress Votes Seasonality Study: House and Senate pass bills calling for government inquiry into construction seasonality and methods of stabilizing employment patterns. Senate provision differs in that it calls for study to be jointly conducted by Labor and Commerce Departments, not Labor alone. Special report prepared by Labor Secretary Wirtz and former Commerce Secretary Trowbridge urges issuance of executive order relating to easing of seasonality through improved federal contracting policies.

Seasonality Study Cleared By Congress: Congress completes action and sends to White House legislation directing government study of methods of easing employment seasonality in construction as House agrees to Senate amendment calling for joint inquiry by Labor and Commerce Departments. Deadline for submission of study's findings and recommendations is December 31, 1969.

CEA Member Sees Efficiency Lag In Construction: Merton J. Peck, member of President's Council of Economic Advisers, says construction industry must discard "structural" bars to greater productivity if economy is to maintain high employment without inflation. Cabinet Committee on Price Stability, in its study of ways to open efficiency "bottlenecks," is looking into such matters as manpower problems, seasonality, and technological progress, Peck tells Building Products Executive Conference. Suppliers also hear from William J. McSorley, assistant to president of AFL-CIO Building Trades Department, and Fred W. Mast, president of Associated General Contractors of America.

Conference Focuses On Seasonality Problem: Participants in two-day AGC Conference on seasonality agree that practical problems involved in stabilizing employment on year-round basis are such that only united efforts by government and all elements of industry will bring real progress. Speakers see no prospect that lengthened workyear will lead to wage "rollbacks" but express belief that more stable pattern of employment should ease rate escalation pressures. Senator Prouty of Vermont, author of recently-enacted seasonality study bill, says government inquiry should lay factual foundation for overcoming seasonality.

White House Moves On Seasonality Problem: Declaring that reduction in construction seasonality would serve "nation's goals of high employment and price stability," President Johnson issues long-awaited directive to federal agencies to program their projects to promote off-season work and stabilize employment patterns. Agencies are to submit reports by next July 1 on what they have done to comply, along with recommendations for additional measures to minimize seasonality impact. AFL-CIO President Meany hails President's directive, says government now has "sound program" to help end waste of manpower. Building Trades Department calls President's action "a meaningful and satisfying development".

Construction Rise of 7 Percent Foreseen: While failing to match pace of expansion this year, dollar volume of new construction in 1969 will advance by more than $6 billion to totalof $91 billion, Commerce Department estimates. This would represent seven percent gain, compared to upsurge of 10 percent between 1967 and 1968. Government report sees probability of continued cost escalation due to sizable 1968 increases in wages and prices of materials, but hopes tighter fiscal policies will help ease inflationary pressures.

New Guidelines Offered To Restore Price Stability: Reporting to President, Cabinet Committee on Price Stability says interest of nation requires that labor and management exercise voluntary restraint and cooperate with government in braking spiral of inflation. "The trend of 1968 must be reversed in 1969," committee says in calling for "deceleration" in wage and price increases to maintain full employment without runaway prices. Wage increases, in committee's opinion, should run just under 5 percent, and management should absorb increases of 1 percent in unit costs and hold profit margins to 1967-68 average. Construction industry is labeled one of the "persistent sources of inflation." Report's recommendations for easing inflationary pressures include measures to remove structural "bottlenecks" in construction industry's supply of skilled manpower, materials, and capital through such means as improved technology, better training programs, deseasonalization, and increased reciprocity, vesting, and coverage of pension and welfare funds.

Nixon Pledges "New Approaches" To Inflation: His Administration will have "some new approaches" toward controlling inflation without materially increasing unemployment, President Nixon says. He discounts effectiveness of exhorting labor and management to follow wage-price guidelines, says prime responsibility for controlling inflation rests with national government through "fine tuning" of fiscal and monetary policy. Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy is established.

Prices Nearly 5 Percent Higher Than Year Ago: Bureau of Labor Statistics reports Consumer Price Index rose to 123.7 percent of 1957-59 base in December. Gain from December 1967 is 4.7 percent, greatest annual increase since 1951. Wholesale prices also are up and sharp rise is expected this month. CPI standings for major cities.

COST OF LIVING

CIP GOES UP AGAIN, ADVANCE OVER YEAR GREATEST SINCE 1951

The Consumer Price Index rose again in December, advancing by 0.2 percent to 123.7 percent of the 1957-59 base. Since December 1967 the index has gone up 4.7 percent, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics notes that the average gain over the year is the sharpest annual increase since 1951.

Most of the December increase was due to higher food and housing costs, and higher charges for public transportation and medical care services, BLS says. There were significant price cuts for new and used cars.

The Wholesale Price Index also rose 0.2 percent in December, to 109.8 percent of the 1957-59 base period, and a much greater advance in wholesale prices -- about 0.8 percent -- is expected in January. The Wholesale Price Index went up 2.8 percent during 1968.

About 88,000 workers will receive cost-of-living wage adjustments based on the CPI for December, according to BLS. The largest group -- some 54,000 in the glass container industry -- will get a 1 percent increase in an annual review.

CPI standings for major cities follow:

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

(1957-59 = 100)

Cities	1968 August	1968 September	1968 October	1968 November	1968 December
All Cities	121.9	122.2	122.9	123.4	123.7
% Change in Past Year	4.3	4.4	4.6	4.8	4.7
Atlanta	(1)	121.2	(1)	(1)	122.1
Baltimore	(1)	122.4	(1)	(1)	124.0
Boston	(1)	(1)	126.6	(1)	(1)
Buffalo (Nov. 1963 = 100)	115.7	(1)	(1)	116.9	(1)
Chicago	119.3	119.8	120.2	120.3	121.0
Cincinnati	(1)	120.3	(1)	(1)	121.1
Cleveland	120.0	(1)	(1)	121.8	(1)
Dallas (Nov. 1963 = 100)	113.7	(1)	(1)	115.4	(1)
Detroit	120.6	121.2	121.7	122.1	122.5
Honolulu (Dec. 1963 = 100)	(1)	112.8	(1)	(1)	113.9
Houston	(1)	(1)	121.1	(1)	(1)
Kansas City	(1)	124.4	(1)	(1)	125.5
Los Angeles - Long Beach	122.8	122.8	123.8	124.2	124.2
Milwaukee	117.4	(1)	(1)	118.7	(1)
Minneapolis - St. Paul	(1)	(1)	122.0	(1)	(1)
New York	125.2	125.9	126.5	126.9	127.2
Philadelphia	123.0	123.8	124.5	124.9	125.1
Pittsburgh	(1)	(1)	122.6	(1)	(1)
St. Louis	(1)	122.7	(1)	(1)	123.4
San Diego (Feb. 1965 = 100)	110.0	(1)	(1)	111.2	(1)
San Francisco - Oakland	(1)	125.5	(1)	(1)	126.7
Seattle	123.2	(1)	(1)	124.5	(1)
Washington, D.C.	123.1	(1)	(1)	124.9	(1)

(1) - Not Available

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

NOTES ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND PROBLEMS

Average Of Wage Increases Up By 5 Cents: BNA survey of construction settlements negotiated in first half of 1968 shows that median wage increases provided in first year of contracts was 38.3 cents per hour, up 5.4 cents over first half of 1967 and about twice the average of two years ago. All-industry median in first six months of 1968 was 16.4 cents hourly, representing boost of 2.7 cents. Size of bargained settlements in construction continues to lead all industries by substantial margin.

Management Moves Toward National Unity: On initiative of AGC, eight national contractor associations agree to formation of Council of Construction Employers to meet quarterly to thrash out unified stand on labor and other common problems. Group will be composed of president and senior executive officer of each affiliated organization, and actions must be unanimous to carry sanction of Council.

Construction Study Team Formed By NAM: National Association of Manufacturers reports that J. Warren Shaver, U.S. Steel executive, will chair study group on labor problems in construction, make recommendations on possible action by NAM.

AGC Calls For Action By Government: At mid-year meeting of Board of Directors, Associated General Contractors of America urges next Congress and Administration to initiate "positive program" to combat cost inflation and other ills hindering "healthy expansion of our economy." Subcommittees instructed to finalize program of strike insurance and to study problems which AGC chapters and members have "with respect to national and project agreements".

Another convention speaker, G.R. Collins, NCA president, warns that industry faces possibility of government controls, loss of historic markets, and replacement of present bargaining structure unless it overcomes twin problems of spiralling wage rates and jurisdictional work stoppages. But C.J. Haggerty, building trades chief, says unions have become "scapegoat" for nation's economic ills and that wage settlements are no more than keeping pace with rises in living costs. Lyons declares union will firmly oppose any restructuring of bargaining that puts labor at disadvantage.

Humphrey Unveils Wage-Price Plan: Declaring that restoration of price stability is essential, Task Force on Inflation appointed by Vice President issues report calling for labor and management collaboration in formulating principles to keep wage and price increases under control while maintaining high employment. New stabilization policy should take into account more than just productivity trends underlying old guideposts, report states.

Chamber Calls Conclave On Construction Costs: Business leaders, contractors, and government officials are invited by Chamber of Commerce of the United States to national conference in Washington, D.C., November 18-19, to consider causes of and seek solutions to "inflationary costs facing the building industry and the nation's economy".

Average Wage Increase Continues To Climb: Median first-year wage increase in construction contracts bargained during first nine months of year continued to outpace gains in other industries, advancing to 49.6 cents per hour, according to BNA quarterly survey. Median was 14.9 cents above figure for comparable 1967 period and two and one-half times average posted in first three quarters of 1966. All-industry median rose by four cents, to 18.2 cents hourly, in January-September 1968, and gain of 25 cents posted in shipping & longshoring was highest industry median next to construction's 49.6 cents.

ABC Convention Outlines Labor Aims: At 11th annual convention, Associated Builders & Contractors recommends that Congress enact statute placing antitrust restraints on unions to counter their "monopoly status," and urges repeal of federal laws "detrimental to free enterprise construction industry" -- including Davis-Bacon Act and Taft-Hartley proviso permitting agreements restricting subcontracting of job-site work.

Garvin Seeks Support Of Construction Customers: Consultant John C. Garvin enlarges his campaign for restructuring collective bargaining in construction industry with appeal for backing of industrial owners, private power companies, banks, and insurance companies. Garvin tells Houston, Tex., meeting of industrial owners and contractors "it is not an exaggeration to say that wages in this industry are completely out of control."

Average Union Scale Hits $5.17 In Third Quarter: Average hourly wage of union building tradesmen rose 6.7 percent, or 32.1 cents, between October 1, 1967 and October 1, 1968, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics' quarterly survey of key trades in 100 cities. Over-the-year gain in wages and fringes combined is estimated at 8.3 percent, or 43.3 cents an hour. Average base rates range from $3.97 for Building Laborers to $5.77 for Plumbers.

Employers' failure to meet responsibilities is blamed for some of industry's problems. J.M. Graney says management "must interest itself in the functioning and operation of the machinery for assigning and referring men to jobs" and "take an active role in establishing craft jurisdiction and developing codifications of jobs in line with the realities of modern industrial construction techniques." Wharton School Professor Herbert Northrup attributes state of affairs to "managerial failure and abdiction, as well as inherent union power." Northrup also warns against regional bargaining.

Conference Calls For Action To Curb Construction Costs: Participants in two-day conference sponsored by United States Chamber of Commerce authorize formation of task force to blueprint programs at one to combat "spiraling inflation and to preserve the free collective bargaining process" in construction industry. Speakers paint grim picture of present state of affairs, calling it chaotic at best, and emphasize importance of enlisting support of construction clients. Better coordination among employers bargaining groups and "consideration of establishing new bargaining groups" is endorsed. Effect of national agreements on local negotiations is debated vigorously.

Two Leaders Of Employer Task Force Named: Wayne T. Brooks, industrial relations director of American Iron & Steel Institute, becomes chairman of industry task force charged with blueprinting action programs designed to overcome labor problems. Vice chairman is John Post of Golightly & Company International, Houston, Tex.

Minimum Intervention Is Shultz' Credo: Outlining his philosophy in general terms, George P. Shultz, who will be President-elect Nixon's Secretary of Labor, indicates he will not assume an activist role. He believes parties under free bargaining system should work out problems on their own with minimum of Labor Department mediation and intervention in strike situations. He expresses no enthusiasm about reviving wage-price guideposts, noting that he has been skeptical in the past about their utility.

NOTES ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND DISCRIMINATION

Minority Successes Reported By Slaiman: Entry of minority group workers into building trades in past three years has shown "tremendous increase" because of Apprenticeship Outreach programs, according to AFL-CIO civil rights director, Donald Slaiman. But he adds that apprenticeships alone cannot solve problem of severe unemployment in nation's ghettos since relatively few jobs are involved.

Anti-Bias Pledge Sought From State Road Agencies: Nine-point "statement of assurance" of intent to comply with equal opportunity provisions of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1968 has been submitted to each state highway department for endorsement by Federal Highway Administrator Lowell K. Bridwell. Statement requires each state to create and enforce equal opportunity program by "affirmative action." Under law, no pledge means no money.

Cincinnati Electricians Hit For Title VII Breach: Federal district court in Ohio upholds complaints that Electricians in Cincinnati engaged in pattern or practice of discrimination against Negroes in membership and job referrals, violating Title VII of Civil Rights Act. Court directs Local 212 to suspend existing job refferal system and "hammer out" temporary one basing referrals on objective standards of employment qualification. Judge rejects position of U.S. Attorney General that union is required to take "affirmative action" to correct effects of discrimination that took place prior to effective date of Title VII, saying only step law mandates is posting of notices as to its provisions.

Prepare For Bias Charges, Lyons Tells Locals: General President John H. Lyons of Iron Workers says social unrest and general public belief that building trades discriminate is likely to increase number of bias charges against construction locals in future and that best protection against suits is adoption of procedures assuring that no discrimination exists, plus careful maintenance of records to prove it. He says at union convention that international's investigations have turned up no instance of racial bias on part of Iron Workers' apprenticeship committees.

Prequalifying Order Issues For Highway Work: Federal Highway Administration issues interim order, effective December 1, outlining policies and procedures for prequalifying contractors relative to their equal opportunity obligations under Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968. Covering contracts of $500,000 or more, order requires prospective bidders to undertake affirmative action programs in accordance with established guidelines "to the end that any and all discrimination in employment...shall be eliminated".

Pittsburgh Imposes Affirmative Action: Effective November 1, contractors bidding for jobs advertised by City of Pittsburgh must draw up affirmative action programs assuring "there will be minority group representation in all trades and in all phases of their operations." Sanctions against equal-opportunity violators would include contract cancellation, damage payments, or debarment.

Outreach Projects Expand To 51 Cities: With addition of five approved projects, Apprenticeship Outreach programs to prepare minority group youths for entry into building trades now are operating in 51 major industrial areas throughout country. Labor Department reports that so far 1,700 youths tutored for apprentice tests have been accepted as construction apprentices and another 1,000 trainees will be prepared for examinations in immediate months ahead.

EEOC Changes Reconsideration Rule: To speed processing of Title VII cases, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission revises its policy regarding reconsideration of its determinations as to whether or not there is reasonable cause to believe that a discrimination charge is true. It will no longer entertain reconsideration requests from parties involved in charges but retains right to take second look on its own motion.

EEOC Amends Procedural Regulations: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission revises its regulations under Title VII of Civil Rights Act with respect to filing procedures for discrimination cases arising in areas where state or local agencies have first crack at resolving disputes. Stated objective is to minimize confusion.

Government To Encourage Non-White Contractors: Small Business Administration announces nation-wide program intended to increase number of non-white construction contractors by 70,000 during next decade. Project will focus initially on 18 target cities, where local "action teams" will be complemented by efforts of national task force headed by SBA Administrator Howard J. Samuels, who says construction industry is "fertile field" for minority business expansion.

Need For Affirmative Action Guidelines Restressed: Comptroller General reaffirms stand that government should set forth definite standards enabling contractors to know in advance what is expected of them when it requires bidders to submit approved affirmative action programs prior to award of construction contracts governed by Executive Order 11246. CG's opinion comes in response to complaint about operation of equal opportunity pre-award plan in Philadelphia.

Outreach Project Continued In Detroit: Labor Department extends for additional year Apprenticeship Outreach project sponsored by Trade Union Leadership Council in Detroit. Prior contract was successful in placing 91 minority group youths in apprenticeship training programs of building trades, and new contract aims at expanding entries by 80.

Reynolds Details Open-Door Progress: Under Secretary of Labor reviews role of Labor Department in increasing minority group employment in construction, says "real beginning towards true equality of opportunity has been made" in last couple of years. Today, in contrast to situation in recent past, minorities are being informed of opportunities and applying for openings, and building trades are actively helping to get them in, he says.

Contract Compliance Labeled As Failure: Witnesses before ad hoc congressional committee maintain that on basis of record to date program to force employers doing business with government to practice equal employment opportunity has been virtual washout, primarily because of lax enforcement of Executive Order 11246 and misplaced reliance on "voluntary" contract compliance. Bulk of criticism is directed at Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance for not having used its power to cancel contracts, thus nullifying what was termed government's prime weapon to secure meaningful compliance. Witnesses, including spokesmen for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and NAACP, recommend severance of OFCC from Labor Department. Ad hoc committee will present report to incoming Nixon Administration on strengthening enforcement procedures.

State Agency In Ohio Charged With Bias: In first civil rights suit of its kind, Justice Department charges that Ohio Bureau of Employment Services discriminates against Negroes in its job placement operations. Among allegations in complaint are that Bureau refuses to refer qualified Negroes to apprentice programs on same basis as white applicants and that it services apprentice programs which it "knows or has reason to believe discriminate on the basis of race or color in their own practices".

Senate Inquiry Set On Prequalifying Order: Chairman Randolph (D., W.Va.) of Senate Public Works Committee schedules mid-January hearings to take testimony on "numerous complaints" that Federal Highway Administration has gone beyond law in issuance of order requiring prequalification of federal-aid highway contractors relative to their equal opportunity obligations. Industry witnesses will have their day on January 14, followed by government spokesmen on January 16.

Minority Training Pact Signed In Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Council of Operating Engineers contracts with Labor Department under Manpower Development & Training Act to give 100 out-of-work minority youths 26 weeks of classroom instruction and experience with equipment. Training will take place at Boy Scout reservation and those who complete course of instruction will be dispatched to jobs.

Outreach Contract Renewed In Oklahoma: Labor Department approves another one-year contract with Southwestern Oklahoma Building Trades Council to recruit and prepare minority group youths to pass apprentice-entry tests. Under initial contract 70 youths were placed in formal apprenticeship programs, exceeding goal of 40, and 10 others who passed tests await placement. Nationally, more than 2,000 minority youths have become indentured apprentices through Outreach programs in past two years, Labor Department reports.

Hard-Core Training Pact Made In Kansas City: Builders' Association of Kansas City, Mo., and Labor Department execute two-year JOBS contract, with concurrence of unions, to hire and train 360 hard-core unemployed in six construction trades. Close to $1.5 million in federal funds is being allocated to program, which will include remedial education and other special support services.

Asbestos Workers Lose Appeal In Race Bias Case: Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals sees no reason to disturb temporary injunction issed by lower court to prevent discrimination against Negroes and Mexican-Americans in membership and job referrals by Local 53 of Asbestos Workers in southeastern Louisiana. Affirming injunctive order, court rejects contention that decree is unduly punitive, says lower court acted within its allowable discretion in fashioning remedy directing local to take number of affirmative action steps to erase present effects of past discrimination and to prevent future discrimination.

Union States Support of Nonbias Order: President Russel Berg of Boilermakers sends letter to contractors reaffirming union's "intentions to comply with and support" Executive Order 11246 relating to equal employment opportunity on federally financed and assisted projects.

Outreach Projects Begin In Two More Cities: Labor Department signs one-year contracts with Urban League in Omaha and Fort Worth Building Trades Council to prepare 80 minority youths for entry into construction trades through apprenticeships. This brings number of so-called Outreach programs operating throughout country to 53. Program in Denver is renewed for another year after exceeding its placement goal under initial contract.

NOTES ON APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

Unions Given Policy Guide On Model Cities: AFL-CIO Building Trades Department releases statement of policy containing guidelines for affiliated locals throughout country in bargaining of agreements covering employment and training of ghetto residents on urban rehabilitation projects under Model Cities Act. Recruited residents would be grouped and paid according to their work experience, with the unskilled receiving special pre-job instruction.

More Prisoners To Get Craft Training: Labor Department says additional correctional institutions may establish apprentice training programs, patterned after pilot project at McNeil Island Penitentiary in Washington, which are administered by labor-management committees.

2,000 Hard-Core Jobless Due For Training: Labor Department reports that nearly 2,000 of nation's hard-core unemployed will receive on-the-job training in building trades skills through 31 contracts signed so far this year under President's new JOBS program. About $6.4 million in federal funds has been earmarked for training in 20 cities.

Negro Apprentices Record Sharp Rise: Number of Negroes participating in registered apprenticeship programs jumped from 4,200 at end of 1966 to 8,100 as of mid-1968, Labor Department estimates. Wirtz attributes improvement to Outreach programs and "deliberate efforts" of labor-management committees to meet equal opportunity pledges.

Community Participation Agreed To In Boston: Some 200 residents of area to be rehabilitated in Boston will receive construction work and training opportunities under multi-faceted program worked out by unions, contractors, government, and other groups to meet community participation requirement of Model Cities Act. On-job and supplemental training costs will be covered by Labor Department contract providing $238,208.

Apprentice Entry Standards Waived In Newark: Painters District Council 10 and New Jersey Civil Service Department work out program under which no educational requirements or written tests will be applied to Spanish-speaking youths seeking to become painter apprentices employed by city of Newark, where there is shortage of journeymen and large reservoir of minority manpower. Screening of such apprenticeship applicants will be limited to physical performance test.

Rehabilitation Project Agreement Made In St. Louis: Construction management and building trades in St. Louis join with government, AFL-CIO, and community group in formulating program to train and employ area residents in course of rehabilitating 300 housing units over two-year period in Negro neighborhood, with work being done under direction of Negro general contractor. Project labor agreement divides recruited neighborhood residents into three classifications and provides that trainees and advanced trainees will be employed at ratio of at least one for every three skilled journeymen. Endorsed by five contractor associations and 14 unions, pact is expected to set pattern for later agreements of broader scope covering urban reconstruction financed under Model Cities Act.

Apprenticeship Held Unaffected By Age Bias Act: Age limitations for entry into bona fide apprenticeship programs were not intended to be affected by Age Discrimination in Employment Act, Labor Department's Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division rules.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY • MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506
THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT • CABLE ADDRESS: CASAD
INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES

March 6, 1969

Dr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

On behalf of the Institute for Labor Studies I extend our appreciation for your appearance and participation in the West Virginia Building Trades Conference. Your presentation was useful, appreciative and timely. In addition it was interesting and well presented.

As I indicated in an earlier memo we are processing the proper number of papers in an effort to extend to you an honorarium of $200 in lieu of expenses. This processing does occasionally take time. Please be patient.

In addition it was personally good to meet with you and to have had the opportunity to exchange gossip. Since then some things have changed a bit. For example, it appears that Dick has now decided against going to D.C.

Best wishes.

Fraternally,

Owen Tapper

Owen A. Tapper
Assistant Director
for Education

OAT/dn

cc: H. Janney

W.

West Virginia University | MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

Office of Personnel

July 21, 1970

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 13, 1970, and the information provided therein.

Your cooperation and assistance has been appreciated.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Smith, Jr.

Charles E. Smith, Jr.
Personnel Officer

CES:de

West Virginia University | MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

Office of Personnel

August 13, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed please find Nineteen Negro Men and Considerations in Employing the Disadvantaged in the Jobs Program. Thank you very much for letting me use them. Your cooperation and assistance has been appreciated.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Smith Jr.

Charles E. Smith, Jr.
Personnel Officer

CES:lt

Enclosure

Emory Vick

RADICALISM: SOUTHERN STYLE

A state & local Tax study -

See pages 14-16

A Commentary on Regional Extremism of the Right

by Reese Cleghorn

Reese Cleghorn, a native of Lyerly, Georgia, is associate editor of the Atlanta *Journal*. He is co-author, with Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council of CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER: THE ARRIVAL OF NEGROES IN SOUTHERN POLITICS, published by Harcourt, Brace and World in 1967. He has contributed articles to *The Reporter, Saturday Evening Post, Esquire, New Republic, New York Times Magazine, The Progressive, New South,* and *The Christian Advocate.*

RADICALISM: SOUTHERN STYLE

A Commentary on Regional Extremism of the Right

By Reese Cleghorn

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

December, 1968

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee originally asked Reese Cleghorn, associate editor of the *Atlanta Journal,* to undertake this comprehensive overview of right-wing extremism in the South before the recent efforts to use this sentiment as a base for a nationwide political movement. Our purpose was to cast fresh light on the frustrations and tensions—some local and others quite unrelated to geographic area—that contribute to racism and bigotry in this country.

Although the final Wallace vote in the 1968 Presidential election was far smaller than early opinion polls had indicated, it demonstrated quite clearly that a sizable reservoir of prejudice and repression continues to exist in our land, and that it is vulnerable to manipulation by politically ambitious demagogues, not only in the South, but in the large industrial centers of the North as well.

Mr. Cleghorn's incisive examination into the roots of the "Wallace phenomenon" reveals the historical and psychological underpinnings of southern extremism and alienation and its implications for the nation as a whole. Such an understanding, in our judgment, is an essential element in any program designed to strengthen the forces of moderation and justice not only in the South, but throughout the length and breadth of our nation.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Bertram H. Gold
Executive Vice-President
The American Jewish Committee

John F. Kennedy had chosen the South as a forum for dealing with the most serious import of rightwing extremism. In the speech that was not delivered in Dallas on November 22, 1963, the President was to have said:

"Ignorance and misinformation can handicap the progress of a city or a company—but they can, if allowed to prevail in foreign policy, handicap this country's security. In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible will gain the popular ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions to every world problem.

"There will always be dissident voices heard in the land. . . . Those voices are inevitable. But today other voices are heard in the land—voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality . . . We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will 'talk sense to the American people.' But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. . . ."

Less than three months later, Professor Revilo P. Oliver, a member of the John Birch Society's National Council, expressed his view in the society's magazine, *American Opinion,* that "Kennedy was assassinated by the Communist Conspiracy because he was planning to turn American." Robert Welch, founder and president of the Birch Society, found Professor Oliver's analysis to be "superb commentary." Such is the degree of irrationalism which characterizes the extreme right in America and which, as President Kennedy had suggested, can endanger American security "in a world full of frustrations and irritations."

In the South today, as in turbulent and unsettled California and in the old isolationist regions of the Middle West, what we might call "white-collar" rightwing extremism has found fertile ground. To designate it "rightwing" is, however, a poor bit of shorthand, for, as President Kennedy seemed to be saying, its doctrines and underlying assumptions often are in essence neither left nor right but simply hallucinations, "wholly unrelated to reality." By some measures these "rightwing extremists" are close to the most extreme left, having strong anarchistic leanings and, contradictorily, strong inclinations toward state suppression and totalitarianism. Rightist radicalism arises generally out of the great confusion which rapid change has produced in American life. More specifically, it comes out of an inability on the part of millions of 20th Century Americans to understand an increasingly complex form of government; and an inability, for all the extreme right's ostensible devotion to tradition, to accept perhaps the most important tradition underlying two centuries of democratic continuity in

America: moderation and liberality in our political processes and a rejection of political diabolism.

The seed sown in the South by the Birch Society and lesser organizations of the extreme right fall on soil different from that of California or Michigan. It is fertile soil for rightwing doctrines; yet it could prove less receptive to hard-line rightwing organizations than the political and social climate might at first suggest.

It is well to remember that most of the nation only recently made a gross misjudgment in the case of racism, finding the South peculiarly guilty on the basis of the usual indicators. Then in the 1960s we began to see slack-jawed hoodlums harassing peacefully demonstrating Negroes in Michigan, Wisconsin and California. (Were these the fabled "crackers"?) We also heard mayors and congressmen from New Jersey and Illinois speaking all the lines long since assumed to be the peculiar litany of southern officialdom. (Were these "Dixiecrats"?) Perhaps all this has changed some of our perception of racism outside the South; surely it also must have changed some of the simplistic views about the South itself. An examination of rightwing radicalism in the South will be similarly distorted if runaway assumptions allow us to take specifics of rightwing influence in the region and loosely extend them to generalities with the reasoning that all this must be so because the South is, after all, "the most rightwing part of the country."

THE SOUTH'S PECULIAR ETHOS

The South does have its peculiar ethos, of course, that repeatedly has entangled it with whatever rightwing obsession was current. This, along with the more Gothic part of the South's history, has generated judgments that often are too pat. Consider, for example, the ways in which the region can easily be compared with the rightist totalitarian countries of our time.

This is the only part of the country with a history of strong "master race" theory. It has often been regionally paranoiac, suspicious of the rest of the nation and of the world. It is the only part of the country that has suffered stinging and humiliating defeat, and that in a war with a central moral issue. It has always been the poorest part of the nation, and often it has been the victim of discrimination; for instance, for generations, through railroad freight-rate structures fashioned through Northern political and industrial influence to help enable Northern industry to make a colony of the South. Its peculiar Church, warped by its proximity first to slavery and later to white supremacy, developed apart from mainstream Christianity and came to a theology that rationalized the status quo and sanctified the authority of the state — the state government — in basic social matters. Finally, it is the part of the country most conscious of a martial heritage. It has always responded to war. Even in the wake of the Civil War calamity

and estrangement from the nation, the South was in the forefront of American chauvinism in the Spanish-American War. Much of its private, secondary education has been in military academies. A general in uniform, Robert E. Lee, adorns the walls of its banks, law firms, and insurance offices. It has been the region lending greatest support to a "hard line" on Vietnam. Without question, the South thrills to military braid and admires military authority.

For comparison, place alongside these characteristics, now, some characteristics of places which in the 20th Century have been the most fertile ground for rightwing extremism. More often than not, they have been places with a tradition of or a susceptibility to racial doctrines something like white supremacy; have known chaos, defeat and/or some colonization (not necessarily through political structures) on the part of other countries; have had deep-running problems of poverty; have had religious influences that identified themselves with narrow power interests and with the state; and could readily accept military authority and the enthronement of military swagger and its trappings as a kind of substitute for or handmaiden of monarchy's regal trappings.

The comparisons may be imperfect, but they have general validity. If the South had attained its independence a century ago, it might have moved further into these patterns under the duress of hardship. The social, economic, political, and religious conditions that bred demagogues who could only flail against Washington might have made demagogues who could have captured the Capitol at Richmond. The modern technology without which real totalitarianism is impossible might have abetted the suppression of dissent. (The process of suppression often has been present in the South; the means usually have not been.) The hardy, indigenous strain of liberality and resistance which always has been present in the South might have been overcome, just as similar old, indigenous democratic strains were overcome in Germany Italy, Spain, Portugal and many other countries.

But because the South was not a separate nation, because it had to make its public life mesh at least somewhat with that of the nation and ultimately abide by the Constitution, the influences that might have tilted it this other way remained strong but not dominant. The region was protected and saved by its own defeat. The relatively honorable leadership of the Confederacy, which (notwithstanding its defense of slavery) still had much of the idealism and the republican, democratic devotion of the nation's Founding Fathers, was not supplanted by political jackals of the kind that often come in the second and third stages of revolution.

Liberals of the South usually have instinctively known all this, or at least have acted on these premises: They have known that the survival of liberal democracy in the South sometimes has been dependent upon

supplies, spiritual reinforcement and governmental force from outside, all these constituting a kind of reverse "underground railroad." For all their prominence, the worst influences in the region could never fully move it into anti-democratic, anti-liberal patterns. All this was with one mighty exception, of course: Negroes in much of the South lived under totalitarian control. But in a strange contradiction, even while this was taking place democracy was being extended and was becoming entrenched for others in the South.

The region's very racism enabled it to put Negroes aside as another variety of beings, so that they were not even seen as contradictions to the South's oft-expressed and oft-serious devotion to democracy. In the South's view Negroes were, after all, different. Even during the aberrations of the 1950s and early 1960s in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia, state-level efforts at totalitarianism were only outrageous, not finally effective. The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission said blithely that thought control was one of its chief objectives; but it never did, even so, control thoughts. Even in Mississippi's sickness of the time, this could not have been pulled off. Some sense of democracy prevailed when white people's rights began to be intruded upon.

The South in its worst moments, as during the throes of reaction following the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, has been saved from its home-grown totalitarians by two forces: the centuries-old grassroots sense of democracy (which, though blinded to the lack of democracy for Negroes, was very real); and the South's very romanticism and irrationalism. Irrationalism, then, has worked both ways: to nurture doctrines of the radical right, and to thwart them in application. A police state, surely, must have efficiency and a basic ideology compatible with the aims of state control.

IRRATIONALISM: A WAY OF LIFE

Irrationalism has been a public way of life in the South since early in the 19th Century, when the region had to begin reconciling its devotion to democracy with its denial of democracy to Negroes. The South thus is vulnerable, by tradition, to nonsense. With the necessity of embracing American ideals while simultaneously defending first slavery and later rigid white supremacy, which often was absurd as well as ruthless in practice, the white South developed an irrational thought system that was both legalistic and moralistic. Its objectives, of course, were neither legal nor moral. Given this tension, the most preposterous propositions came to be accepted with tenacity. Leslie W. Dunbar has written of a great wonder: the fact that the South, which bore a burden of regional guilt that was apparent to anyone who looked and had some sensitivity to morality, has always regarded itself not just as a moral equal among regions but as morally

superior. To manage this, and to manage to defy the Constitution and make the rest of the nation ignore that for a century, it was necessary to invent legalistic and moralistic rationales that could and did stand the test of time. They were codified, becoming a catechism which ignorant white southerners could ignore ("nigger, nigger" being sufficient for them) but which intelligent and educated white southerners must know and defend lest they be seduced by troublesome alien beliefs, sponsored by "outsiders" who "hated the South." Consequently, irrational mechanisms — "Our Negroes are happy and don't want any of this agitation," "The 14th Amendment is really illegal," "The Supreme Court's decisions are unconstitutional," "The South is not racist; it is just for states rights and freedom of association"—became perfectly acceptable. The mind that could not understand these things, so the thinking went, just did not understand the South.

It is an easy jump from these mental processes, which were the product of guilt, obsessive defensiveness, closed-mindedness, and a bit of paranoia, to the catechisms of those who "confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible." These codes, too, usually are based upon obsessive defensiveness, guilt, closed-mindedness and a bit of paranoia. People who could believe that every day a snickering, South-hating, usurping, power-mad, socialistic ilk in Washington was plotting to throttle the South's best interests and set Negroes on their best friends might just as well believe that every day Moscow was chortling as it watched its agents infiltrate and gain control of the government, press, churches and unions of America so that the country was already about three-fourths conquered by Soviet power. The two propositions were, after all, about equally true. And, of course, when the Communist scare was nicely linked with the Negro scare, as an explanation of why "our Negroes are upset," the second proposition tended to make still more sense.

CHANGE AND PERSONAL CRISIS

Then there are the crises of change in the South which are a part of the change going on elsewhere in the country. Especially intensive are the changes from rural to urban and from agricultural to industrial. Uncertainty about one's place and worth appears to be an increasing phenomenon in the highly organized society of modern America. It also appears to be a common factor among many people attracted to rightwing extremism. A number of analyses have suggested this. Using conclusions of a study of radical rightists, Ira S. Rohter, a political scientist at the University of Wisconsin, has usefully categorized many rightists as "the decliners, the new arrivals, and the value keepers" who feel status frustration. The "decliners" are people "going down on the social scale—undeservedly, as they see it," often falling below the status levels of fathers who were self-

employed businessmen or farm owners; the "new arrivals" are "on the way up" but caught in the lag between the time the new arrival achieves success and the time he finds an established place among peers and is accepted as an equal; the "value keepers" may be rising or falling in status and feel themselves at least temporarily threatened severely by "aliens who know not the Lord," who put more stock in education, expertise and mass solutions than in the hard work, self-discipline, prudence and independence that was the bedrock of the small-town life of the past.

Study of a selected group of radical rightists indicated, Rohter concluded, a disproportionate number who were undergoing status change with feelings that they "do not have the prestige and power they should have if the world were just—and their enemies have too much." They identify themselves with "older, traditional (Protestant ethic) values of work, religion and morality" so that their fight seems not simply a struggle with other legitimate interests but, rather, on the side of truth, justice, decency, God and America. They tend to believe their troubles are caused by an evil conspiracy and see society as essentially closed to them, dominated by personalities, controlled by the wrong kind of people. They want simple explanations, and conspiracy satisfies that need. They tend to show "strident negativism and combativeness" that expresses itself in extreme self-righteousness, a strong belief in harsh punishments, a feeling of powerlessness, a view that Communism is not merely a bad and aggressive threat but an all-pervasive Satan incarnate which cannot be tolerated in any way by the righteous. (About half were members of fundamentalist religious faiths.)

It is obvious that much of the South is susceptible to such feelings, with the South's unusually rapid increase in population mobility and transitions of many kinds. Between 1950 and 1960 the nation's increase in urban population was 29.3 per cent, and in the South as defined by the Census it was 40.1 per cent. The rural farm population declined 41.7 per cent nationally and 50.2 per cent in the South. During that decade the South's urban population increased from 48.6 per cent to 58.5 per cent of the total population (compared with a national figure of 69.9 per cent). Even such a Deep South state as Georgia, which had been 90 per cent rural at the turn of the century, plunged well beyond the 50-50 mark in urbanization.

Values of the farm and the village often are in sharp conflict with the demands of the city. Further, religious fundamentalism has been so widespread in the South in the past that a confused southerner seeking explanations for the strange changes in the world around him may respond well to a simplistic religious explanation. Rightwing extremism also is more likely to be race-related in the South than elsewhere. This is true not

only because of historic racist doctrines in the region but also because a man who feels his own status threatened can see that in recent years Negroes have been rising on the ladder, Jews have occupied prominent places, and a Catholic has become President. Much of the nation may be startled at the very idea when it sees hoodlums bearing signs saying "White Power," "Keep America White," and "National Association for the Advancement of White Power," but the idea of Anglo-Saxon whites' being shoved aside and outdistanced is not strange to men and women whose own individual status seems imperiled and who are surrounded by others who see things the same way. In terms of numbers of people, there may be more of this feeling in the urban, industrial areas of the Midwest and the mobile, often impersonal and frequently rootless life of California. But in the South of today, probably a higher percentage of the population feels this powerlessness and victimization.

THE POLITICAL RADICALS

It is in the political arena, rather than in the spread of such organizations as the John Birch Society, that these frustrations are having the most dramatic impact in the South. The region obviously has much more than its proportionate share of major political figures who are close to the radical right. The list is long, but these examples are pre-eminent:

—Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia has had an involvement with a variety of rightwing organizations over at least a decade. In the years immediately before his election as governor in 1966, he frequently was a public ally of the Birch Society, the Citizens Councils, and such rightwing gospelers as Billy James Hargis. He refused to disavow the Ku Klux Klan, obviously because to do so would have offended many of his friends. At the time he was elected, the Let Freedom Ring rightwing telephone messages for Atlanta were coming from his furniture store. After he was publicly embarrassed by a Let Freedom Ring attack on the American Legion, the telephone equipment was swiftly removed; shortly, the message service was back in action, with its equipment located in an American Opinion book store (distributor of John Birch literature). Despite an initial effort to establish a "moderate" image, Gov. Maddox did not otherwise disavow his old friends. Some members of the radical right won second-level political appointments. A few months after taking office, Maddox appeared at a national gathering of the Rev. Mr. Hargis' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. His pronouncements on such subjects as the urban riots, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination and international affairs have continued to reflect the rightwing extremist line. Following the assassination, for instance, he said Dr. King had "carried out the policies and programs of Communists in this country."

—George Wallace, as governor of Alabama and later as a candidate for president, was the beneficiary of nationwide help from the radical right. Its members had been prominent in local efforts outside the South for his candidacy in presidential primaries in 1964. In the 1968 presidential campaign, they held key roles in the various state organizations created to support Wallace's candidacy. Wallace supporters used the rightist third parties established in many states as an outgrowth of the Congress of Conservatives, held in 1965 under the chairmanship of Kent Courtney, a rightist pamphleteer. These truly represented the outer fringes of American politics. Principal movers in some of the activities were Courtney; "Ace" Carter, who had been in the news over the years as an Alabama Klansman and Citizens Council leader; and former Sheriff James G. Clark of Selma, who also was popular on the John Birch Society speaking circuit.

Wallace's efforts also rested heavily in some areas upon the extremist Citizens Councils, Liberty Lobby and Congress of Freedom. Liberty Lobby began pushing the Wallace candidacy in 1965. It announced it was sending everyone on its mailing list a copy of a tabloid called "Stand Up for America—The Story of George Wallace." The Citizens Councils touted Wallace in their publications. In 1965 Wallace was speaker at the annual leadership conference of the Citizens Councils of America, at which one extremist speaker lengthily spiked the proceedings with anti-Semitic remarks that could only be described as rantings. Two months later Wallace was a main speaker at the annual convention of the Congress of Freedom, one of the wildest of all organizations of the radical right.

Some of the early Wallace campaign planning was at a meeting on November 8, 1965, in Montgomery attended by Ned Touchstone, Richard Cotton and John R. Rarick. Touchstone, whose plans for a "Draft Wallace" movement must have had either Wallace's approval or acquiescence, is widely known because of the crude racism and anti-Semitism of the *Councilor*, which he edits. Cotton is a radio commentator whose views are far beyond simple arch-conservatism; he sees a "Zionist-Jewish conspiracy" as all-pervasive and works with some of the country's leading hate peddlers. Rarick, then a Louisiana judge and later a congressman, has included such nationally known extremists as Col. Curtis B. Dall and Lt. Gen. Pedro Del Valle in his congressional campaign organization.

In Ohio, the Christian Conservative Party was the first group to promote the Wallace candidacy. Its headquarters, and the offices of the early statewide Ohio-for-Wallace group, were in a book store that distributed the most rancid propaganda of the radical right. A key figure in the effort there was a man who had advocated sending Negroes to Africa and who had suggested all Jews are Communists. In Missouri, one of the leading Wallace people was the Rev. Bill Beeney, of St. Louis. He sponsored the

appearance of former Sheriff Clark when he was in Missouri as the campaign organizer. Beeney's splinter, the Counter Revolutionary Organization on Salvation and Service (CROSS), promoted the distribution of weapons to be used to combat uprisings. In some places representatives of the Patriotic Party, political arm of the Minutemen, had leading roles in the Wallace effort. Though there later was confusion about its endorsement, in 1967 the Patriotic Party chose Wallace as its presidential candidate. John Birch members had prominent roles in Wallace organizations in many states. Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, claimed more strength than his organization actually had but no doubt reflected its political allegiance when he said of Wallace: "We made him governor and we must make him president." Extremist followers of Wallace were not hanging on despite discouragement; he repeatedly refused to disavow individuals and organizations with which presidential candidates traditionally have disassociated themselves. In many ways his was the most radical major presidential campaign in the country's history.

—John Bell Williams, governor of Mississippi, had rightwing ties as open as those of Maddox and Wallace. His voting record as a congressman would have warmed the heart of any ultra-rightist. Most notably in his non-legislative activities, he was a supporter of the Citizens Councils and the Liberty Lobby. The latter organization was founded by Willis Carto, a former Birch Society worker who once proposed that American Negroes be shipped to Africa. Liberty Lobby sometimes has had anti-Semitic thrust, as well. The Washington *Observer,* which Group Research has called a thinly-disguised Liberty Lobby newsletter, once suggested that Jewish organizations were behind efforts to win U.S. approval of the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty to facilitate Jewish migration from Russia. It added that consequently "we not only got a Consular Treaty but also will now receive many more Jews as immigrants from Russia! How lucky can we be?" Among Liberty Lobby's founders was Tom Brady, later a Mississippi Supreme Court justice and a leading figure in the Citizens Councils.

—Among congressmen and senators, the South Carolina delegation often has led the South in support of the radical right. Rep. Mendel Rivers, one of Congress' most powerful men as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, defended the John Birch Society on the floor of the House in 1961. He has appeared on the rightwing Manion Forum. In July of 1967 the American Security Council, a conservative pressure group that grew out of an industry loyalty-security program, said it had been retained by Rivers' committee (apparently without payment) to study the U.S. arms race with Russia..

Rep. Albert Watson of South Carolina was a featured speaker at a Washington gathering of the Liberty Lobby in January of 1967. Reps.

W. J. Bryan Dorn and E. Y. Berry of South Carolina have been Liberty Lobby supporters. Sen. J. Strom Thurmond has always been a favorite of the radical right in general, and probably no other member of Congress has so consistently satisfied the radical right's conception of what a legislator should be.

—In Louisiana, the strong influence of Leander Perez, Sr., a nationally-known white supremacist and anti-Semite, has waned in recent years but in 1968 he showed renewed strength in manipulations within the Louisiana Democratic Party organizaton and through his efforts on behalf of Wallace. With a political and economic power base of his own for five decades (through his domination of minerals-rich Plaquemines Parish), Perez has had the wherewithal to voice his bigotry without compromise; it came out not only explosively anti-Negro but thoroughly and elaborately anti-Semitic. To Perez, trends toward extending civil liberties in recent years have been results of the plotting of Communist Zionists who were manipulating inherently inferior Negroes in the civil rights movement. Perez has said frankly that he does not believe in democracy and many times has advocated violence. One would think that the influence of such a man could not stand the test of time, but 50 years after his emergence as a political figure in Louisiana he still can move events. It would appear that his loss of the influence he once exercised is related less to the outrageousness of his words and actions than to the fact that in Louisiana he is now regarded as *gauche*. Perez is no longer the kind of man the most "respectable" people want to be associated with. With shiftings toward moderation in Lousiana, and with a rising Negro vote there, it is probable that no one can quite take the place of Perez. Rep. John R. Rarick, a loyal Citizens Councils supporter, and Rep. Joe Waggoner, who has supported the Liberty Lobby, are, however, two public figures of influence who are friends of the radical right.

The five states represented by these men have been, of course, the wellsprings of Southern extremism in recent years. It is worthwhile to note, however, that the rightist Southern politicians seldom worked seriously *to structurally build rightwing organizations*. An exception to this observation was to be found in Mississippi in the 1950s and early 1960s, when prominent political figures such as Ross Barnett positively furthered the development of the Citizens Councils. But for the most part, the leading political rightwingers have not cared to seriously build separate, private organizations that might rival their own bases or force them at points to take steps that could be politically damaging. An example of this caution was the Talmadge organization's success in the mid-1950s in preventing the Citizens Councils from becoming a serious factor *as an organization* in Georgia. The big names of Georgia segregation — Herman Talmadge,

Marvin Griffin, Roy Harris, Lester Maddox, and others — sponsored the Georgia States Rights Council, the state's equivalent to the Citizens Councils. But apparently because of Talmadge's influence, it never was allowed to extend roots organizationally. Once a year its sponsors would gather for oratory. The council itself never became an apparatus that could be used by new Jacobins to challenge the old Jacobins politically. Politicians usually are jealous of their own control, and distrustful of power bases that might be used by someone else to outdo them at their own games.

Some politicians have learned that relying upon Birch members or encouraging their influence in political structures can be costly. One leading southern Republican, who was beneficiary of substantial Birch Society political action in the Goldwater campaign of 1964, said then they were welcome and that his only requirement was that they work for the party. They did. But in time their primary allegiance to the doctrines of the Birch Society caused difficulties. His assessment of their political participation, coming from a tough-minded political organizer, is worth noting. He said recently in private:

"Those people are no problem if you've got others who know what's going on, who'll fight them when necessary. I've never been concerned with the Birch Society as an organization. I've never seen their lines of organization and leadership galvanized behind a particular candidate or policy, with control that transcends other lines of leadership. They may get together before a meeting and talk about what to do. But I never saw evidence that a section leader ordered them to do something which they just carried out. On the other hand, the Birch Society attracts some people who are irresponsible, and the nature of the society gives them a feeling of personal power. That type, trying to satisfy his own need for power, concerns me more than the ideological commitments of Birchers in general. The Birch Society members usually are not really interested in politics on a continuing and realistic basis. The ones who helped us most in 1964 are mostly out of party work now and busy with fundamentalist-type religion of the anti-Communist, anti-National Council of Churches type."

EXPORTING SOUTHERN RADICALISM

In 1968 a basic question about rightist radicalism in Southern politics arrested the attention of the nation as a whole: Could it be exported, so that a peculiarly southern politician might lead the whole country to the extreme right? George Wallace set out to make his presidential candidacy a truly national campaign, in sharp contrast with the sectional campaign conducted in 1948 by Sen. Thurmond and the States Rights Party. He won a place on the ballot in every state, an accomplishment requiring prodigious

effort and widespread support. Polls early in the campaign, and in mid-campaign, showed his popularity rising steadily across the nation.

Is Wallace a peculiarly southern politician? The argument can be made that he is simply a major political figure of the right who happens to be from the South; that other non-southern politicians, such as the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, have occupied essentially the same position in the political spectrum; and that accordingly there is nothing peculiarly southern about Wallace's politics. To a degree, this is true. It is easy to imagine that a national demagogue similar in many ways to Wallace might emerge from, for instance, the struggles over order in the schools of New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio. But even so, such a figure would not represent the same phenomenon that Wallace represents. He embodies the essence and spirit of a century of peculiarly southern resistance to the national ideals, with all its sly subtleties alien to most of the country's people; disregard for constitutional processes in general, with an assumption (accepted in much of the South) that tradition and folk custom are more important than law; traditional southern "put-the-bottom-rung-on-top" class appeals; and regional paranoia unlike any to be found elsewhere. Even his political rhetoric, which often surprised his non-southern listeners (with such lines as "We gone put 'em *under* the jail"), reduced the sense of identity which non-southerners could have with him. Wallace was, after all, a man who had a strong political base at home partly because he had exploited many people's sense of inferiority *as southerners* and their conviction that they were being looked down upon because of what they were. ("Folks down here in Alabama are just as refined and cultured as folks anywhere!" Wallace often says, and these words invariably bring applause from people who apparently need to be told just this.) In his last speech of the campaign, on the Georgia State Capitol steps, Wallace returned repeatedly to his regional themes. He said Georgians were tired of being looked down upon, and that they were as good as any bureaucrats with briefcases. He spoke of the need to show that a southerner could be elected president. The speech again underscored that, if Wallace was not a sectional candidate, at least he was a particular kind of peculiarly southern candidate running nationally.

The election results indicated that if the nation is soon to be led to the extreme right by a demagogue, as it may be, he will have to be something more than a demagogue of provincial thought processes, rhetoric and spirit. Rightwing radicalism in the South may help him substantially; but in its provincialism, it has peculiarities that only southerners can identify with.

The early poll showings reflected a strong general discontent in the country which Wallace could marshal for the pollsters but which he could

not translate into votes for the presidency of the United States. His 13 per cent nationally can be construed as alarming or as small enough to be reassuring. What is more important than the percentage is the distribution of his vote: It almost perfectly reflected the southern nature of his candidacy and the unwillingness of those outside the South to follow him.

Wallace carried only Alabama, with 65 per cent of the votes; Mississippi, with 63 per cent; Louisiana, with 48; Georgia, with 43; and Arkansas, with 40. Twenty years earlier Thurmond had carried Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. There was, then, little difference between the outcome for Wallace, with respect to his area of strong appeal, and the results for Thurmond, an easily identifiable southern sectional candidate. Wallace carried most of the "inner" South and did more poorly in the "outer" South, more poorly still in border states, and more poorly still in the rest of the nation. The pattern, in terms of the "southernness" of his appeal, was clear.

In the "outer" South, which he had hoped to carry, there were these results for him: Virginia, 24 per cent; Tennessee, 34; North Carolina, 31; Florida, 29; and Texas, 19. (In South Carolina, an "inner" South state, he apparently was limited to 31 per cent largely by the influence of Thurmond and other influential Republicans who presented Richard Nixon as perhaps less desirable for the South but more likely to win.) In the border states, he won these votes: Kentucky, 18 per cent; Maryland, 15; Missouri, 11; Delaware, 13; and West Virginia, 10. Significantly, in typical conservative states distant from the South, he made some of his worst showings; for instance, in Arizona (where Barry Goldwater was regaining his seat in the Senate), Wallace had nine per cent, and in Kansas, 10. He obviously was not seen primarily as a conservative in these states, but primarily as a southern radical.

In three states where he had served as a vehicle for very strong protest votes in the Democratic primaries of 1964, he did very poorly as a genuine candidate for the White House. He won 15 per cent in Maryland, where he had polled 43 per cent in the 1964 primary; 12 per cent in Indiana, where he had 30 per cent in 1964; and eight per cent in Wisconsin, where he had polled 34 per cent in 1964. These votes indicated that although many people four years earlier had been willing to vote for him in plebiscites on their discontent, most did not see his politics as suitable for a national presidential candidate.

Surely his peculiarly southern appeal was the basic factor in his insignificant showings in such states as Maine, where he won two per cent; Vermont, three per cent; New Hampshire, four per cent; and Hawaii, one per cent. In the final analysis, too, he lost much of the blue-collar support he had seemed to have during what might be called the rhetorical protest

stage of the campaign, before the White House was at stake. His results were poor in all industrial states. In Michigan he received only 10 per cent of the votes; in Ohio, 12 per cent; in New Jersey, nine per cent; in Illinois and Pennsylvania, eight per cent; and in California, seven per cent.

The Wallace campaign, with strong financing, nationwide organization, and almost even-time treatment by the mass media in general, scored well enough to cause concern about the extent of rightwing extremist feeling in the country. But what it revealed about that was not surprising. Certainly it did not indicate that the South can mold and direct the nation's extremism according to the designs and emphases of its peculiar, provincial variety of rightwing radicalism.

RIGHTISTS IN AND OUT OF OFFICE

The kind of political extremism that has prevailed or at least has been strongly represented in much of the South for decades is not substantially the product of radical national or regional organizations. Southern political rightists frequently have aided the organized right; but they have seldom been created by it. Nor is there convincing evidence that the election of a radical governor, such as Maddox or Wallace, has greatly increased the membership and activity of such organizations as the Birch Society, again with the lone exception of Mississippi during the era of Citizens Councils strength and their alliance with Gov. Ross Barnett. No one could have been more of an "anything goes" radical rightist than Maddox. But as he approached the middle of his term in office, there seemed to be no great increase in organized radical rightist activity in Georgia attributable to his influence. The John Birch Society in the Atlanta area in mid-1968 evidently had no more than 500 active members (one former member scoffed at any suggestion that it had more than 200). That figure represented no substantial increase and possibly a decline since 1964, despite intense new organizational efforts. The Citizens Councils still had made no inroads in Georgia, which always had been barren land for them. In Atlanta, where a council existed in name, it was hardly more than a mailing address. The Klan's membership apparently had not risen appreciably. Evidence of Klan activity seemed, in fact, substantially less than in some recent years and largely amounted to an occasional peaceful demonstration in Atlanta. (The Georgia Grand Dragon of the United Klans, Calvin Craig, resigned his Klan office in early 1968, indicating he would seek public office. He was amicably sitting down with Negroes regularly as a participant in Atlanta's Model Cities program, and he sought their votes in an unsuccessful race for sheriff.) When the preacher-evangelists of the radical right, in particular Billy James Hargis and Fred Schwarz, came through Georgia in 1967, their crowds were no larger than before. A visit by Robert Welch of the

Birch Society in February of 1967 attracted about 400 people, a much smaller crowd than he had drawn in 1966.

PROPAGANDA IN PRINT

If the radical organizations have not burgeoned everywhere, nevertheless the word they bear about public issues has. The theory of the Birch Society and its allies often has served as a codification and rationalization of existing prejudices, extending and enforcing them. Much of this has been done through publications and radio.

Among the principal rightist publications widely distributed in the South is *Human Events,* started in 1944 as a four-page newsletter by some prominent people (including Gen. Robert E. Wood and Charles E. Lindbergh) who had been associated with the isolationist America First Committee. *Human Events* at one time had close ties with the Birch Society, H. L. Hunt's Life Line organization, and other radical right groups. *Human Events* and the Birch Society have jointly offered their followers bulk subscriptions to *Human Events* and the Society's *American Opinion* magazine, at reduced rates. Many of the sponsors of *Human Events* in recent years have been leading Birch members, and the tabloid-size paper continues to push a standard set of far-right views and proposals. It cannot be as clearly labeled radical right as some other publications. Much of its content may be described as very conservative but not radical rightist in the narrow sense, consisting of articles by such people as Barry Goldwater, Ralph de Toledano, and Max Rafferty and reprints from conservative newspapers such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Charleston News and Courier.* It offers a combination of far-rightist viewpoints along with very conservative views that are more in the mainstream of public exchange. Its national circulation has reached an estimated 180,000, and it appears to be distributed very widely in the South.

Several publications of the radical right originate in the South. They are produced primarily for Southern readers. These include the Citizens Councils' magazine, the *Citizen,* and various pamphlets and books which that organization pushes; the *Augusta Courier,* a weekly tabloid put-together of clippings and extreme personal views published by old-time segregationist politician Roy Harris, of Augusta, Georgia, president of the Citizens Councils of America; the *Independent American,* a small monthly newspaper published by Free Men Speak, Inc., of New Orleans, whose principal voices have been Kent and Phoebe Courtney; the Southern States Industrial Council *Bulletin,* published semi-monthly in Nashville by a council with some large corporate support whose stated views parallel most of the program of the radical right; the *Birmingham Independent,* whose

readership is local; and the *Councilor,* publication of the Louisiana Citizens Councils.

Other radical right publications with some influence in the South include the Birch Society's *American Opinion* magazine, a monthly, and its *Bulletin,* a monthly in which Robert Welch tells members how they may implement the society's program first by reading and then by action; *Life Lines,* a four-page commentary put out three times a week by H. L. Hunt's Life Lines Foundation; the *Dan Smoot Report,* a four-page, letter-size weekly published in Dallas by Dan Smoot, who previously was commentator for Hunt's defunct radio program "Facts Forum;" the *Christian Crusade,* a monthly magazine, and the *Weekly Crusader,* a bulletin, published at Tulsa by Billy James Hargis; *Liberty Letter,* monthly official organ of the Liberty Lobby, whose 210,000 circulation nationally makes it the biggest periodical clearly representing the radical right; and *News & Views,* a monthly published by Maj. Edgar Bundy's Church League of America.

An arresting fact about all these publications is their sameness of viewpoint. The standard line, from which there is little variation, is opposition to the United Nations, the poverty program and the Supreme Court; hysterical exaggeration of the progress of internal communism; advocacy of a return of prayer to the public schools; opposition to civil rights legislation, with assertions that civil rights organizations are Communist pawns; a belief that the schools, press, churches and other basic institutions are Communist-infiltrated or at best dominated by "liberal-socialist" theory; and proposals to basically alter the federal system. There are variations on such questions as whether to support a third party and whether to dismantle the federal government by repealing the income tax and barring it from professional and business services (as the Liberty Lobby's proposed Liberty Amendment would do) or whether to simply limit income tax rates by amendment except in time of war (as the Southern States Industrial Council proposes).

PROPAGANDA ON THE AIR

The message of the radical right is much stronger in the South than elsewhere on radio stations. In fact, radio appears to be the most formidable weapon in the radicals' arsenal. A reasonable estimate indicates that 7,000 programs of the radical right are heard weekly across the nation, and a sizable portion of these are on southern stations. One reason for their proliferation has been the sluggishness with which liberals and others have moved to challenge them. Now when licenses are up for renewal before the Federal Communications Commission, questions occasionally are being raised about whether a station heavily dispensing radical rightist views is providing the kind of balance on public issues which the FCC requires. But each challenge must be well documented. Further, a station may escape

giving equal time to those attacked or to the causes they represent if there is no well-prepared request for the time; and when a station goes unchallenged at the time of a program it can argue that it would have granted equal time if this had been requested.

The South's affinity for radical right radio programs is worth close scrutiny. The region is still less urban than most of the nation, and a large part of its population regularly listens to small, local stations. It is exactly these low-budget stations, often without network ties or other good sources of programming, which most often use the radical right's prepared propaganda. The rightist evangelists, especially, have appeal in the South. One of their byproducts appears to be in influencing local preachers (usually of the smaller, fundamentalist sects) who use the radio simultaneously for jeremiads and fund appeals to sustain the program.

The Rev. Carl McIntyre's "Twentieth Century Reformation Hour" has led the field in the South, as well as nationally. Organized in 1958, this daily program was being heard on 313 stations by 1962. Its biggest forward movement came during and immediately after the general national upsurge of the right in 1964. At one point during that year the number of stations was 448, with 201 of these (45 per cent) in the South. In 1965 the number of stations exceeded 600. The program apparently continued to be strong in 1968, with about half the stations in the southern states. Much of McIntyre's appeal is to those who dislike the National Council of Churches and the directions in which almost all the major Protestant denominations have been moving on social and theological questions. McIntyre himself was barred from continued service as a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (now the United Presbyterian Church) in 1936. That church's General Assembly, its highest governing body, accused him of defaming the character of fellow Christians, causing "dissension and strife" and engendering suspicion and ill will. He has been a leading figure in the American Council of Churches and the International Council of Churches, splinter groups established as rivals of, respectively, the National and World Councils of Churches. McIntyre's appeal to religious separatism and fundamentalism is enhanced in the South by his longstanding opposition to civil rights legislation and statements like the one in which he said talk about racial brotherhood is only Communist propaganda. He is stridently anti-Catholic and in the past has been allied with anti-Semites. In the spring of 1967 he held a Washington meeting of his American Council of Churches to charge suppression of his radio program by the FCC under the "fairness doctrine" on equal time; but the program appears to be still going strong.

The progress of another broadcast of the religious rightists, the "Christian Crusade Radio Ministry," a daily program by Billy James Hargis,

also is especially noteworthy. It is sponsored by Hargis' Christian Crusade, which derives funds from various sources, and by contributions it requests on the air. In 1962 it had reached a peak, with 200 radio and 12 television outlets in 46 states. The next year it was forced to retrench, keeping about 50 radio stations and a few TV outlets. In 1964, with the whole radical right feeling an upsurge in connection with the Goldwater candidacy, the Christian Crusade program was back over the 100 mark in stations and by the next year it had 237 stations in 37 states, Canada and Mexico. In 1967, it had 208 U. S. stations, 86 of which were in the southern states. Thus, southern stations accounted for more than 41 per cent of Hargis' total.

Hargis has emerged in a short time as one of the two or three leading forces of the radical right nationally. In the South, his organization may have more impact than any other national rightist propaganda force. He preaches an orthodox rightist ideology, and in 1967 he seemed to be stepping up his appeals to racism. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was "a part of the whole Communist conspiracy," he told an Atlanta audience. He went on to scoff at the idea that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People speaks for Negroes. "They have never allowed a Negro to head their organization," he declared. His line generally has been that all civil rights efforts were related to communism and effectuated by dupes and fellow-travelers. His use of the race issue was not new: As early as the 1957 school desegregation struggle at Little Rock, he was defending white supremacy. He distributed a pamphlet on the Little Rock situation written by Joseph P. Kamp, a veteran rightwing extremist. Hargis has had a background of close association with extreme anti-Semites such as the late Gerald Winrod and Allen Zoll.

Maj. Edgar Bundy's Church League of America has a 15-minute program which from its outset in 1962 had a substantial southern representation. Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and Florida were four of the eight states reached by the program the first year. It remains a small operation by comparison with Hargis' and McIntyre's. In 1968 the South apparently had more than its share of the Bundy programs, though not as many as some Western states.

Howard Kershner's "Commentary on the News," sponsored by the Christian Freedom Foundation, Inc., also had found the South fertile ground. The number of its stations in the region is currently uncertain but, in 1962, 43 of the 148 stations carrying it, or 29.1 per cent, were in Southern states. The total number had risen by 1965 to 362 stations, including substantial increases in the South.

In addition to these rightist programs with specifically rightist appeals, others have been unusually successful. "Life Lines," the 15-minute daily

program heavily supported by Hunt's petroleum and food concerns, was organized in 1958. By 1961 it was carried by 200 stations nationally, and by the next year the figure had risen to 304. In 1963, 60 per cent of the 289 "Life Line" stations were in the South. In 1967, the figure was 236, or 47 per cent of the 500 stations. The "Manion Forum," which uses radio-solicited contributions and private industries' gifts to present Clarence Manion and his guests, has always had a disproportionate southern base. In 1959, when it had only 89 stations, 38 were in the South. In 1965, its 267 radio stations included 105, or 39 per cent, in the South. By 1967 the "Manion Forum" had been substantially reduced in scope nationally and was even more southern-oriented. Its 155 radio and TV stations included 101 in the South, 65 per cent of the total.

The Birch Society's radio program, relatively new, was making headway in the South in 1967 but how extensively was uncertain. America's Future, Inc., which might be called a fellow-traveler of the radical right, had a much less extensive but still disproportionate distribution in the South. In 1961, it had 371 stations nationally, with 121 of these, or 33 per cent, in southern states. The programs of the Citizens Councils Forum, which is supported by wealthy businessmen and which in the past had a subsidy from the State of Mississippi, were being used by more than 150 stations nationally in 1967, with a large part of this distribution in the South. The weekly "Radio Edition" of the Courtneys' *Independent American* newspaper was being broadcast in 1967 on 33 stations in about 15 states, most of these in the South.

Of the major programs only the "Dan Smoot Report" could be verifiably determined to have a less-than-proportionate distribution in the South. Analysis of the 1965 totals indicates that 20 of the 138 stations broadcasting the Smoot program were in the South, slightly less than seven per cent.

Some stations present a steady diet of the radical right's national offerings and supplement it with local rightist political programs and, frequently, religious fundamentalism. It is possible, in a few cities, to find a rightist program for almost every hour on some local station. In Birmingham in 1967, one might swing through a succession of programs, with hardly an interruption, by dialing six radio stations. On week days, starting at 7:55 a. m. and ending at 9 p.m., the right-winger's radio log included "Paul Harvey," "Christian Crusade," "Conservative Viewpoint," "Paul Harvey," "Paul Harvey," "Fulton Lewis III," and "Life Line;" and on Sundays, between 9:30 a.m. and 9:45 p.m., the "Rev. Ferrell Griswold" (a local minister and ally of the Birch Society), "The Independent Presents" (a local rightwing program), "Dan Smoot," "Christian Crusade," "John Birch Report," "Congressman John Buchanan" (a rightwing Republican), "Citizens Council Forum," "Manion Forum," and the "R. K. Scott Commen-

tary." In Birmingham the extreme rightwinger need hardly ever be without radio inspiration.

The dissemination of rightist views through broadcasting has unique significance, despite the fact that ultra-conservative opinions also are extensively distributed in the region's general-circulation newspapers. The latter will not be examined here. It might be said in passing that ultra-conservative newspaper columnists usually are sustained through normal syndication payments rather than through organizations and subsidies which exist only to promote the special causes of the radical right.

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Among national organizations of the radical right, the John Birch Society remains the only one organized substantially across the South. (The Citizens Councils, strong in some areas, are excepted here because they are not truly national.) Some light on the degree of Birch Society penetration of the South is shed by a study done by Dr. Fred W. Grupp Jr., then of the University of Wisconsin's Department of Political Science. He surveyed members of the Birch Society in 1966 to determine, in part, how the individual attitudes of members might be correlated with the Society's official positions. He concluded there was wide disparity. Especially among the members recruited in the big expansion of 1964 and 1965, he found a very large number who did not accept the full "party line." Of principal interest here, however, is the fact that the Birch Society, though it would not reveal to him its mailing list, agreed to mail his questionnaires to a cross-section of its membership. From the replies received, Dr. Grupp calculated that 26 per cent of the Birch membership was in the 11 Southern states, which have 27 per cent of the nation's population. Since the best estimates of national Birch membership at that time were between 75,000 and 80,000, this percentage suggests a southern membership of 19,000 or slightly more. There was substantial variation state to state. From various evidences, the writer concludes that the following situation existed in early 1968. Alabama was the third state in the country in Birch members, with the highest number per capita. Texas and Florida were close to Alabama among southern states in membership. Mississippi had more than its per capita share: probably about 2,000 members. A middle rank could be assigned to Georgia, which appeared to have three per cent of the Birch membership (its total population being approximately two per cent of the nation's). Some other southern states, most notably Tennessee and North Carolina, apparently had substantially less Birch membership than their populations would indicate if membership were evenly distributed across the country. Of the remaining southern states, it appeared that Virginia and South Carolina were closer to the Texas-

Florida pattern and Arkansas and Louisiana closer to the Georgia mid-rank in Birch membership.

In some ways, the South seems to have been deliberately short-changed by the Birch Society organizationally, though it may be that only recently has the southern membership become substantial enough to justify a concentrated effort. In 1966, the Society had a chief public relations director and regional public relations directors for the East, Midwest, Southwest and Washington. No resident public relations director was in the Deep South even by early 1968. When the Society went all-out in general public appeal through newspaper advertising with a 16-page, multi-color newspaper supplement, it placed this special section in major newspapers in Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Indianapolis and Dallas. (In Houston, the section was mailed directly to homes.) No major southern newspapers outside Texas had the supplement. In 1965, a national fund drive brought in $200,000 through testimonial dinners ($50 and $25 per plate) in Los Angeles, Phoenix, New York, Chicago, and Dallas. Again, except for Dallas, the South had no such events. The Society has had field offices in White Plains, N. Y. (Eastern); Glenview, Ill. (Midwestern); San Marino, Calif. (Western); Washington; and Dallas (supplanting Houston in 1965, primarily for the Southwest). The Society had no such office for the South outside Texas.

Much of the Society's strength in the South is in small towns and cities of 50,000 population or less, such as Americus, Georgia, where racial difficulties apparently stimulated growth. From one smaller city to the next, there are great variations and many gaps. As for the larger urban areas, a map would call for pins to indicate relatively strong membership in all the major cities of Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas and Texas; most of those in Florida (and in particular, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, St. Augustine, West Palm Beach, Fort Lauderdale, Daytona, and Sarasota); some cities of Tennessee; several cities of Louisiana and Mississippi; some cities in North Carolina, though not as all-inclusively as among the large cities of South Carolina; and some cities of Virginia.

Growth appears to be spasmodic. Charles D. Nelson, "major coordinator" of the Society for Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, said in an interview for this report that 1966 was a slack year in his three states following big gains in 1965. He said he expected a surge in membership with the 1968 political campaign and the attendant heightening of political interest. For his area, particularly, that appeared to be a reasonable prediction, especially in view of the George Wallace candidacy. Birch membership does seem to rise and fall with the intensity of interest in politics. Although 1966 was a bad year in general for Birch membership, it was a good year in Atlanta and its suburbs; the number of chapters there increased from 17 to 33

between the spring of 1966 and the spring of 1967. During most of that time a heated state political campaign was under way, with several candidacies which were encouraging to the radical right. (The Birch Society was divided in Georgia over the candidacies of Lester Maddox, Democrat, and Howard (Bo) Callaway, Republican.)

THE "SEGREGATION ACADEMIES"

The increase in the number of private, segregated schools in the South during the past few years has raised the spectre, in the minds of some observers at least, of a substantial increase in rightwing influences in education. The "segregation academies," schools founded specifically to maintain segregation (though this frequently was denied), began to appear in a number of states in the early 1960s, when the reality of public school desegregation was at hand. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent implementation of its school desegregation provisions by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare further expanded the private-school movement. Between 1965 and 1967, the number of private, segregated schools increased to about 200, with about 40,000 students, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service. The number of schools and students remained about the same during 1967 and into 1968. Louisiana, with about 65 schools enrolling about 16,500 students, and Virginia, with about 30 schools enrolling about 12,000, were the leading states in the new private-school movement. Many of the schools were sponsored by people identified with rightwing causes. The Citizens Councils encouraged them and founded some of its own. The extent of direct rightwing influence upon the pupils was difficult to define, but clearly it was substantially present.

Gov. Lester Maddox said in 1967 he would like to see 100 more private schools in Georgia. He obviously was encouraging the "segregation academies" rather than the educational purpose of older private schools, which had no primarily racial motivation and some of which were integrated. Georgia had only four such academies when the governor spoke, and since then the movement has not spread in the state. Gov. Maddox himself, it is clear, identified the private-school movement with defiance of federal desegregation requirements and probably also with conservative influences in the classroom. He said he would like to find some way to make state tuition grants but acknowledged this would be difficult. It was proving, in fact, to be impossible, or nearly so. The federal courts had knocked down other states' plans for subsidizing schools obviously established with the intent of evading civil rights requirements. Gov. Maddox made no further moves on the matter, having encountered intense resistance from other high-ranking state officials in Georgia.

The progression of cases through the federal courts gave every evidence that shortly no way would be left for states to give impetus to the private-school movement. There remained the question of whether a large number of "seg academies" might yet survive because of strong private financial support. Some seemed likely to do so. They were beginning to fill a demand for quality private education which existed apart from the desire to evade desegregation requirements. As these schools (which were not in the majority) tended to follow the patterns of older private schools, they seemed to be unlikely future vessels for the perpetuation of racism and rightwing political philosophy; at least, no more likely to be than private schools in general across the country. The tuition costs of private schools genuinely striving for quality in education made it apparent that they would be limited in number.

There are, however, numerous "segregation academies" whose genesis and whose support clearly suggest that their pupils will be subject to rightwing extremist and racist influences. Dr. T. E. Wannamaker, a leading South Carolina spokesman for private schools, is a favorite of the white Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society. Wade Hampton Academy at Orangeburg, S. C., of which he is president, is one of several schools that award their graduates a lapel pin consisting of a Confederate flag and the word "Survivor" underneath. It symbolizes, Dr. Wannamaker said, "the fight to maintain great principles such as the value of truthfulness, of honor, of courage and integrity, and the great principle that governments should be governments of laws and not of men." Dr. Wannamaker discounts the role of libraries and laboratories. "Our books today tend to mis-educate as well as to educate," he said.

The inferiority of many of the segregation academies is clear, and some states have lately moved to tighten requirements for private schools. "All you have to do to open a private school in South Carolina is to have a spare stable," Cyril Busbee, the state superintendent of education, said in 1967. The state was moving toward standards for the private schools, which in some areas were undermining the local public schools by attracting their students, teachers and community support.

The spread of segregated academies, with which John Birchers and old-line segregationists frequently have been identified, appears to be encountering now the hard reality that in the long run a private school will cost parents substantial amounts of money and will be depriving the children if the main purpose is espousal of views such as Dr. Wannamaker's. Some will become more respectable. Others are likely to die. Their long-range impact thus seems much smaller than it might have seemed two years ago, when state tuition grant programs were still alive.

In the area of public education, the South has the same kind of influences

at work on its schools as do other regions, as well as its own more pronounced racist pressures. These are difficult to measure quantitatively. Some evidence exists, however, that specifically rightwing pressure on public schools is no more pervasive in the region than in many other parts of the country. The Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association, having examined rising harassment of teachers and schools, reported in 1966 that the John Birch Society was "clearly in first place as a trouble-making agency." Among others it cited were the Dan Smoot Reports and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Significantly, it said 90 per cent of the complaints of red-baiting and book censorship came from three states: California, Michigan and Ohio. Similarly, Mrs. Jennelle Moorhead, national president of the Parent-Teacher Association, blamed rightwing pressures for much of the loss of about 340,000 PTA members during the preceding three years but indicated most of the trouble had come not from the South but from other regions.

THE SOUTHERN RELIGIOUS WARP

The South, it probably can be said then, has both a vulnerability to rightwing doctrine and some resistance to formal organization of the John Birch kind. This vulnerability and this resistance are both related to the peculiar apartness of the region's culture. Although that apartness is declining under the constant impact of national norms and national outlooks, furthered through mass communications and national organizations such as religious denominational structures, it still exists.

One reason such organizations as the Birch Society have not fared especially well is that the South has a strong inclination to turn toward its traditional structures, including political forms, for expression and participation. If one lives in a state whose governor is a Lester Maddox or a George Wallace, has congressmen who vote to the satisfaction of the Americans for Constitutional Action and the Citizens Councils, is under a steady radio bombardment from rightwing propagandists and rightwing fundamentalist preachers, and lives in a city dominated by reactionary elements, who needs the John Birch Society? It becomes a foreign element in the native habitat. This kind of native habitat is not universal in the South, of course, but it exists in the areas which otherwise might be most receptive to national rightwing groups.

The South's paradoxical vulnerability to and resistance of rightwing organization also is clearly related to its religious peculiarity. The most church-oriented part of the country, the South is also the region most noted for fundamentalist, pietistic Protestantism. This has special pertinence inasmuch as even organizations of the radical right which do not have a religious orientation, such as the John Birch Society, appear to have a membership

strongly imbued with literalistic and pietistic religious views (of Catholic, as well as Protestant, varieties). "The preponderant majority of our members are deeply religious," Charles D. Nelson, the Birch coordinator for Alabama, Florida and Mississippi, has said. Ira S. Rohter, in his study of the radical right mentioned earlier, compared a sample group of radical rightists with an arbitrarily-chosen control group and found a very strong correlation between radicalism of the right and fundamentalist religious loyalties. Two students of fundamentalism and the radical right, Jack Dodson and Camille Vandervoort of the University of Houston, have suggested "the distinct possibility of the 'holinization' of the politics of the extreme right in the contemporary American society." In 1968, cars could be seen in the South bearing two bumper stickers: "God Give Us a Leader" and "Wallace '68."

The dominant churches in the South have been those which, in the broad sweep of Protestant history, would have to be called radical, part of the left wing of the Reformation. These were the churches that introduced the most radical changes in church government, including forms more democratic than previously existed and forms lending themselves to localism and extreme individualism. In theology, these were the churches that were most radical in altering views of the relationship between free will on the one hand and divine sovereignty on the other, asserting that not only was each man his own priest and not only did he fully make his own choice but that he could expect instant experience of his own salvation. This was the final triumph of religious individualism and personal pietism.

These were the churches which elsewhere were sects, characterized by their minority status, their feeling of alienation from a hostile society around them, their sense of apartness from the secular order. But in the South, what was a despised minority elsewhere (the Baptists) became the majority church. Southern Protestantism did not feel itself antagonistic toward the secular order around it; it began to be shaped by, identify with, and support that society.

The dominant Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians became the state church of the South, defending the status quo and the entrenched, and sanctifying public policy. The most bizarre, and by most standards anti-Christian, instance of this was in church defenses of slavery. That tradition was extended through the period of segregation's decline, so that Monday newspapers depicted ushers standing with grim faces and folded arms blocking church doorways to Negroes while, inside, ministers talked of love and sin. All these evidences of the obscuring of Christian ethical demands within Christian churches have their parallels outside the region, of course, but the southern Church's history has made it especially weak in the face of today's moral confrontations and such phenomena as radicalism of the

right, with all its denials of the universality of man's humanity. A "southern theology" is central in this phenomenon. It has been in the making for a long time.

Samuel S. Hill, an authority on religion in the South, has surmised that the southern religious pattern was already set by 1800. In early colonial times, the region was not extensively religious. Anglicanism was the main force, but its reach was limited. Then, during the Great Awakening period of the 1740's, the Presbyterians spread rapidly, with an evangelical thrust which nevertheless had strong intellectual accompaniment. In the 1750's, the Baptists began a long burst of growth. From 1770, the Methodists spread rapidly, with camp meetings as a principal means. The Baptists and the Methodists, more than any others, went where the people were and offered them a faith they could quickly respond to.

The South, James McBride Dabbs has written, institutionalized revivalism in the late 19th century. Other parts of the country moved on past. But the South stayed with revivalism and its heavy emphasis on emotion, simple doctrine and quick assurance of salvation. In fact, the South distorted each of the great founders of Protestantism. Martin Luther had asserted each individual's ability to interpret the Scriptures, but the South made a preposterous anti-intellectual, individualistic fetish of that principle. John Wesley had emphasized free-will in the attainment of salvation, but he did not tear free-will loose from divine sovereignty; many of his southern Methodist followers and others did, all but making man sovereign in determining his salvation through instant self-declarations of conversion. John Calvin's strong views on social responsibility were abandoned by southern Presbyterians; Calvin had asserted that the Church must be the social conscience of the land, but for decades southern Presbyterians largely ignored that doctrine, replacing it with an extreme view on the separation of church and state which facilitated the suspension of ethical judgments on state affairs. The southern Baptists also left their ancient moorings. They have sometimes traced their origins to the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century; but their views of social responsibility became much narrower than the Anabaptist assertion that each man was responsible for the deeper morality of his day-to-day actions and for the tone of the society around him. In the great retreat from concern about the social order, Dabbs has written, the Southern Church "avoided the core problems and dabbled around the edges with a bunch of blue laws." In the early stage, said W. J. Cash, the South needed and received "a faith, not of liturgy and prayer book, but of primitive frenzy and the blood sacrifice — often of fits and jerks and barks — . . . a personal God, a God for the individualist . . . ." Cash also noted a strange contrast: the South's love of pleasure alongside its Puritanism. How could hedonism be recon-

ciled to Puritanism? Cash concluded that this could be done only if religious faith and daily life were kept separate. New England Puritans had done this, too; but in the South, Puritanism lived on and became a dominant faith.

The relevance of all this to radical rightist influence in the South is clear. Rightist views in the United States are commonly grounded in narrow, anti-intellectual views of the world; in moralistic certitude; in a view that opposing ideas are satanic; in a devotion to old practices and old values with the assumption that these are under attack from evil forces; and in an assertion of individualism which, although rightists often are themselves subject to herding, becomes an official virtue. These threads of rightist radicalism are obviously also the central elements in the Southern church's peculiarity (its heresy, perhaps, from the viewpoint of mainstream Protestantism).

The revivalistic nature of the big Protestant denominations in the South has been substantially modified in recent years. These churches' clergy are better educated than in the frontier days, and increasingly influenced by mainstream religious ideas. The institutions themselves are more sophisticated. But much of the old influence remains.

Membership figures suggest just how pervasive has been the influence of the peculiar Southern church. We start with the fact that the South is far more church-oriented than any other part of the nation. The percentage of people who are *current members* of southern Protestant churches is about twice as high as in any other part of the country, and three times as high as in some. This is the only region where current members of Protestant churches *far outnumber* the members of Catholic and Jewish congregations. Only in the South do Protestant churches have an actual majority of the total population. The South had, in 1952, 4.1 churches per 2,000 people, compared with 1.4 in the Northeast, 2.4 in the North Central region, and 1.5 in the West. Beyond this, we must consider what churches southerners are in. Two examples suffice for the Deep South. In Mississippi, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and members of the Disciples of Christ account for 94 per cent of the population; in Georgia, for 93 per cent. Baptist and Methodist memberships comprise the great bulk of this membership.

Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, a sociologist who directs the Religious Research Center at Emory University, has said: "The Klan is a child of the main religious forces in the South. The connection becomes closest in the case of the extreme sects. But the fundamentalist thrust is at the center of the southern brand of Protestanism."

As the major Protestant denominations that have been traditional in the South move away from the core of fundamentalism, a largely unnoticed

phenomenon is taking place which could have profound import for the future. The Pentecostal-Holiness and Church of God denominations, which reach back to the fundamentalism of old, are growing astonishingly. The best evidence is that while the region's population was increasing 37 per cent between 1926 and 1952, membership in the Pentecostal-Holiness churches in the South increased 1,000 per cent and in the Church of God congregations 659 per cent. Dr. Brewer has remarked upon the South's impact on the nation through the out-migration of its religious fundamentalists; the spread of the newer fundamentalist faiths is likely to have similar impact. They carry on with the kind of simplistic, emotional, salvationist and intellectually indifferent strains that earlier went into the mass Protestant faiths of the South, before the memberships became predominantly middle class.

In the South's political life, Lester Maddox is the peak of a largely-concealed iceberg. He combines political primitivism with religious primitivism. Far more than most political analysts seem to realize, his appeal is to the religious simplism of a sub-culture in the South which lies beneath the middle class or at its lower edges and whose extent is told in the figures on poverty in the South's poorest region. Gov. Maddox is often seen as a demagogue cut from the familiar cloth of old-style demagoguery in the South. But in many ways he is different from the cynical political charlatans. He is the South's brand of religious and political simplism run amuck. He is the logical extension, in high office, of the moods and feelings that come from those origins. It is no accident that he is both a fundamentalist Protestant and a rightwing political extremist.

THE FUTURE

It is these phenomena, essentially indigenous, which must claim first priority in any evaluation of the future of rightwing radicalism in the South. The John Birch Society is alien, with a limited middle-class appeal, though it may yet have greater impact. The Ku Klux Klan is a small fossil from the not-so-distant past. The Citizens Councils, created in the post-1954 convulsion, have been steadily dying and are of little consequence today even in Mississippi. The pure ideology of many other political extremist groups from outside the region is too complex and too pseudo-rational for all but a relatively few paranoiac southerners. But those preaching "doctrines wholly unrelated to reality," as President Kennedy described them, who can combine these nostrums with the emotional set and the religious forms indigenous to the South will be of greater significance.

A George Wallace has appeal largely based upon petulance and bitter defiance, and this is satisfying to those who feel threatened by modernism and the world at large. A Lester Maddox has this same "strike-back"

appeal, but also the moralistic appeal of a profoundly ignorant neo-Puritan who sees many devils, all of them on the left. He represents the rightwing "holinization of politics." On the South's airwaves, this tendency is fed best by the radio preachers and other rightwingers who at least superficially identify themselves with fundamentalist religious values.

The counter-weights are many, of course. Major southern religious denominations are moving rapidly away from the peculiarity of their past. Even the Pentecostal-Holiness churches tend to change somewhat as they move into the cities and the suburbs, and as many of their members continue on the "up" economic escalator taking them into the middle class. All these churches are subject, finally, to the challenge of their own religion when they begin reading it without the blinders that the South's peculiarities imposed. The region's racial and poverty crises already are beginning to receive fruitful attention from many churches whose theologies only a few years ago made them oblivious, at best. This new attention to realities will not mix well with "doctrines wholly unrelated to reality."

The South for some time probably will remain a part of the country oddly susceptible to radicalism of the right, but also resistant. It is not likely to lead the nation to the right. Its George Wallaces and Lester Maddoxes will have too limited an appeal elsewhere. Conversely, a Barry Goldwater (despite his success in five southern states) in time loses appeal among southern rightists because he is not of their ethos and style. So as has been true with so many other phenomena, southern rightist radicalism will be essentially provincial. Its future will be determined by the rapidity with which the South becomes like the nation at large.

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

December, 1968

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NO. 15 IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

"Middle Class" Workers and the New Politics

Brendan Sexton

Reprinted from DISSENT May-June, 1969

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 E. 19 STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

West Virginia University | MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

Center for Appalachian Studies and Development

September 22, 1969

Manpower and Labor Studies

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is the covering letter and broad schedule for the Eastern ULEA.

I've made a reservation for you at Mt. Chateau for Thursday evening. Drop me a note on your air schedule and I'll arrange for transportation to Mt. Chateau.

There are 5 or 6 flights from Pittsburgh to Morgantown daily. It is also the least expensive.

I haven't nailed down Father Rice so far.

We'll cover expenses.

Fraternally,

Tapper

Owen A. Tapper, Assistant
Director for Education
Institute for Labor Studies

Enclosures

OAT/cj

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY • MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

THE WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT • CABLE ADDRESS: CASAD

INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES

September 5, 1969

TO: Member Institutions and Staff I know of--EASTERN ULEA

FROM: OWEN TAPPER

RE: FALL EASTERN ULEA MEETING IS ON IN MORGANTOWN --OCTOBER 2 - 4, 1969

My inquiry of June 25 produced only one negative response, one request for a slight adjustment in dates, one question and one suggestion for program. After some consultation with ULEA officers, the decision is to go forward with the meeting as proposed and as scheduled.

The program begins with a social at approximately 5:30 p.m. on Thursday evening to be followed by a dinner at approximately 7:30 p.m. (See tentative schedule attached.)

Morgantown is easy to reach by either air, bus or auto. Allegheny Airlines serves Morgantown on clear days with connections almost always at Pittsburgh or D. C. If driving from Pittsburgh, take I-79 to Waynesburg, Pa.--then Highway 19 South to Morgantown. If from the east--go to Uniontown, Pa.--then take Highway 119 South to Morgantown. If driving from the south, please obtain a good road map--or consult GREYHOUND.

After arriving in Morgantown, proceed to Mt. Chateau Lodge.

I'd be very pleased to obtain some indication from you concerning attendance. Please return the enclosed form.

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

ULEA EASTERN REGIONAL MEETING
Mt. Chateau Lodge
Morgantown, W. Va.

Thursday, October 2

5:30 - 7:30 P.M.	Social Hour
7:30	Dinner, Introductions, Welcomes

Friday, October 3

9:00 - 12:00 Noon	"The Plight of the White Worker--Educational Approaches" Discussion Leader - O. Tapper
12:00 - 1:00 P.M.	Lunch (on your own)
1:00 - 3:00 P.M.	General Session - "The Role of ULEA"
3:00 - 5:00 P.M.	"Labor Education Problems" Discussion Leader - L. Balliet
5:30 - 7:30 P.M.	Social Hour
7:30 P.M.	Dinner

Saturday, October 4

9:00 - 11:00 A.M.	"Labor Education Research" Discussion Leader - K. Dix
11:00 - 1:00 P.M.	"Labor Education Problems" Discussion Leader - L. Balliet

CLOSE

October 17, 1969

Mr. Owen A. Tapper
Assistant Director for Education
Institute for Labor Studies
West Virginia University
Morgantown, West Virginia 26506

Dear Owen:

The expenses incurred by my participation in the recent ULEA Eastern Regional Meeting are as follows:

Air fare - Atlanta to Morgantown and return	$115.00
Taxis	9.00
Meals	3.00
Hotel	9.27
Total	$136.27

Receipts are attached for the air fare and hotel bill.

Perhaps at the #189 meeting, if not sooner, you can tell me what you really would like to have seen come out of the ULEA session.

Best personal wishes to you, other members of the staff and to Joyce.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km
Enc.

W.H.C

Preventing Conflicts of Interest *on the part of* Special Government Employees

THE PRESIDENT'S MEMORANDUM
OF MAY 2, 1963

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE FEBRUARY 26, 1966

Office of the White House Press Secretary

- -

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced the formation of a Council to the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." The Council, composed of a cross section of the nation's leadership, will devote evenings and weekends to preparations for the Conference first proposed by the President in his speech at Howard University in June, 1965. The Conference will be held in Washington June 1 and 2.

The President charged the Council, under the Chairmanship of Ben W. Heineman with the responsibility of sifting through the concepts, proposals, and programs outlined in the 1965 Planning Session and developing through their experience and knowledge a substantive agenda. It will be the task of the Council to consult with experts across the country; then develop programs for change to be presented to the Conference participants for their consideration and action.

In his speech at Howard University, the President announced he would call the Conference "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

The Planning Session, held November 17 and 18, brought together approximately 250 scholars, leaders, and experts in civil rights problems from across the nation to consider some of the outstanding problems involved in bringing minority groups in this country from opportunity to achievement.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph is the Honorary Chairman of the Conference. The members of the Council will include:

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman of the Board
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company

Morris Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

Honorable Edward T. Breathitt
Governor of Kentucky

Jerome Bruner
Director, Center for Cognitive Studies
Harvard University

William T. Coleman, Jr.
Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Kohn & Dilks

Stephen Currier
Taconic Foundation, Inc.

Professor Allison Davis
University of Chicago

John S. Gleason, Jr.
Vice President
First National Bank of Chicago

-MORE-

(OVER)

Eli Goldston
President
Eastern Gas & Fuel
Associates

Courtlandt S. Gross
Chairman
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation

Miss Dorothy Height
President
National Council of Negro Women

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
President
Notre Dame University

Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
U.S. District Court of Philadelphia

Rafer Johnson
Former Olympic Decathlon Champion

Vernon E. Jordan
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

Martin Luther King
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

John Lewis
Chairman
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

James A. Linen III
President
Time, Inc.

Honorable Theodore McKeldin
Mayor of Baltimore

Floyd McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

Don Smith

James G. Maddox
Professor of Agriculture
University of North Carolina

~~[illegible]~~ Joseph Malony
Vice President
United Steelworkers of America

Burke Marshall
General Counsel
IBM (2 Tacoma)

J. Irwin Miller
Chairman
Cummins Engine Company

William Miller
Textron, Inc.

-MORE-

Professor Robert Spike
University of Chicago

George Meany
President
AFL-CIO } Chairman

Roy Wilkins
President
NAACP

Whitney Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

Panzer

Alexander
Pres. Counsel

The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, Director, Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Edward Sylvester, Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U. S. Department of Labor, as Vice Chairmen of the Conference will assist Mr. Heineman. Mr. Berl Bernhard, who served as Executive Director of the Planning Session, will act as Special Counsel to Mr. Heineman and the Conference.

The first meeting of the Council has been scheduled for Saturday, March 5.

# # #

March 21, 1966

INSTRUCTIONS

INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR COMPLETING TRAVEL VOUCHERS

1. Initial Point of Departure:

Date	Place	Destination
Time	Mode of Transportation	Fare

2. Subsequent itinerary, indicating dates, departure & arrival points, modes of transportation, fares.
   Time required - final destination

SAMPLE

3-25-66 Departed residence, Columbus, Georgia, via taxi, 7:00 A.M., for Airport, Atlanta, Georgia. Fare: $2.50

3-25-66 Departed Airport, Atlanta, Georgia, via Eastern Airlines, for Washington, D. C. Round Trip Air Fare: $175.00

3-25-66 Departed Airport, Washington, D. C., for Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C., via taxi. Fare: $2.50

3-26-66 Departed Sheraton Park Hotel, via taxi, for meeting at 1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Fare: $1.10

3-26-66 Departed 1800 G Street, N.W., via taxi, for Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. Fare: $1.10

3-27-66 Departed Sheraton Park Hotel, for Airport, Washington, D.C., via taxi. Fare $2.50

3-27-66 Departed Airport, Washington, D. C., via Eastern Airlines, for Airport, Atlanta, Georgia.

3-27-66 Departed Airport, Atlanta, Georgia, via taxi, for residence, Columbus, Georgia. Arrived 11:30 P.M. Fare: $2.50

NOTE: Important that initial departure and final arrival times be indicated. Budget Office will compute Per Diem, if authorized, from such times.

Since Washington has more than one airport, it would be advisable to name airport.

IMPERATIVE - Turn in buff copy TR. If none, turn in Airlines Ticket Stubs, RR or Bus ticket stubs, as the case may be; when submitting request for payment, and/or record of travel.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 22, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

This is just a note to confirm the March 25 meeting of the Consultant's Group on Economic Security for the June 1 White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The meeting will be held at 10:00 A.M., Room 301, 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Enclosed are Government Travel Request and instructions required for completing travel voucher.

I shall look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Vivian W. Henderson/jmb

VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
Consultant

Roger Smith Hotel
Lafayette

Encls: 2

W.H.C. Textile Labor

Guaranteed Annual Income Urged

WASHINGTON — A Presidential commission on automation has recommended the launching of twin multi-billion dollar programs to create millions of public service jobs for the hard-core unemployed and to build a minimum income floor for all families.

The National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress offered a wide range of findings on the nature and pace of technological change and proposed steps to cope with the problem.

The 14-member panel called for national economic policies aimed at reducing the general unemployment rate to 3.5%, or below, by 1967. (The rate was 4.1% at the end of last year.)

An additional two years' free education either in community colleges or vocational schools for high-school graduates, elimination of financial obstacles to higher education and expanded opportunities for training and retraining were other recommendations of the commission.

The commission estimated that a total of 5.3 million jobs can be created to meet the huge backlog of public service needs. The job potentials were seen as 1.2 million in medical institutions; 1.3 million in national beautification programs; 700,000 in welfare and home care; 1.1 million in educational institutions; 350,000 in public protection and 650,000 in urban renewal and sanitation.

While concurring with the report, the three labor members and two others on the commission nevertheless criticized it for lacking "the sense of urgency" necessary in assessing the impact of automation.

The group, made up of Joseph A. Beirne, CWA president; Al Hayes, former president of IAM; Walter Reuther, UAW president; Anna Rosenberg Hoffman and Whitney M. Young, Jr., expressed the hope that the report would be taken as "an agenda for action."

The guaranteed minimum annual income for each American family would be accomplished through a "negative" income tax (a tax rebate or cash allowance) which would raise incomes to a specified level.

Noting that technology enlarges the capacities of man and extends his control over his environment, the commission urged that its benefits be spread to secure higher living standards, increased leisure, improved job environment and greater investment in human

MARCH 1966

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 14, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
2255 Lenox Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your Form 57 that was submitted to us as a Consultant to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has been approved by the Civil Service Commission but in order for us to process your pay, it is necessary that an Oath of Office be taken.

It is suggested that you go to the Post Office in your community and take this Oath and have them forward it to Mrs. Carrie Gooding, Room 1122, General Services Administration Building, 18th and F Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C.

In the event this is not accomplished in your home community, any weekday that you happen to be in Washington, this Oath can be taken here. We would suggest, however, that you do this as soon as possible in order for us to process your pay.

Sincerely,

Arthur B. McCaw

Arthur B. McCaw
Budget Officer

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

MEMORANDUM

April 14, 1966

To : Members
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

From : Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

Vivian W. Henderson/jmb

Subject: Task Force Meeting

The Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare will meet Thursday, April 21, 4:30 P.M., Room 301, 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. The meeting is for the purpose of reviewing the document that is being shaped up for final presentation to the Council. My present thinking is that the meeting will last approximately four hours. Government travel requests are being sent under separate cover.

Unfortunately, we will be unable to send you an advance copy of the material. I hope you will be able to make the meeting on Thursday.

Henderson Heads Job Action Group

Atl. Const.
4/20/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, has been named director of a task force to prepare a report on "economic security and welfare" for the upcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights.

The conference has been called by President Lyndon B. Johnson for June 1-2 to find new ways to move from opportunity to achievement for Negroes.

The task force headed by Dr. Henderson is charged with sifting through recommendations on employment from a planning session held last November and to develop "action oriented" programs to be submitted to the conference.

May 9, 1966

Mr. Arthur B. McCaw
Administrative Officer
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCaw:

Enclosed are the two government travel request cards under number A-4,686,014.

Sincerely,

JB

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 4, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

On April 14, 1966 this office sent you Government Travel Request Number A4,686,014 for transportation, Atlanta to Washington, D.C. and return, for your scheduled attendance at the April 21 Economic Security and Welfare Task Force meeting.

Our records indicate that you did not attend the meeting and we therefore request that both the original and buff copy of the Government Travel Request be returned to this office immediately.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Arthur B. McCaw

ARTHUR B. MC CAW
Administrative Officer

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 17, 1966

Dear Dr. Via:

You should have received by now an invitation from the President to participate in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", to be held Wednesday and Thursday, June 1 and 2, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The President first proposed the Conference in June 1965 in his speech at Howard University. He announced that he would call the Conference "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure." The President closed his speech with the prediction that "Together...we can light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America. And, once lit, it will never again go out."

The Conference will bring together a cross section of our society to consider action proposals.

Enclosed, for your convenience, is information regarding the location of the headquarters of the Conference, hotel accommodations, meals and registration. All hotel reservations for participants in the Conference will be arranged by the Conference staff. Please complete and promptly return to this office the enclosed self-addressed hotel reservation card.

I look forward to seeing you at the Conference.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Dr. Emory Via
Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

May 25, 1966

VIA AIR MAIL

Mrs. Joyce Bierman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Bierman:

Enclosed are the various forms relating to my appointment. You will note that I did not fill in the "financial interest" data on optional form 29, item 3. I have attached it on a separate sheet. Please fill it in if it is needed.

Sorry for the delay.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

Wall Street Journal P.14

EFV WHC

NAL, TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1966

Broader Integration Push?

* * * * * *

White House Conference Ideas Go Beyond Bans on Bias

By MONROE W. KARMIN

WASHINGTON—Some call it "pie-in-the sky" wishful thinking. Some call it a meaningless Presidential sop to liberals. Some call it a pertinent guide to the future. In part, the White House Conference on Civil Rights opening tomorrow fits each of these descriptions.

But, more than anything else, the headline-making confab serves as a yardstick by which to measure the progress of Johnson Administration racial policy. Conclusion: It stands at the edge of the great divide that separates anti-discrimination from pro-integration—with some evidence that the President may be ready to cross the bridge.

Perhaps the best definition of the Administration's current philosophical commitment is the parade of civil rights legislation of recent years. The justification offered for each new civil rights law, including the newest proposals to assure open housing and impartial justice, has been that the Negro's Constitutional rights require the dismantling of barriers that discriminate against him.

Now, as this week's conference makes clear, civil rights advocates want the Administration to proceed beyond battling discrimination to the adoption of a positive program to promote racial integration. Sums up one strategist: "We want the Federal Government to commit itself to racial integration as a goal."

The wishes of civil rights enthusiasts do not dictate Administration policy, of course. The White House conference is reporting to the President, not for him. And realists among the participants concede that, in today's fiscal and political climate, it would be impossible for Mr. Johnson to comply fully with their multi-billion-dollar, socially advanced desires.

Yet there is some confidence that the President may be willing to heed, as well as hear, their pleas, if only with a long-term gradual response. After all, it was he who summoned this week's conference with the proclamation that it is now time "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure. To move beyond opportunity to achievement."

These words already have spurred some Federal agencies to a forward position. Unemployment is a prime example. Those officials who watch over hiring practices are not satisfied with businessmen who agree to eliminate racial barriers; they insist upon "affirmative action" to employ Negroes.

Major Restructuring of Society

But these are only tiny steps, in the view of the civil rights groups. What they want is a mammoth campaign; one that, when viewed in its entirety, would amount to a major restructuring of American society. The scope is so immense that even the mighty Federal Government is deemed incapable of the task without the full support of all major power groups.

That's what Ben W. Heineman, conference chairman, seeks when he calls for a "deeper involvement of all segments of American society"—business, labor, state and local governments, school boards, churches, and so on.

If the civil rights groups have their way, the Federal Government's involvement, too, would deepen considerably. No longer would it rely on single-target legislation to crack racial barriers in voting, schools, public accommodations, public facilities, employment, housing and the like.

There are those who believe that, once pending proposals are enacted, the Federal Government will have reached the limit or productive activity in the anti-discrimination effort. "The time for civil rights legislation, that is civil rights on its face, is just about finished," declares a knowledgeable civil rights observer.

What may be developing is a more elaborate and sophisticated approach to civil rights problems. This is called metropolitan-wide planning, broad enough to cover entire cities and their environs, holding out the lure of Federal funds to induce money-short localities to not only eliminate discrimination but to actively promote racial integration.

At least that's the direction being signaled by the report prepared for adoption by this week's civil rights conference. Its major recommendations for action all rest on the foundation of metropolitan-wide planning—metropolitan job councils, and area-wide "workable programs" for housing and schooling. The conference's concept of metropolitan planning would require racial integration as a pre-condition to the allocation of Federal fund.

"This would have a much greater civil rights impact than much of that which now passes for civil rights legislation," predicts one who helped draft the recommendations

Demonstration Cities' Example

Some might argue that the Administration already has embraced this planning philosophy in its "demonstration cities program" to dole out bonus Federal funds to urban areas that plan comprehensively to eradicate slums and promote orderly suburban growth.

But even this proposal, though broader than anything in the past, is criticized by the White House conference as being too narrow both in geography and philosophy. A close look at this criticism provides revealing insight into the racial policy decision that the civil rights groups are now presenting to the President.

Among the "weaknesses" detected by the writers of the report is one of size. Although the demonstration cities idea proposes to select huge chunks of neighborhood blight for cure, the White House conference complains:

"It does not embrace the entire urban community. The central cities will be anxious to utilize every available dollar, but the suburbs are likely to go right on siphoning off the more affluent whites and excluding the less fortunate and the nonwhites."

Even more to the point, the conference criticizes the program for a lack of commitment to racial integration: "An overall city nondiscrimination policy will be suggested but will not be mandatory." The conference proposes strengthening the program by requiring that a demonstration city, to qualify for bonus funds, establish "affirmative desegregation procedures."

In sum, whether dealing with the central city or the suburbs, the White House conference document proclaims that the "elimination of the segregated pattern of residence from the American scene" should be made the "cornerstone of Federal housing policy."

And the vehicle for carrying out this policy would be the Federal Treasury. "Federal assistance to every local government unit," the conference recommends, "should be conditioned on the submission of a metropolitan-wide plan for the desegregation of housing and the promotion of communities inclusive of all races and incomes."

The pro-integration philosophy is not limited to housing, of course. The same theme shows up in the conference recommendations on school aid:

"The Federal Government should proclaim that it is national policy to reduce racial concentration in the schools—racial concentration of pupils, teachers and other school personnel. Present and future education grants should be contingent on the presentation and approval of an area-wide 'workable program' from the recipient community designed to achieve this goal."

None of this is yet Administration policy. It may never be. Certainly, in today's fiscal and political climate, there is a "pie-in-the-sky" quality to the White House conference's desires. But the civil rights delegates have fixed their sights not on today but on tomorrow. And the President did summon them to his door.

EV:

see attached carbon
of letter which went
out yesterday.
j.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

14 June 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

Please reference our letter of May 25, 1966 in which we transmitted to you a Government Transportation Request for your transportation to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights".

We are asking your cooperation to assist us in completing the requirements necessary to meet the fiscal year closing of our books.

Will you kindly return the buff copy of the GTR, sign the enclosed voucher and on a separate piece of paper list your expenses (attach all receipts) from the time you left your residence until your return, so that we may process this voucher prior to a June 24 deadline we must meet.

We trust you understand the necessity for us to meet the legal requirements of the U. S. Government Travel Regulations and that you will comply with this request promptly.

Sincerely,

Arthur B. McCaw

ARTHUR B. McCAW
Budget Officer

STANDARD FORM NO. 1012
7 GAO 5300
1012-108

TRAVEL VOUCHER

DEPARTMENT, BUREAU, OR ESTABLISHMENT	VOUCHER NO.
PAYEE'S NAME	SCHEDULE NO.
MAILING ADDRESS	PAID BY
OFFICIAL DUTY STATION / RESIDENCE	

FOR TRAVEL AND OTHER EXPENSES		TRAVEL ADVANCE		CHECK NO.
FROM (DATE)	TO (DATE)	Outstanding	$	
APPLICABLE TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION(S)		Amount to be applied		CASH PAYMENT RECEIVED: ---------- (Date)
NO.	DATE	Balance to remain outstanding	$	---------- (Signature of Payee)

TRANSPORTATION REQUESTS ISSUED

TRANSPORTATION REQUEST NUMBER	AGENT'S VALUATION OF TICKET	INITIALS OF CARRIER ISSUING TICKET	MODE, CLASS OF SERVICE, AND ACCOMMODATIONS*	DATE ISSUED	POINTS OF TRAVEL	
					FROM—	TO—

** *Certified correct. Payment or credit has not been received.*

---------- (Date) ---------- (Signature of Payee)

AMOUNT CLAIMED → Dollars | Cts

APPROVED (*Supervisory and other approvals when required*)

DIFFERENCES:

NEXT PREVIOUS VOUCHER PAID UNDER SAME TRAVEL AUTHORITY

VOUCHER NO.	D.O. SYMBOL	DATE (MONTH-YEAR)

Total verified correct for charge to appropriation(s)

Certified correct and proper for payment:

Applied to travel advance (appropriation symbol)

---------- (Date) ---------- (Authorized Certifying Officer)

NET TO TRAVELER →

ACCOUNTING CLASSIFICATION

*Abbreviations for Pullman accommodations: MR, master room; DR, drawing room; CP, compartment; BR, bedroom; DSR, duplex single room; RM, roomette; DRM, duplex roomette; SOS, single occupancy section; LB, lower berth; UB, upper berth; LB-UB, lower and upper berth; S, seat.

** FRAUDULENT CLAIM—Falsification of an item in an expense account works a forfeiture of the claim (28 U.S.C. 2514) and may result in a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 5 years or both (18 U.S.C. 287; *id.* 1001).

o48—16—78596-1

SCHEDULE OF EXPENSES AND AMOUNTS CLAIMED

PREVIOUS TEMPORARY DUTY (*Complete these blocks only if in travel status immediately prior to period covered by this voucher and if administratively required*)

DEPARTURE FROM OFFICIAL STATION (DATE)	(HOUR)	TEMPORARY DUTY STATION LAST DAY OF PRECEDING VOUCHER PERIOD (LOCATION)	(DATE OF ARRIVAL)

DATE 19----	NATURE OF EXPENSE	AUTHORIZED MILEAGE RATE ------ ¢		AMOUNT CLAIMED		
		SPEEDOMETER READINGS	NO. OF MILES	MILEAGE	SUBSISTENCE	OTHER

June 13, 1966

Mr. Arthur B. McCaw
Budget Officer
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCaw:

Enclosed is the buff copy of the travel request form for my most recent trip to Washington. I also incurred limousene and taxi expenses totaling $12.75 ($3.50, $2.00, $3.75, $3.50).

Will I be reimbursed for the $25.00 registration fee paid to the Conference?

I am sure that your end of the operation is still loaded with details to be cared for. Best wishes in getting them wrapped up.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: Travel Request No. A-4,686,052

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID

Mr. Arthur B. McCaw
Budget Officer
White House Conference on Civil Rights
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

June 15, 1966

President Vivian W. Henderson
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Viv:

Thanks for your note of Jane 13th regarding my participation on the Task Force on Economic Security and Welfase. Since so much of our work was done in haste and informally, I am sure that many of us on the Task Force feel hhat we never had an adequate opportunity to express our appreciation for the kind of leadership, imagination, and energy which you put into the whole undertaking as Chairman of the Task Force. It was a great service to us and to the cause.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

June 21, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" is now history, but the objectives of that Conference are yet to be achieved.

Those of us who worked closely with the making of the Conference, feel that just as we were dependent on your assistance prior to and during the Conference activities, that dependence will continue until the American dream of equal opportunity for all its citizens is a reality. Your excellent support and cooperative assistance played a definite role in making the Conference a success, and we are very grateful to you for your service.

With very best wishes and kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION FOR CONSULTANTS

The purpose of this instruction is to advise consultants appointed to the staff of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" in the procedures to be followed and certain limitations in the use of government facilities and the obligation of government funds.

1. The Appointment of Consultants

Each individual, prior to being appointed a consultant, must submit two (2) copies of Civil Service Form 57. Caution should be exercised in the preparation of the Form 57 to insure that it is accurately completed in every detail. The Form 57 must be completed regardless of whether the consultant serves with or without compensation. Each consultant will receive a Civil Service Form 50 which will be the notice of appointment and the conditions of appointment.

2. Time and Attendance Reports and Payment for Services

Consultants serving with compensation are expected to inform this office, each week, of the dates and hours worked during the week on Conference activities. This time report is the basis for compensation, therefore prompt reporting is important. Consultants are paid on the basis of an eight (8) hour day or a fraction thereof, with payment for a minimum of one (1) hour for each day during which work is performed on Conference activities. In other words, if a consultant works one-half hour on Conference activities, he will be paid for one (1) hour of work. If he works three (3) hours, he will be paid 3/8 of his daily rate, etc. Any portion of an hour greater than one-half hour will be reported as an additional hour worked. If he works in excess of eight (8) hours during any calendar day, he will be paid for eight (8) hours of work. There will be approximately three (3) weeks from the time the first time report is submitted until the first payment for services will be received. Subsequent payments will be made each two weeks.

3. Travel

Travel on Conference activities for which reimbursement is expected will not be performed without prior approval of the Administrative Officer. Requests for approval may be submitted in writing or by FTS telephone (202-128-3691) to include the cities to be visited, the method of travel, length of visit in each city, number of days required to complete travel, and the purpose of the trip.

4. Means of Travel

The Government Travel Regulations prohibit the use of first-class accommodations, except under certain conditions, where reimbursement is expected. Air travel must be performed in less than first-class accommodations unless only first-class accommodations are available. Rail travel must be performed by coach unless overnight travel is required in which case first-class accommodations with a standard lower berth are authorized. Travel by privately owned automobile is authorized, with reimbursement at the rate of twelve (12) cents a mile, provided the cost does not exceed the amount equal to air economy fare.

5. Reimbursement for Travel Expenses

Upon approval of travel requests submitted to this office in advance of travel performed, this office will issue GSA Form 87, Official Travel Authorization which is the consultant's authority for reimbursement. If time and conditions will permit, a Government Transportation Request will be prepared by this office and furnished the consultant. After the consultant has signed in the appropriate place this form will be presented to the airline or railroad ticket office for issuance of necessary tickets. In the event it is impracticable to furnish a Transportation Request prior to travel, the consultant will purchase a ticket within the limitations of paragraph 4 above. After each trip is completed the consultant will furnish this office with a complete itinerary of travel, stubs or receipts for travel tickets issued (copy of Transportation Request, if used), copy of hotel bills and itemized list of other expenses such as taxi fares (each trip listed separately), baggage handling fees at airports or train stations and at hotels upon arrival and departure, local and long distance telephone calls and tips not to exceed 10% of cost of services. Upon receipt of this information, this office will prepare a travel voucher for the signature of the traveler. Reimbursement for travel is limited to $16.00 per day plus transportation, baggage handling and communication costs.

6. Long Distance Telephone Service

The Federal Telecommunications System (FTS) telephone lines will be used whenever possible to make long distance telephone calls. Long distance calls from a government or commercial telephone to a government telephone may be placed with the FTS operator in the city where the call originates. However, long distance calls from a commercial telephone to a commercial telephone cannot be placed over the FTS except in Washington, D. C. In Washington, D. C. the FTS operator may be reached by dialing 962-5021; in New York City the number is 460-0100; in Chicago the number is 828-4400. In most cities the number is listed in the city telephone directory under United States Government, Federal Telecommunications System. Also in Washington, D. C., if the call is placed from a government telephone the FTS operator may be reached by dialing 100. Inform the FTS operator that you are calling on "official Government business" of the White House Conference on Civil Rights and that the call should be charged to this office, account number T-124. To call this office from outside Washington, D. C. first dial your local FTS operator, inform the operator as above and state you are calling 202-128-3691. Calls placed from your home or private office telephone (except calls originating in Washington, D. C.) to a commercial telephone in another city should be charged to your home or private office telephone number. Upon receipt of the telephone bill, send a copy to this office identifying each call, the purpose of the call and total reimbursement requested. Long distance calls placed over strictly commercial facilities while in authorized travel status should be paid for at the time and reimbursement claimed on a travel voucher as authorized in paragraph 5 above.

7. Other Expenses

Request for reimbursement for taxi fare for travel performed on Conference activities when not in travel status (at your normal place of business) may be submitted on Standard Form 1164, Reimbursement for Expenditures on Official Business (copy attached).

8. Restrictions

Consultants are not authorized to make commitments which require expenditure of funds without the approval of a Vice-Chairman, Special Counsel or the Administrative Officer.

9. Office Address

All correspondence or telephone calls concerning the above instructions should be addressed to Norman J. McKenzie, Administrative Officer, White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", Room 1121, 1800 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., or telephone 128-3691 (government line) or 382-3691 (commercial line).

Norman J. McKenzie
Administrative Officer

Attachment:
Standard Form 1164

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #V
THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE
Dr. Hylan Lewis

SUMMARY

This planning session has a concern for the influences on contemporary family life, especially family life among Negroes. It is assumed that the aims of the working session are to propose policies and programs for the immediate future as well as long-term directions and programs. The agenda paper refers to some of the issues and some of the facts having to do with:

1. The effects of low income on family life

2. Family composition among Negroes--its characteristics, factors influencing it, and its consequences

3. Plans and programs aimed at strengthening family life, especially among the low income population.

Among the issues: the nature and extent of family disorganization among Negroes, the reasons given for it, the outlook for it, and of course what to do about it.

The measures of family disorganization most frequently used are the incidence of families headed by females, illegitimacy, and the attributes and behavior of the disadvantaged male. The nature of the prognosis and programs proposed are heavily conditioned by whether the indications of "family breakdown" are seen primarily as a heritage of slavery or as responses to current conditions.

Among the facts:

> Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. The increase in the proportion of female-headed households has been less than five percentage points in 15 years, with no rise in the last five years. The evidence is that Negro-white differences in family structure diminish when controlled for income and that differences by income are more striking than differences by color; that factors attributable to the effects of inequities in housing, employment, health, and education account for a large amount of the difference between the figures for Negroes and whites.

The family and family behavior among Negroes show great range and variability; especially overlooked and underrated is the diversity among low income Negro families. When these are overlooked for any reason, there is danger that the depreciated, and probably more dramatic and threatening, characteristics of a small segment of the population may be imputed to an entire population.

Family and personal strengths, resiliencies and demonstrated capacities for change found at all levels are a prime resource to be taken into account in planning programs aimed at strengthening family life among Negroes.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the goals for all families?

   Are there special goals for different categories of families? --e.g., Negro families? Negro low-income families? Negro families in urban ghettos? urban problem families? rural problem families?

2. What is the most important single thing that needs to be done now to improve the quality of family life generally? For low-income families?

3. What should be the general objective with regard to low-income Negro families:

   (a) to propose a model to which all families should conform?

   (b) to offer the kinds of economic and social supports that seem best suited to allow families to work out their own forms and functions?

4. Among the Federal Government's efforts to strengthen the family which programs seem to be moving effectively in needed directions --i.e., programs such as the following:

   Aid to Families of Dependent Children

   public housing, and other Federal aid to housing

   day care

   vocational training and rehabilitation

   employment counseling and services

   training and use of non-professional aids

   family counseling and education

   medical and survivors' insurance

   foster family and group family care

   social and protective services for children

   Federal aids to education

5. What features in such programs require modification?

6. What innovations are required in current programs if they are to achieve their objectives of helping to strengthen family life?

7. Are the more adequate economic resources needed by low-income families to be supplied solely by improving the employment opportunities of family breadwinners? If so, how? If not, how?

8. What about non-job sources of family income--e.g., the family allowance? the negative income tax? the guaranteed annual income?

9. Assuming that children can be helped more effectively if their parents are involved, and that so far few major successes that stand up to scrutiny have been achieved in this direction, how shall effective involvement be accomplished?

   And, if some parents are unreached, or unwilling to be involved, what should our approach be with reference to the child?

10. Are surrogate male models desirable and feasible for boys and girls without fathers? If so, what kind and how introduced?

    Do any of the current programs--Big Brothers, neighborhood counselors, more male teachers, adult or near-adult aides in nursery schools and day care centers--offer promising leads?

11. Should day care centers offer, not only custodial care and opportunities for socialization, but also cognitive enrichment to enhance school readiness?

    What about such questions as: Is cognitive enrichment being sought at the expense of social and emotional development?

    Is nursery school cooperativeness cultivated at the expense of independence and coping abilities?

    Are the intellectual gains reported after preschool training likely to be stable? Or are they to be threatened by unfortunate school experiences later--overcrowded classes, with split shifts, inadequate teachers?

12. How translate into social policy and action the evidence that low-income Negro parents have high educational aspirations for their children?

13. In administering large programs aimed at eliminating the effects of poverty and discrimination on families, what principles of administration should be followed, and how can this be accomplished?

    For example, what are the relative advantages and disadvantages of Federal vs. local direction?

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PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

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AGENDA PAPER #V
THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE
Dr. Hylan Lewis

> ...the family is rooted in human nature -- in human nature conceived not as a bundle of instincts but as a product of social life;...the family may take protean forms as it survives or is reborn in times of cataclysmic social change; and...we can predict with some assurance the persistence of the family but not the specific forms which it may take in the future.1/

The viability of families, especially low-income families, is critically relevant to our national design and commitment "to fulfill these rights." The purpose of this agenda paper is to serve the working group's examination of stresses and potentials for contemporary families. The discussion is cued to "outside" as well as "inside," and to contemporary as well as historical, factors affecting the course and quality of family life, particularly among low-income Negroes. The aim is to focus attention on the policy and program implications of current family facts and issues. The agenda paper has been prepared with these goals of the planning session in mind:

(1) the proposal of directions and long-term programs that seem most promising for eliminating or reducing the factors that make for family stress and instability, and for maximizing the realization of family potentials

(2) the proposal of some specific programs, services or activities to be accomplished within a stated time.

It is through the family that the individual enters into the privileges and liabilities bestowed upon him as a citizen. And it is through the family that the effects of his citizen status first impinge on his inner circle and his inner self. The family acts, not merely as conduit, but rather as agent, reagent and catalyst. It defines the

child's world for him; and it, initially, defines him to himself.

The functions of the family are discussed chiefly in terms of what it does for children, and the emphasis is accurate. Yet the viability of the family depends on the satisfactions and supports it offers to adults, since it is they who determine whether a family unit survives or dissolves. Moreover, what the family can offer to its children depends on the psychological, social, physical and economic status of the adults who preside over it.

It is often claimed that the United States is a child-centered country and, like most claims, this one is occasionally challenged. If we were child-centered, ask the challengers, would we be spending on education only a fraction of what we spend for defense? Would our most family-labeled program, Aid to Families of Dependent Children, have focused for so many years on the sex morality and employability of the mother, with so little official regard for the care of children while the mother works?

I. Contemporary Family Forms

A major issue in any discussion of the Negro family is the higher proportion of female-headed households among Negroes compared with whites.2/ The genesis of such families is, by some, attributed to slavery. Others reject or place little emphasis on slavery as an explanation, as compared with current conditions. For example, it has been suggested that

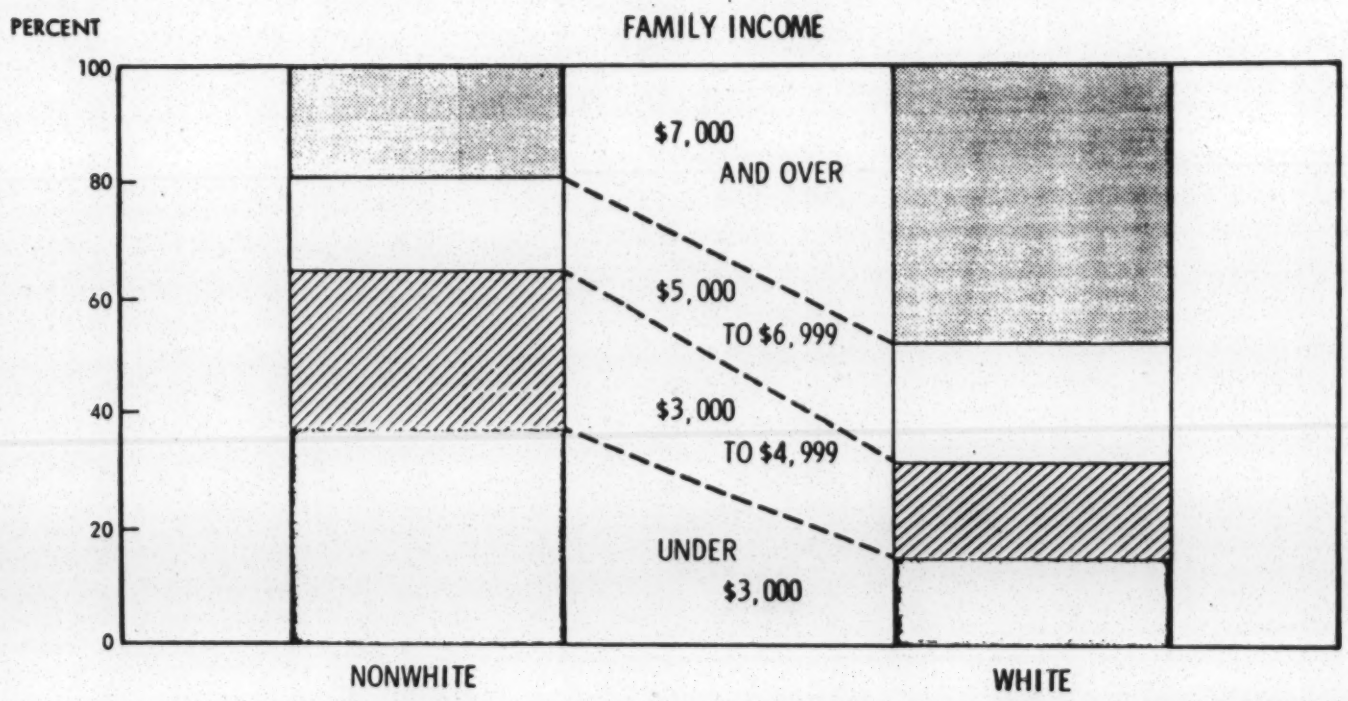
> ...not enough is known about...present family forms and functions and about the behavior patterns which are distinctly urban products with a dynamic and history of their own. The forms, as in the case of the family headed by the female, may be the same but the context in which they fit and function has probably changed in important details.3/

In one sense, the disagreement about the influence of the slavery heritage on current family forms and practices appears largely academic. We are dealing with the problems and potentials of today, as they are manifested today. Although historical influences may affect kind and degree of potential for growth, it is not necessary to agree on underlying causes in order to perceive present problems and build upon present potentials.

In another sense, the controversy is not academic, for it colors opinions about the nature and extent of differences and similarities between Negro and white families at very low income levels. Those who emphasize the historical influence point to differences; those who emphasize post-slavery influences point to similarities between the two.

The habit of analyzing data by color rather than by income level has tended to support the slavery-specific hypothesis. Since a much larger proportion of Negroes than of whites are on the lowest income levels, what look like statistically significant differences between Negroes and whites may actually be differences between socio-economic

2 OUT OF 5 NONWHITE FAMILIES HAD INCOMES BELOW $3,000 IN 1964.



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

levels. But if the figures are presented only in one way, the other possibility is obscured. Studies of prenatal care, for example, indicate that in effect one is comparing the prosperous with the poor in all three of the following comparisons: white mothers with nonwhite mothers; married mothers with unmarried mothers; all mothers who do with all mothers who do not obtain prenatal care.4/

The Lefcowitz paper compares a variety of qualities for Negroes and whites who are poor and for Negroes and whites who are not poor.5/ In effect, Negro and white comparisons are made after a rough standardization for income. These data suggest that:

1. When controlled for income, Negro-white differences in family structure diminish. Differences by income are more striking than differences by color.

2. When Negro and white children with similar incomes are compared, differences between them in educational achievement diminish and the differences by class appear more striking than the differences by color.

3. There is far more difference in employment status by income than by color.

4. The relative position of men with respect to women, economically and educationally, is the same for whites as for non-whites.

In short, some differences diminish and others disappear. On the other hand, even within income classes, some striking differences remain, differences that may be attributed to two qualities. First, a time-consuming, sophisticated analysis may be required to discern what quality that overlaps with ethnic status is operating. For example, the number of children born per 1,000 mothers is greater for Negroes than for whites. However, the migration pattern of Negroes is different from whites and rural background, like income level, appears to be a powerful factor affecting fertility. If one could standardize white-Negro fertility figures for rural background and for income, would a difference continue to appear?

A second quality that creates difference between Negroes and whites is, obviously, the impact of discriminatory treatment. If the rate of home ownership is higher for whites than for Negroes, even within income classes, can there be any doubt that discrimination by real estate and financing firms is responsible? As another example, the mortality rate of young Negro men exceeds that of white men.* Obviously, this increases the incidence of Negro broken families.

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* At ages 25-30, 7 per 1,000 white males and 16 per 1,000 Negro males are likely to die. These figures are not adjusted for income. White young women can marry-up into a comparatively large pool of non-poor white young men. The relative opportunity for Negro young women has been much smaller.

We may come to three general conclusions:

1. Plainly, and overlooking the fact that most Negroes are poor, there are more female-headed families among Negroes than among whites.

2. Poverty accounts for a large measure of this difference. If the qualities of poverty were removed from statistical comparisons, figures for Negroes would move much closer to those for whites.

3. Locatable factors emerging in general from discrimination--health, housing, employment, and so forth--account for a large measure of the difference between figures for Negroes and for whites.

Opinions differ about the rate of increase in the proportion of female-headed families.6/ Some, citing the increase in the proportion of nonwhite families headed by women, from 1949 (18.8%) to 1962 (23.2%), see a headlong deterioration, a rapid "crumbling" of the low-income Negro family. Others point out that the rise from 1949 to 1964 was 4.4 percentage points in all (that is, less than one-third of one percentage point a year); that it was gradual from 1949 (18.8%) to 1959 (23.6%), and that from 1959 to 1964 it has remained relatively stable. They conclude that there exists a plateau, or perhaps a gradual but not acute increase in the over-all proportion of broken homes among low-income Negroes.

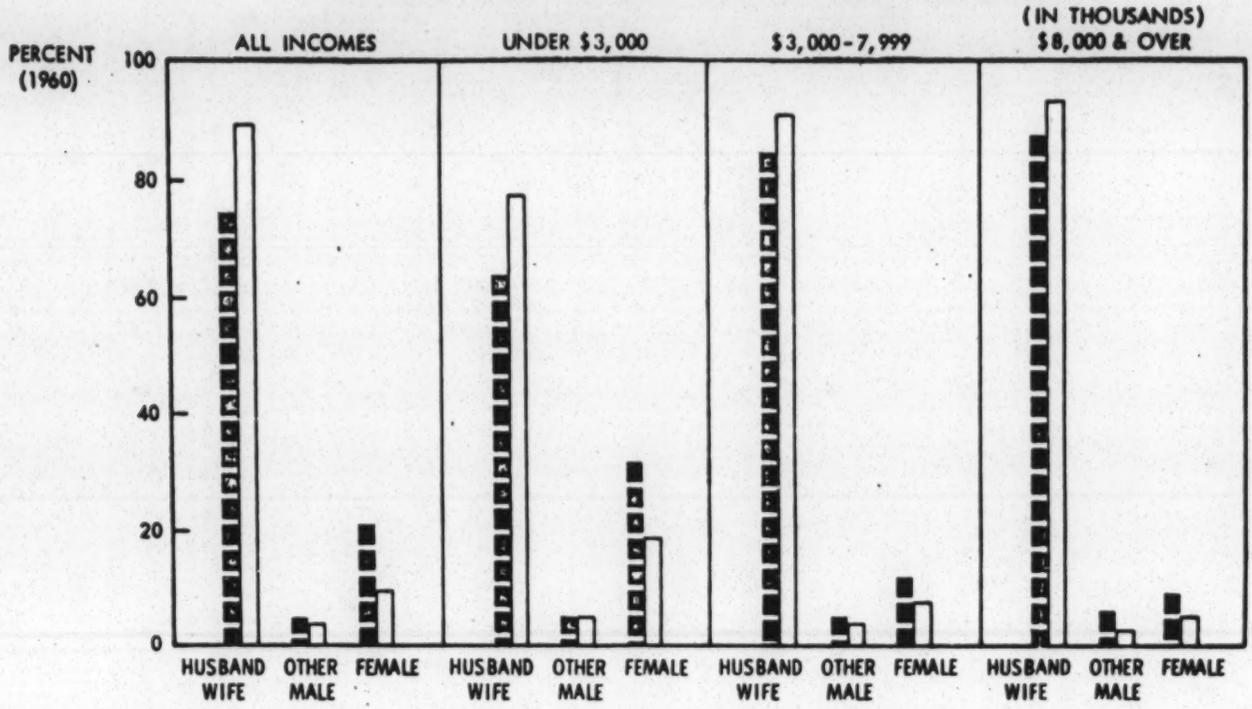
Those who hold the rapid-deterioration view urge strong action to halt an accelerating breakdown. Those who hold the plateau view urge strong action to remedy adverse conditions that have existed far too long. There is consensus between the two schools of thought with regard to the existence of a long-standing disparity between white and nonwhite rates, and the need for strong and prompt intervention. Differences lie: (a) in interpreting the current situation as a crisis vs. a long-term manifestation; (b) in the attitudes of alarm and hostility that may be held with regard to an erupting crisis, as compared with the problem-solving approach that is more likely with regard to a long-continued situation.

The Father--Present and Absent

The two-parent family is modal in the United States, which is to say that it is the norm for American Negroes. Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. At the upper income levels the proportion rises and at the lower income levels it falls. Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that when we speak of the female-headed household we are talking about a minority, even among the poor. The fact that family composition is especially flexible among the very poor means that, although at any given moment, two-thirds of the Negro families in the urban slums include two parents, individual children at various times of their lives may move from two-parent to one-parent homes and vice versa.7/

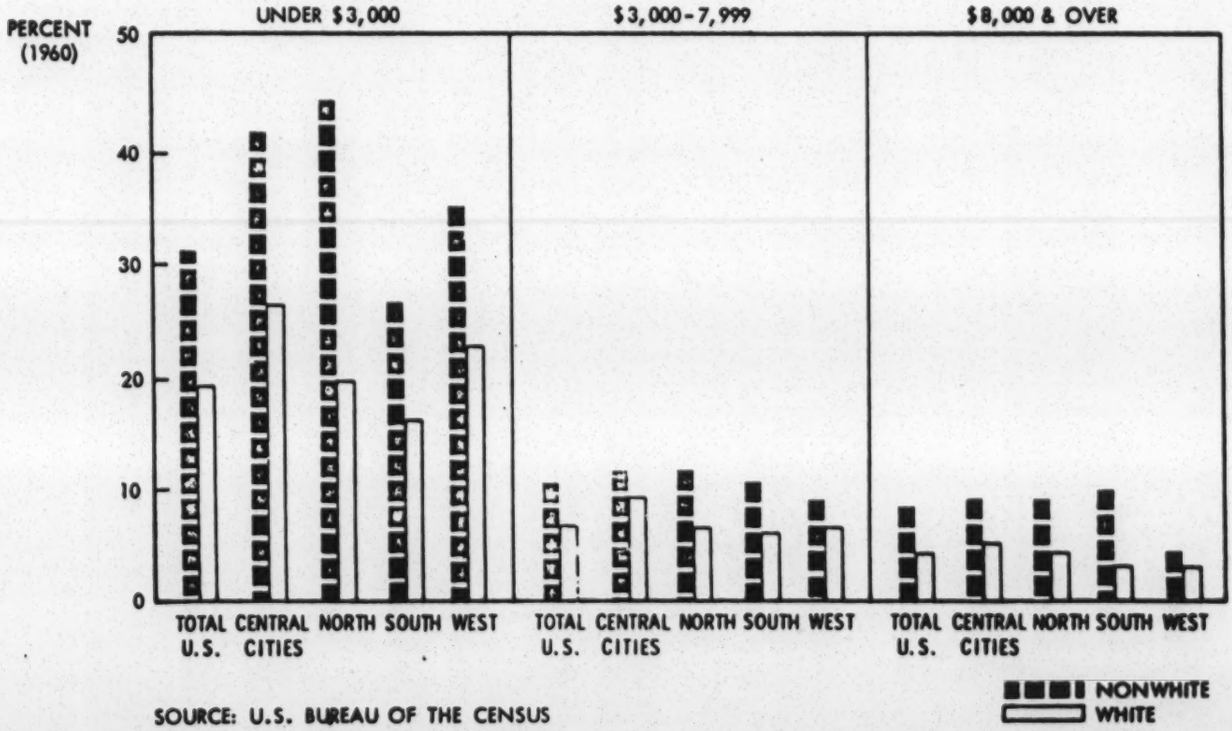
ALL FAMILIES

AT ALL INCOME LEVELS, MOST FAMILIES HAVE MALE HEADS
BUT FEMALE HEADS ARE MORE PREVALENT AMONG NONWHITES



FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS

THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE FAMILY HEADS FALLS SHARPLY WITH RISING INCOME;
IT IS MOST PREVALENT AMONG THE POOREST FAMILIES IN LARGE CITIES AND IN THE NORTH



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

At the same time, outside the slum areas, family stability is the rule rather than the exception. In focusing on family homes, as Erikson has pointed out, the present father tends to be forgotten. Forgotten also is the fact that we know very little about him. We do not even know whether there is evidence to support an occasionally voiced impression that the stable Negro home is more patriarchal than the stable white home.

The great majority of our children--some 87 per cent--live in a home with two parents. Most of the rest live in a one-parent home, and in most cases that parent is the mother.

Few would deny that a harmonious two-parent home offers the best prospect for a child to reach his full potential. On the other hand, a substantial minority of American children, over six and a half million of them, live in a home headed by a woman. It is reasonable, therefore, to review current assumptions about the one-parent home and what it means for the developmental prospects of the children who grow up in it.

It has been our habit to view any deviation from our modal family pattern as an aberration. A number of research findings have tended to reinforce this habit. The question may be raised, however, whether a form that includes so many children and has produced so many effective and apparently happy adults, deserves a less negative status. Perhaps the time has come to recognize the one-parent family as a family form in its own right.

Among reasons urged for re-assessment of the one-parent family as a family form in its own right are the following:

1. The one-parent family is with us and shows no sign of becoming less frequent.

2. There is reason to believe that children in such families are adversely affected by the negative assumptions which cluster around it.

3. Through time and space the family has absorbed a vast array of different forms and still has continued to function as the family.

4. The modal American family may not be as functionally two-parent or as "patriarchal" as is sometimes assumed.

5. Analysis of research findings concerning the one-parent family fails to support a sweeping indictment of its potential for producing children capable of fruitful and gratifying lives.

1. The first proposition is supported by a vast array of statistics. The march of these figures is reminiscent of figures concerning the working mother. Not many years ago, conferences were discussing whether

mothers should or should not be permitted or encouraged to work. At present, the main focus of discussion is rather, what kinds of daytime care or other supervision should be established to help the working mother fulfill her dual role. (A subject which is touched upon at somewhat greater length below.) In any case, although there is hope that effective economic and social measures can reduce the frequency of one-parent homes, it seems unlikely that the numbers will be drastically reduced in the very near future.

2. With regard to effects on children of popular assumptions about the one-parent home, the evidence is chiefly presumptive. Specialists in child development provide persuasive discussions and data bearing on the growth of positive and negative identity. There is no lack of evidence that children are alert to the classifications implicit in questions at school about father's occupation, in social differences between mothers who do and do not have a spouse, in the activities of children who do and do not have a father to take them places and do things with them. The fact of a father's presence or absence is ineluctable; the subtle or overt responses to that fact on the part of adults and other children are in themselves responsive to popular assumptions, and are capable of change as those assumptions change.

3. Although relatively few have made an intensive study of family forms through time and space, most students of problems relating to families are aware that, as Witmer and Kotinsky put it:

> All the evidence points to the infinite capacity of the family to change--to change its composition, to redefine the way it shares the care of children with other social institutions--and yet to retain its over-all responsibility for them.8/

4. The extent to which children in two-parent homes are reared at home and taught at school by women, during their formative years, has been the subject of extensive comment. Without assuming that this is to their advantage, some raise question about the extent to which it reduces the contrast between children in one-parent and in two-parent homes.

5. Correlation between undesired behavior or attributes and the one-parent home has been a repetitive research finding. The broken home has been reported as associated with emotional maladjustment, poor school achievement, juvenile delinquency, and illegitimacy. However, when data are controlled for socio-economic status, such correlations often fade out. The relationship is more often apparent in studies that have not made a point of such control. Its occurrence is too frequent to require documentation here. Its absence under adequate statistical controls is less familiar but is reported in a number of studies.9/

In this connection it is sometimes pointed out that studies which claim adequate controls also have shown children doing better in warm, stable one-parent homes than in two-parent homes with tension and friction. If such findings are trusted, the implication may be an underlining of the need to offer to one-parent homes the kinds of support that would enhance the mother's ability to be a competent, unharried and undefeated mother.10/

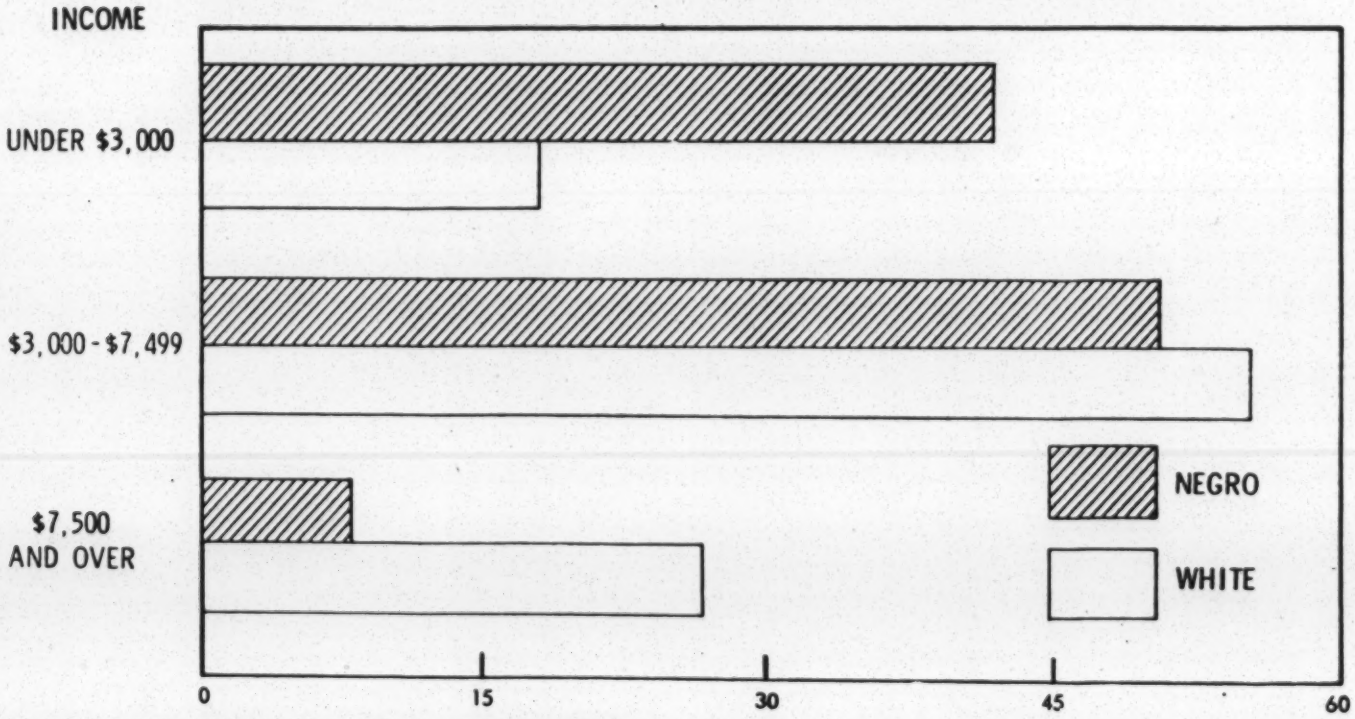
The proponents of the views summarized above do not by any means advocate the one-parent family as the most desired type. What they do advocate is: (1) recognition of the one-parent family as an existing and fairly common form rather than a sick form or a strange deviation from normality; (2) recognition that a sound one-parent home may be better for a child than a torn and strife-ridden two-parent home; (3) devising of ways to enhance the ability of parents without partners to provide a sound one-parent home.

The choice, unfortunately, is not necessarily between a warm, stable, adequate two-parent home and a one-parent home. No one would hesitate to prefer the former for any American child. To avoid the separation of the parents does not, however, insure for the child a "good" or "adequate" home. Evidence available so far does not justify the assumption that any two-parent home is better for a child than any one-parent home; or that the intactness or broken-ness of the home is, in itself, the variable that determines whether or not a child will reach his full potential. As in so many cases, it is an extremely important variable, the net effect of which depends on a number of other important variables. And as in so many cases, the net effect can be helped or hindered by community attitudes and supports.

The relatively frequent dissolution of marriages among low income Negro families is generally attributed, by students of the subject, to the disadvantaged economic position of the Negro male and the consequent downgrading of his role and status within the family, his own self-esteem, and his readiness to struggle with continuing and insuperable family responsibilities.11/ A new determination to improve the economic status of Negro men coincides with a widening of information about and access to the means of birth control. Some see in this convergence a likelihood of mutual reinforcement. A man with a stable income is more ready to accept the responsibilities of family head than one whose economic position is precarious. At the same time, the responsibilities of a family head are more manageable if the size of the family can be planned. The most optimistic prognosticators add that marital stability is likely to be enhanced by the convergence of male ego satisfaction, female respect for him as a breadwinner, and ability of each to give and to receive sex satisfactions without fear of undesired pregnancy.

Early indications suggest that in general people will reach out for services when theybelieve the services will meet a felt need, and specifically that birth control information and assistance can increase the

ABOUT HALF OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE URBAN FAMILIES* HAD INCOMES 1/ OF $3,000-$7,500 BUT MOST OF THE REMAINING NEGROES HAD LOWER INCOMES WHEREAS MOST OF THE REMAINING WHITES HAD HIGHER INCOMES



1/ AFTER TAXES, 1960-61 *INCLUDES SINGLE CONSUMERS

SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

interest in receiving prenatal health care. "Our experience so far in the maternity and infant care programs gives us hopeful indications that the institution of family planning services more than doubles attendance at postpartum clinics and, in some programs at least, seems to have a favorable influence in attracting women to prenatal clinics early as word gets around that the services are available."12/

The Present Mother

In a fatherless home, the mother carries a multiple burden: as head of family, as breadwinner, as home-maker, as mentor, comforter and caretaker of children. Some psychologists hold that, during the first two years of a child's life, the father's presence is more important for his psychological, physical and economic help to the mother than for his direct effect on the child's well-being. (This assumes, of course, that he does give such support.)

The one-parent mother of very low income is likely to be either a working mother or a relief recipient. In either case she is likely to be more fatigued, less healthy physically and more subject to depression than a prosperous mother. If she is "on relief," she and her family may be living on less than a subsistence budget--although recent modifications in welfare practices and policies may bring about some modification of this situation.

If she is a working mother, the same comparisons would hold, plus the problem of arranging supervision for the children while she is out of the home. Mothers without husbands are far more likely to work than other mothers with children under eighteen; and nonwhite mothers are more likely to work than white mothers. They are also likely to receive lower pay.

The effects on children of having their mothers work outside the home are hotly debated. Research findings show strong convergence on three conclusions: (1) that almost no generalization holds true for all working mothers or all their children; (2) that many popular assumptions about working mothers and their children do not stand up under challenge; (3) that the mother's working, in itself, is only one among many factors impinging on children, and may well be a secondary factor.

Primary factors appear to condition its impact on children and family life in three chief ways:

(a) The type of arrangements made for the child's care and supervision during the mother's absence. These are partly the result of attitudes, assumption and behavior, which affect the child whether the mother works or not. But to a large extent they are the result of resources available to her.

(b) The way the child perceives and reacts to the mother's absence. This is also a result of basic factors--including his own special needs--which again affect the child in any case.

(c) Parental attitudes and behavior, including specific reactions to the mother's outside work. These, once more, are largely the product of basic factors which would affect the child in any case, although in special instances the working mother situation may have a secondary influence on their impact and interaction.13/

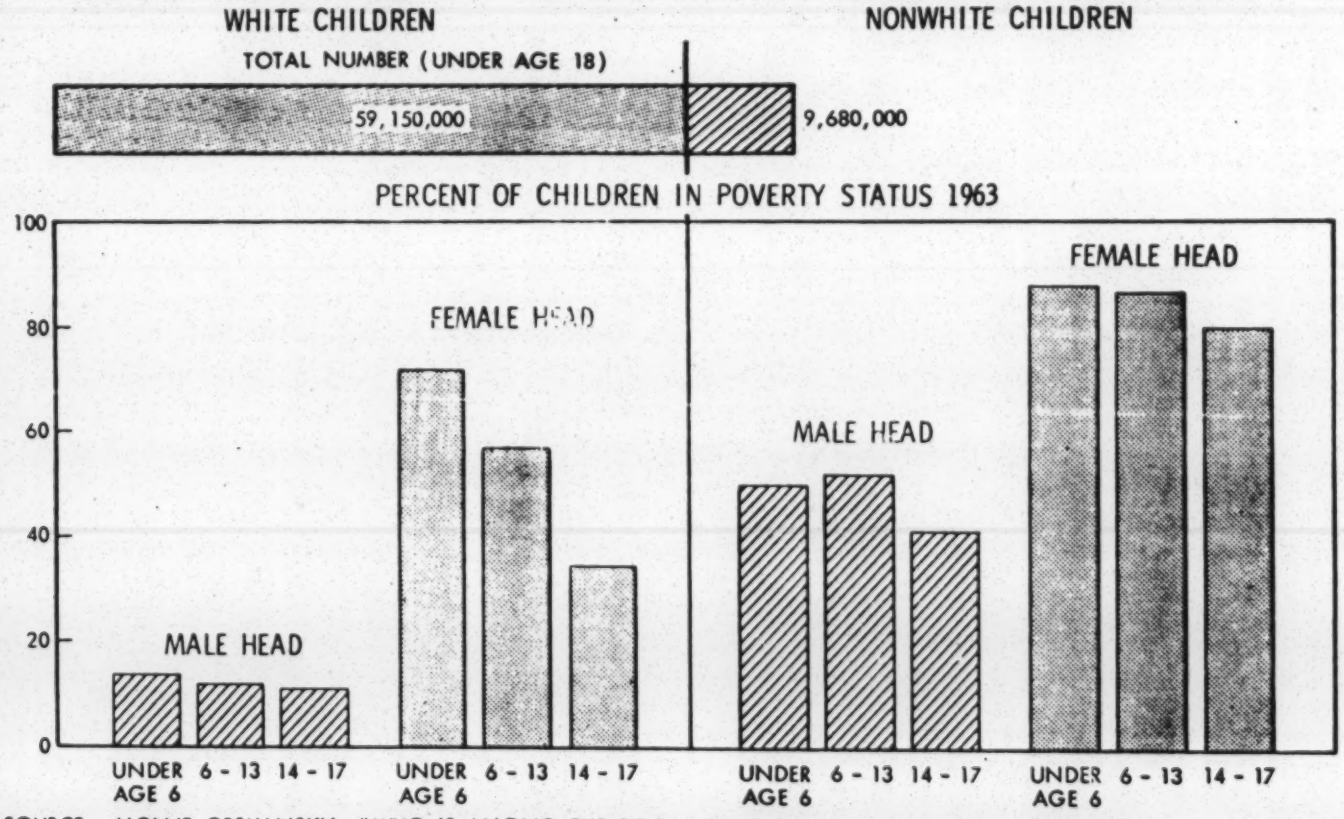
The conclusions listed above have been reported by a number of independent investigators. They leave unanswered a good many questions that connot be discussed here. They also drive home a realization that the very mothers most likely to have no option about working outside the home are the ones least able to arrange for adequate supervision of children while the mother is out of the home.

Some of their problems were highlighted by studies conducted in the late fifties and mid-sixties. The Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau contracted with the Bureau of Census in February 1965 for a new survey to obtain information on the child-care arrangements of one specific group of working mothers: those women who worked 27 weeks or more in 1964, either full or part time and who had at least one child under 14 years of age living at home. There were 6.1 million mothers in this group. These mothers had a total of 12.3 million children under 14, one-fifth of all U.S. children in this age group. The number of mothers in the labor force with children under six numbered 3.6 million.

A number of different child-care arrangements were reported:

> Almost one-half of the children (46 per cent) were cared for in their own homes, usually by a father (15 per cent) or by another relative (21 per cent) and less frequently by a nonrelative (10 per cent). For 5 per cent the relative caring for the children at home was a child under 16 years of age.
>
> Care in someone else's home (15 per cent) was reported much less frequently than care in own home and was equally divided between care by a relative and by a nonrelative.
>
> Group care (in day centers, after school centers, etc.) was reported for 2 per cent of the children but this type of arrangement also varied by age, being 4 per cent for children under 3, 7 per cent for children 3 to 5, and 1 per cent or less for children 6 years of age or older.
>
> Eight per cent of the children in the survey were

OVER 80% OF THE NONWHITE CHILDREN LIVING IN FAMILIES HEADED BY FEMALES AND 40 – 50% OF THOSE IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS WERE POOR IN 1963



SOURCE: MOLLIE ORSHANSKY, "WHO IS AMONG THE POOR" SOCIAL SECURITY BULLETIN, JULY 1965

> expected to care for themselves, an arrangement that varied by age, amounting to 1 per cent for the children under 6, 8 per cent for those 6 to 11, and 20 per cent for children 12 or 13 years of age. 14/

The picture is not reassuring, especially if one considers that the "latchkey" children for whom no arrangements are made are probably over-represented among the lowest income families, that the proportion of children in group care remains very low, and that some of the arrangements reported are sketchy in the extreme. Studies of children under the AFDC program show a larger proportion of children with no daytime care arrangements. It should be added that some of these studies also have revealed great concern on the part of some mothers about the lack of child supervision, and ingenious arrangements by a few of them to have the children report regularly by telephone.

Children and Daytime Care

In recent years, new and systematic efforts have been made to increase the quantity and quality of day care facilities for children of working mothers, and new legislation has given impetus to these efforts. Nevertheless, the 1965 figures suggest a large gap to be filled.15/

Although research results indicate that outside employment of the mother does not, in and of itself, affect children adversely, a good many believe that it is better for children to be in their own homes with their own mothers during the first two years. Even if present measures do not demonstrate adverse effects, they say, we are not able to tell whether the own mother's care would be better for them. This discussion, invoking "the Bowlby thesis" on the one hand, and, on the other, accounts of the many "fulfilled" men and women who were raised by nurses and governesses, will probably not be resolved in the near future.

Meanwhile, new controversies are flaring about the need of preschool children to obtain training for school adjustment and achievement of a kind believed not to be provided in their own homes. Should day care centers offer, not only custodial care and opportunities for socialization, but also cognitive enrichment to enhance school readiness? The hotly debated and many-faceted subject of preschool care for children of low income families is equally pertinent to discussions of education and discussions of family life. It includes consideration of what mothers offer to children and what a specific mother offers to a specific child under specific circumstances, as compared with what trained and responsive day care attendants or nursery school teachers can offer. It includes questions about whether cognitive enrichment is being sought at the expense of social and emotional development; of whether nursery school cooperativeness is cultivated at the expense of

independence and coping abilities; of whether the intellectual gains reported after preschool training are stable, or fade away under the impact of unfortunate school experiences in over-crowded classes, with split shifts, and teachers often hampered by inadequate teaching or by their own unconsciously acquired habits.16/

Closely linked to problems of preschool and later education is the role of the parent in his child's schooling. There is ample evidence that low-income Negro parents have high educational aspirations for their children; and that they (like the rest of the American public) see education as the magic key to wealth and happiness. It is equally clear, however, that they tend to view themselves as having no role in the child's education, aside from housing and feeding him while he goes to school. The school is seen as a foreign and fearsome place, where a parent goes chiefly when summoned because his child has failed in his work or gotten into trouble

There is a widely accepted dictum that small children cannot be helped toward school readiness and social competence if their parents are not involved. Many programs are based on this principle, some very ingenious and apparently effective. Nevertheless, on-the-spot visits often reveal that glowingly-described programs in fact are able to "reach" very few parents, at great cost and investment of staff. The great break-through in parent and family life education has yet to be made, at least for the low income groups. Pending it, the question remains whether one must assume that any child whose parent is unable or unwilling to be "reached" is himself beyond the reach of programs designed to open up for him the way to the kind of life that most people in this country consider a good life.

The use of non-professional aides in nursery schools and day-care centers is urged as one means of combatting both the problem of parental involvement and the problem of insufficient adequate male models. Some centers for daytime care of children from low-income families encourage the mothers to serve as aides, thus increasing their involvement, giving them practice in enhancing intellectual stimulation and interpersonal response, establishing them as active collaborators in the school program, and--in some instances--augmenting their income a little. Some of these centers strive to promote active school-home partnership by arranging for parents to visit the schools their children will later attend and to become acquainted with the teachers in whose classes the children will be.

Some success has been reported in the use of teen-age boys as nursery school aides, including "delinquents" and "near-delinquents." The children respond with eager warmth to these "big men" in their lives. The youthful "big men" in turn, appear to derive great pleasure and profit from the response of the children, who treat them as responsible adults and thus evoke warmth, responsibility and enhanced self-respect.

Recently some parents whose children are in a preschool enrichment program met with the teachers to express their concern about the lax discipline in the school. Children were not smacked when they failed to obey adults, and were not scolded if they were "ugly" to each other. The teachers explained that they were trying to instill inner controls that would continue to operate when the children were too old to spank, and when so many low-income parents feel their children have moved beyond parental control. After considerable discussion, both parents and teachers expressed satisfaction.

The observers, however, were left with a number of questions that echoed concerns expressed by others: Are the children being "socialized" in a way that will be a disadvantage to them in their own neighborhoods?

Are the school and home environments incompatible in a way that will be detrimental to the children and to family cohesion?

Will the encouragement of spontaneity and autonomy in the nursery school equip them badly for the atmosphere of the usual public schoolroom?

Is the cognitive being stressed at the expense of other elements?

Births Out of Wedlock

A number of statements frequently made about births out of wedlock are supported by evidence which--even allowing for vagaries of national reporting that include over-reporting and under-reporting, as well as lack of reporting from some 15 States--still affords solid support for these particular generalizations.

It is solidly established, for example, that numbers of births out of wedlock have increased strikingly in the past twenty years and that rates have tripled since 1938. Rates are far higher among Negroes than among whites. In fact, the majority of children born out of wedlock are nonwhite, although only 12 per cent of the population are nonwhite.

There is also ample and unchallenged evidence that illegitimacy rates are much higher among the poor than among the prosperous. If further evidence were needed on a virtually unchallenged generalization, figures on rates in high and low income tracts should be sufficient. Pakter and associates, for example, found that the proportion of births out-of-wedlock in relation to total nonwhite births varied from a high of 37.5 per cent in the Central Harlem district to a comparative low of 8.9 per cent in the Pelham Bay district.17/ It is difficult to say to what extent differences should be ascribed to greater use of contraception and abortion by the non-poor, to more frequent marriage because of pregnancy among the non-poor, to higher fertility rates among the poor and among nonwhites, and to differential reporting.

A few points, also based on available figures, are less recognized and publicized. Some of these relate to the increase in rates of illegitimacy, by which is meant the number of births out of wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women of child-bearing age. The rise in rates (as differentiated from numbers) has been relatively steady over several decades, and has paralleled to a considerable degree changes in birth rates generally. This rise represents a long-term trend and not a sudden upsurge. Moreover, in the last six years reported (1957-1963) the rates have oscillated at about the same level, rising or falling one or two points or less, but in effect representing a six-year plateau. Thus, the current picture is a rise in numbers and a leveling off in rates of nonwedlock births.18/

The rates for teen-agers have increased less than the rates for other age groups over the past twenty years, and in the last eight years reported their rates have remained relatively constant. The rates for those fourteen and under have not increased since 1947. The population explosion has multiplied numbers in that age group, but rates have remained constant. True, the figures derive from estimates, but this is true of all figures on unmarried mothers and there is as much reason to trust one part of them as to trust another part. Thus any recent increase in the magnitude of problems relating to births out of wedlock is attributable to increase in population rather than to changes in the way people are behaving.

The figures just cited refer to all births out of wedlock, since rates for white and nonwhite are not available separately. Until recently, rates were undoubtedly increasing faster among nonwhites than among whites. Recently, however, nonwedlock births have increased faster among whites than among nonwhites.19/ This minor shift in relative rate of increase does not, of course, alter the large and long-standing difference between white and nonwhite illegitimacy rates nor answer the question noted above, concerning it.

Although rates of illegitimacy have not increased during the past six years, numbers have multiplied, reaching 259,000 in 1963. Unfortunately, social and medical service have not kept pace. It has been estimated roughly that probably less than one-third of our unmarried mothers receive social services near the time of the child's birth. Presumably still fewer receive them at other times.

No careful observer asserts that the insufficient services we do have are distributed evenly or efficiently. With regard to social services, it has been estimated that in 1961 about one unmarried mother in six received services from a public or voluntary child welfare agency.20/ Three-fourths of the mothers served by such agencies in 1961 were white, although the majority of the children born out of wedlock in that year were nonwhite. From this we can estimate that nearly one-third of the white unmarried mothers and less than one-tenth of the nonwhite were served by public or private child welfare agencies.

On the whole, the unmarried mothers served by voluntary child welfare agencies, maternity homes and family service agencies tend to be of higher socio-economic status (including somewhat higher education) than the average for all unmarried mothers in the United States. They also tend, as do those served by public agencies, to be younger and more likely to place their children in adoption. About 70 per cent of the white babies born out of wedlock and less than 10 per cent of the nonwhite are legally adopted.

Failure to receive services does not necessarily mean that service has been sought and refused. On the contrary, a major deterrent to receiving social services is that the unmarried mother-to-be sees no need of them. It should be added that her definition of her needs and her conception of the kind of help social agencies give seldom coincide with agency definitions. Moreover, if all unmarried mothers did seek agency help, the agencies would be unable to cope with the demand.

In the case of medical services, problems of eligibility and of arranging for care bulk far larger than with social services, and many women--married or unmarried--wait until they are in labor in order to obtain emergency service because they are not eligible to receive prenatal care. Far too few mothers, married or unmarried, receive adequate prenatal care and many receive none at all. However, still fewer unmarried than married mothers-to-be receive such care.21/

Those who have studied the problems of low-income Negro unmarried mothers on the whole subscribe to the belief that the most effective way to decrease nonwedlock births in this group would be to improve the economic situation of the low-income Negro male. Census tract data and special studies show that as income increases rates of non-wedlock birth, like the frequency of female-headed homes, decrease.22/

How illegitimacy rates will respond to dissemination of birth control information and devices, remains to be seen. Some predict that, after moderate delay, there will be a radical decrease in the number of births out of wedlock. Those who question the prediction hold that among low-income Negroes a positive value attaches to having a child, both as an affirmation of masculinity or femininity and because children are prized in themselves. This view, in turn, is countered by reminders of nonwedlock children left in hospitals by mothers who do not want to keep them. It seems reasonable to assume that given the information and materials they need, at least some unmarried women will take steps to avoid pregnancy. It is possible also that the possibility of family planning would encourage men to enter and maintain the continuing obligations of marriage--the more so if, at the same time, their own economic stability is improved.

Recent changes in policies with regard to AFDC are also cited as a possible influence in decreasing illegitimacy rates. Among other

features, these changes modify the "man in the house" rule, which is said to discourage marriage, on the one hand and, on the other, to encourage over-reporting of illegitimacy through fear of losing the relief check if it is known that there is a stable relation with a man.

The often-heard statement that no stigma attaches to illegitimacy among low-income Negroes usually carries the implication that no stigma means no penalty, and that this means it doesn't matter whether one is born in or out of wedlock. This implication runs contrary to abundant evidence. To be born in wedlock and to have your children born in wedlock is a decided social plus, and a gratification.

The plus value of regular marriage is stronger than the minus value of no marriage. The lack of marriage is by no means a matter of indifference. Some low-income mothers pray for boys in order to avoid "trouble" for their daughters, and when trouble comes there is grief and anger, even though you stick to your own, take care of your own, and never turn them away. There is also a revulsion against forcing a marriage between a girl pregnant out of wedlock and the putative father, unless they really love each other. The question is - is an unhappy marriage more desirable than an out-of-wedlock birth? A girl may wait until she is "sure she loves him"--even though the assurance comes after the baby is born.

Both national statistics and special studies make it clear that women move in and out of married and unmarried motherhood, so that many families include both legitimate and illegitimate children. The pattern is familiar also among middle and high income whites, although with them it is more usual to have one illegitimate child (which may or may not be placed in adoption) and then marry and have children only in wedlock.

Attitudes toward illegitimacy and toward marriage are clearly linked with the economic position of the Negro male. A male head of house who is not a bread-winner and provider is a hazard to the happiness of the marriage, and his loss of economic status is so great a hazard to his intra-family status that he may decamp, either to protect his own ego or to make his family eligible for support from AFDC. Recent changes in the AFDC program are aimed against the second reason for family desertion.

One reason why it is difficult for middle-class observers to fathom attitudes toward sex and marriage among the poor is failure to recognize that values may be honored by people who do not adhere to them in daily life. This discrepancy between what one believes and what one does may arise from conflict between different sets of values observed by the same individual, and different hierarchies of values held by different nations, socio-economic classes, or individuals. Food and shelter for self or family may rank higher than scrupulous honesty; avoidance of an unhappy marriage may rank higher than legitimate birth status, and the value hierarchy may be constant in an individual's life

or may change according to the situation.

Rodman posits the "value stretch," which he describes as broader among the poor than among the prosperous. The very poor, he says, "share the general values of the society with members of other classes, but in addition they have stretched these values or developed alternative values, which help them to adjust to their deprived circumstances." 23/ Thus, the "lower-class value stretch" refers to "the wider range of values, and the lower degree of commitment to these values, to be found within the lower class." Some commentators raise question whether the "stretch" is wider among the low income groups than among those with middle or high incomes, or merely more perceptible to middle-class observers. The behavior of the prosperous with regard to taxes is mentioned in this connection, as are sharp business practices, sexual infidelity, and the frequent placing of career advancement before the needs of family or country. No one has devised an accurate measure of stretch-difference. It seems clear, however, that on all socio-economic levels people can consciously believe in certain values, even while they continue to act as if those values did not exist. 24/

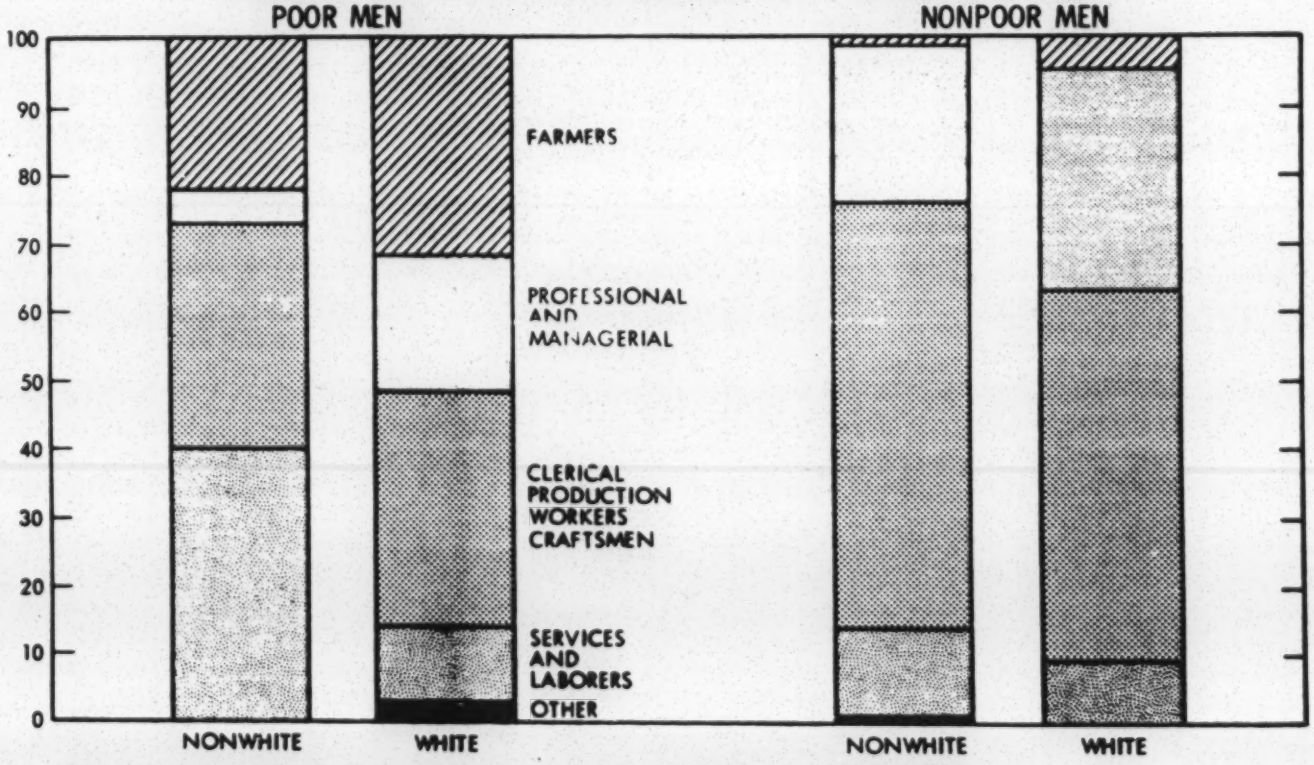
Child Rearing Practices

A number of differences between the poor and the prosperous with regard to child-rearing practices have been described, and attempts have been made to relate some of them directly to school achievement, social satisfactions and later vocational adequacy. Among the differences frequently cited: The poor are less likely to encourage a child's interest in exploration, discovery, inquiry; they are more likely to reward inactivity and passivity as attributes of a "good child;" they are less likely to enhance and reward development of verbal skills through precept and approval; they are more likely to display repressive and punitive attitudes toward sex, sex questioning and experimentation, and a view of the sex relationship as basically exploitative; they are more likely to rely on authoritarian methods of child rearing; they are more likely to discipline by corporal punishment, harshly and inconsistently applied.

Little challenge is raised against these generalizations, although many are quick to point out that some of them are almost inevitable in crowded dwellings where adults are harried, depressed and fatigued.

Some other generalizations about child-rearing practices, as about attributes of the poor generally, arouse more objections. Some of the objections relate to the investigators' use of "culture-bound instruments"; some to the claim that the traits involved are direct products of the "reality world" in which both parents and children dwell. These kinds of challenges have been raised against statements that children are reared to low esteem of selves and parents, present time-orientation, impulse gratification, fatalism, emphasis on "keeping out of trouble" rather than positive achievement, lack of goal commitment.

AMONG POOR MEN THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF NONWHITE WERE IN FARM, SERVICE AND LABORER OCCUPATIONS; THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF WHITE WERE IN CRAFTS, PRODUCTION OR CLERICAL WORK. AMONG THE NONPOOR, THERE ARE FEW IN FARMING AND THE BULK OF BOTH NONWHITE AND WHITE WORKERS ARE IN CRAFTS, CLERICAL OR PRODUCTION WORK.



1/ POOR BY SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CRITERIA. BASED ON A 1963 INCOME OF $1,580 A YEAR FOR A NONFARM SINGLE PERSON UNDER 65 ($1,470 AGED 65 AND OVER), TO $5,090 FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF 7 OR MORE PERSONS. THE POVERTY LINE FOR SINGLE PERSONS AND FAMILIES LIVING ON A FARM WAS PUT AT 60 PERCENT OF THE ABOVE.

SOURCE: OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Objections are raised also to implications that some of the attitudes and psychological sets listed in the preceding paragraph are basic traits rather than responses to immediate environment; and that they apply globally to an income category or neighborhood. For example, a study of child rearing practices among low income families in Washington, D. C. reports that the amount of diversity among low income families is overlooked and underrated in popular and scientific thinking.25/ In addition, the study supports the following propositions:

1. The life chances and the actual behavior of low income families are not to be confused with the cultural values and the preferences of families so classified.

2. A great deal of behavior among low income urban families reflects a straddling of behavior and of goals associated with deprivation and poverty on the one hand, and of behavior and of goals associated with higher socio-economic status and affluence on the other hand.

3. Among a considerable proportion of low income urban families observed, failures to conform in overt behavior to the so-called middle class values are due less to any lack of recognition of, and affirmation of, middle class values than they are due to such factors as (a) lack of money to support these values, (b) a process of diminution in the will to do so, and (c) a lessened confidence in their own, and especially their children's, life chances in the present and future.

4. Most parents in low income families tend to show greater conformity to and convergence with the ascribed standards of parents of middle and upper income in what they indicate they want than in their actual behavior.

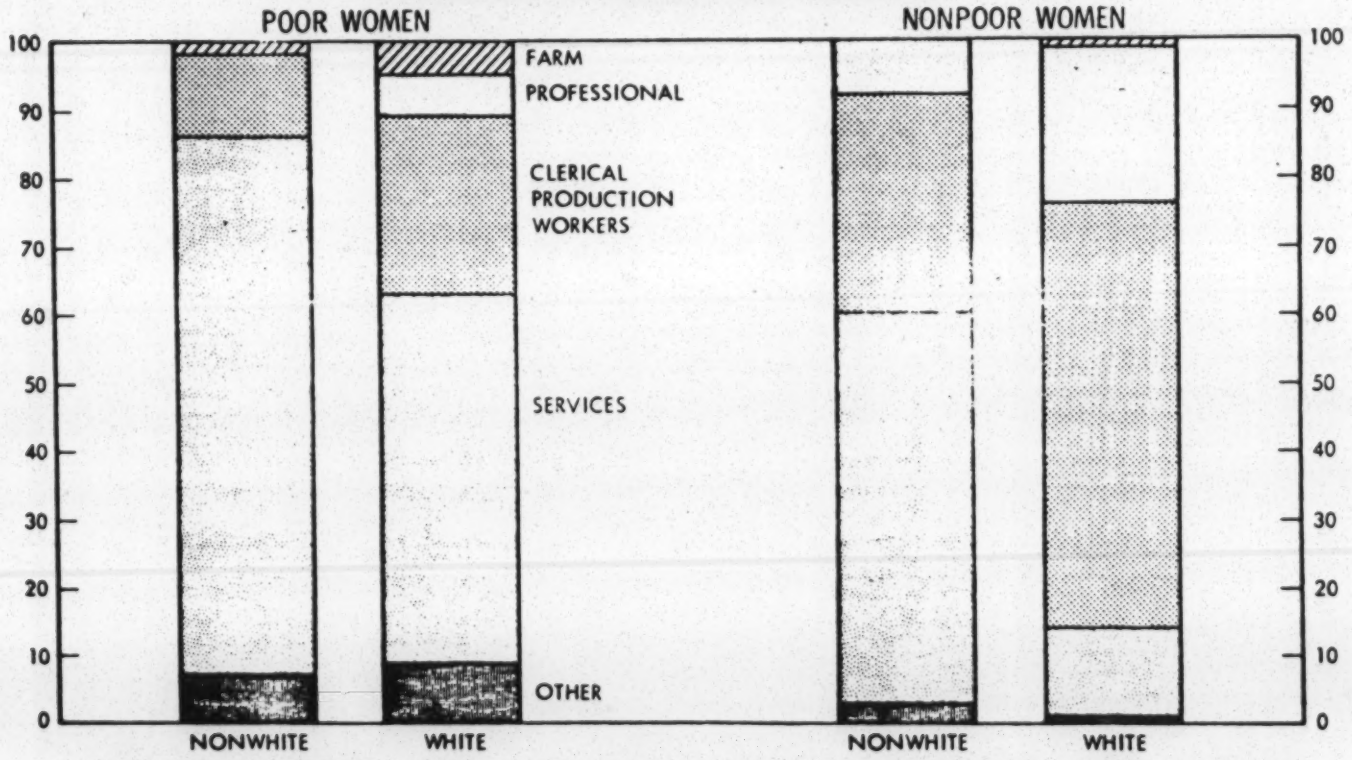
5. The range and the specifics of the child rearing concerns of low income parents approximate closely the range and the specifics of child rearing concerns ascribed to upper and middle income families. The specifics of child rearing concerns and the priorities attached to particular concerns vary from family to family.

6. The amount of family income and the evenness of its flow makes a significant difference in child rearing priorities acted upon by parents.

7. Major priority among families with low income tends to be given to meeting basic physical needs -- food, clothing, and shelter.

8. The need to invest a significant proportion of energies into meeting basic physical needs on inadequate income can result in a kind of compartmentalization of child rearing concerns.

AMONG WHITE AS WELL AS NONWHITE POOR WOMEN, MOST WERE IN SERVICE OCCUPATIONS; AMONG THE NONPOOR THE MAJORITY OF THE NONWHITE WERE STILL IN SERVICES BUT THE MAJORITY OF THE WHITE WERE CRAFTSMEN, CLERICAL OR PRODUCTION WORKERS.



1/ POOR BY SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION CRITERIA. BASED ON A 1963 INCOME OF $1,580 A YEAR FOR A NONFARM SINGLE PERSON UNDER 65 ($1,470 AGED 65 AND OVER), TO $5,090 FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF 7 OR MORE PERSONS. THE POVERTY LINE FOR SINGLE PERSONS AND FAMILIES LIVING ON A FARM WAS PUT AT 60 PERCENT OF THE ABOVE.

SOURCE: OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

9. With few exceptions, low income parents do not approve of the circumstances in which they now live or in which their children are being brought up.

10. A major aspiration of low income parents for their children is to see their children do better in life -- especially in jobs, education, and family behavior -- than they have been able to do themselves.

11. Many low income parents assess their own child rearing performances in terms of whether they have made advances over the child rearing circumstances and performances of their own parents.

12. The economic and social roles wished of, and expected of, the low income male as husband and father by wives, mothers, and children are not different from those of the middle and upper classes, but his abilities -- and the family and community consequences of his inabilities -- to fulfill these roles are different.

Some Familiar Generalizations

A great many generalizations are made about the poor, often without differentiating among various categories of people and life styles found on the lower income levels. In general, the ill-defined group referred to as "the poor" does not include the stable, respectable working class. Nevertheless, certain characteristics are reported in inverse relation to income from top to bottom,(e.g., education, physical and mental health, regular employment, adequate housing, privacy, membership in organizations).26/ Some of the attributions come from studies based on inadequate breakdowns, so that in our studies as in our life, class distinctions become blurred.

The term "culture of poverty" is used by Oscar Lewis in a dynamic sense to express the interplay of circumstance and attitude. There is no special issue when the term is used in this way. Issues arise when the term is used to mean a world outlook or style of life that has become a thing in itself. At this edge of the term, there is an implication that the source of such a world outlook lies in other people -- parents, peers -- who hold the same attitudes and that the attitudes persist, whatever their relation to reality.

Many of the attitudes and much of the behavior of persons enmeshed in "the culture of poverty" are a response to facts of life. One author writes about the effects of prolonged malnutrition:

> ...various functional changes occur. These functional changes are manifested clinically by symptoms usually placed in the neurasthenic syndrome. They include such common complaints as excessive fatigability, disturbances in sleep, inability to concentrate, 'gas,'

> heart consciousness, and various queer bodily sensations... Occurrences [of these symptoms] as a manifestation of tissue depletion of certain nutrients is undoubted.

As for drive and ambition, a study describes "depression, apathy, and lethargy" as consequences of malnutrition. The tendency to blame others rather than one's self has also been attributed to inadequate nutrition.27/

The following effects have been attributed to poor housing:

> ...a perception of one's self that leads to pessimism and passivity, stress to which the individual cannot adapt, poor health, and a state of dissatisfaction; pleased in company but not in solitude, cynicism about people and organizations, a high degree of sexual stimulation without legitimate outlet, and difficulty in household management and child rearing; ...relationships that tend to spread out in the neighborhood rather than deeply into the family.28/

The ways in which some of these effects are produced are almost self-evident. Poor health is a consequence of the effects of poor housing in contributing to accidents, to respiratory and skin diseases, and so forth. Poor health has its attitudinal and behavioral consequences, of course. The effects of crowding are possibly less apparent but are felt through their effects on privacy, on time and opportunity for communication, and on the tendency to live out-of-doors. Living in congested neighborhoods, where tenants are transient and physical hazards are real, produces in many a constant sense of loneliness, helplessness and anxiety.

With regard to the higher level of aggression attributed to the poor, one report comments that, in encouraging their children to fight back, slum dwellers show a realistic perception of the social problems in their neighborhoods. This view receives support from a low-income father who said of his son: "I...knock the hell out of him, 'cause he can't be no sissy and grow up in this here jungle."

One frequent generalization made about the poor is that they have less belief in their control over their own destinies than the prosperous--less sense of autonomy. And to this, another commentator responds--why wouldn't they?

Perhaps the most frequent generalization of all is that the poor have a shorter time perspective than the prosperous, that they are present-oriented rather than future-oriented. A number of challenges to this one have been heard lately, especially with regard to the

Negro poor. Those who question the blanket accuracy of the present time-orientation generalization, add that in many instances future time-orientation just doesn't make sense for many of the poor. Nevertheless, they claim, when it does make sense to people of any income level, they plan for the future.

Many of the middle class have been recruited from the poor, many of the poor have middle class tastes and preferences. Time orientation may not be a culture trait or a unitary trait. It may be rather a multiple and realistic response to the multiple aspects of life as it presents itself, with future-oriented planning and performance where that makes sense, and present-oriented response where the future is unpromising and unpredictable.

It has been argued from cases and from large-scale but partial experiences (e.g., moving poor people into public housing, which rapidly turn into slums) that the attitudes and behavior--however they began--persist well beyond the need for them. Virtually all evidence lies in a contrary direction, that upward mobility is accompanied by change in values. The difference between the impression and the evidence may depend on whether a shorter or longer time span is considered or whether one element of reality (housing) or several (schools, nutrition, job opportunity) are changed.

There is abundant evidence of resources for change among Negro families, particularly among the children. Dr. Robert Coles writes:

> ...I was constantly surprised at the endurance shown by children we would all call poor or, in the current fashion, "culturally disadvantaged."
>
> What enabled such children from such families to survive, emotionally and educationally, ordeals I feel sure many white middle-class boys and girls would find impossible? What has been the source of the strength shown by the sit-in students, many of whom do not come from comfortable homes but, quite the contrary, from rural cabins or slum tenements? Why do some Negro children--like the ones I have studied--behave so idealistically and bravely, while others go on to lives of uselessness and apathy, lives filled with hate, violence and crime?29/

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SUMMARY

The Family: Resources for Change

The matters discussed by the panel broadly overlapped areas considered by the other panels, although some of the items considered were unique to the Negro family. The specific proposals advocated by the panel were as follows:

A. Assurance of Adequate Economic Support for Families.

1. Implementation of a full employment policy, including public works and needed services.

2. Establishment of an adequate minimum wage and elimination of unwarranted wage differentials.

3. Expanded programs of housing and educational subsidies.

4. Establishment of family allowances or guaranteed minimum income (through a negative income tax) to give family strength and stability where direct earning power is insufficient.

5. Improvement of job opportunities (especially for youth) through review and revision of overwritten job descriptions to reflect the level of training and skill actually required to perform particular jobs.

6. Continuation and broadening of the "Head Start" type of program.

7. Broadening the Negro middle class by public and private programs encouraging business enterprise, entrance into the skilled trades, and improvement of Negro colleges.

8. Increases in programs of consumer education, consumer protection, and consumer aid (including low cost loans through credit unions and readily available emergency loans for families).

B. Provision of Non-Economic Family Supports and Services.

1. Legal protection and advice for the poor, especially in connection with jobs, housing, consumer practices, and family and child welfare.

2. Creation of "male models" for children by suppling jobs for men to make them useful and respected members of the community, increasing the number of male teachers in schools, and building up local and group "heroes."

3. Development of new institutions for young people that will catch their imagination and give them a sense of commitment and worth (such as the Peace Corps has done).

4. Voluntary programs providing the most effective means of contraception.

5. Concern for relationships within the family as well as for external pressures operating on the family.

6. Family improvement programs seeking the betterment of housing, health care, parental confidence and control of younger children, prevention of out-of-wedlock birth, and more enlightened ways of dealing with low income out-of-wedlock mothers and children.

C. Elimination of Discrimination in Opportunities and Services.

1. Changing staffing patterns to include more Negroes in administrative positions in existing family programs and services.

2. Setting up training schools and standards that would effect changes in the orientation and attitude of staff persons toward Negro and low-income clients.

3. Improving the circulation of information about available programs and services.

4. Stepping up evaluation and surveillance of programs and better use of available compliance procedures.

5. Requiring that a certain ratio be maintained between money spent on administrative structure and the amount funneled into direct services.

6. Considering the requirement that some federal programs be made obligatory on the states rather than a matter of choice.

D. Coordination of Programs and Services.

1. Proclamation and implementation of a "National Family Policy:" (a) to reaffirm the importance of the family on all socio-economical levels; (b) to affirm the rights of families on all levels to resources and experiences that promote family viability and choice; (c) to provide direction and guidance in realizing objectives through national and local, public and private, programs; and (d) to emphasize the role of the government as an enabler rather than super-parent.

2. Establishing an Under Secretary for Family, perhaps in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

3. Involvement of citizen groups (including civil rights groups) in implementing and supporting family policy.

4. Centralization and establishment of multi-service, family-oriented and community-based agencies in which health, education and welfare services would be centralized.

THE FAMILY: RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

A SYNOPSIS OF THE PANEL DISCUSSIONS ON THE FAMILY, NOVEMBER 17 AND 18, 1965

at the

Planning Session on the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

A. Family Goals and Policy

Several main strands of thought and feeling emerged from the variety of opinions expressed. Although there were shades of difference and competing opinions about such issues as the causes and the extent of family problems among Negroes, the specifics of proposed programs, and the priorities that should be given them, there was clear consensus about the following:

1. A national family policy should be proclaimed and implemented

2. The viability of the family is dependent primarily on its economic status and resources

3. The central subjects of all the other panels are also an integral part of the discussion about the family

4. Discrimination is still a major factor affecting the choices open to Negro families and their abilities to realize potentials for themselves and the community

5. All families should have the right to evolve in directions of their own choosing -- to do what they want to do for their children; they should have the supports -- economic and non-economic -- to exercise that right

* * *

1. A NATIONAL FAMILY POLICY

One result of an integrated national family policy would be to check the multiplying of services and agencies and the fragmentation of families that result from uncoordinated programs and services.

> ...what we really need is a national family policy -- something more than just a Negro family policy. We need at least recognition of our national responsibility in this area just as there are national responsibilities with respect to the economy, health, education, welfare and the like.

One possibility mentioned was that there should be an Under-Secretary for Family, perhaps in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

There was consensus that a national family policy should provide directions and guidance in realizing the objectives of current family-oriented programs, and in pushing toward needed innovations in policies, administration and in funding -- national and local, public and private. Further, it was stressed, a national family policy should emphasize the role of the Government as enabler rather than super-parent.

A specific role for civil rights organizations in implementing and supporting family policy was suggested by a representative:

> ...we might supply these agencies...with some of the resources and assistance whereby...family assistance might be created at the local level....I think we ought to involve these citizens groups and race relations groups as an adjunct of the local and state government /in carrying out family programs/.

2. ECONOMIC SUPPORTS AND FAMILY VIABILITY

The issue of jobs for men is paramount. Jobs for men are the key to family stability and to individual status and self-respect. Just as firm, however, was the agreement that true family strength and stability must be maintained by other sources of income where direct earning power is insufficient.

The problems that have aroused public comment were seen as products of economic, social and legal deprivations. Removal of such deprivations was agreed to be prerequisite to amelioration of the problems. Non-economic supports were discussed and recommended, but prime priority was given to the economic base. On this point, consensus amounted to unanimity.

3. CENTRAL SUBJECTS OF OTHER PANELS: "THE PROBLEMS ARE ALL OF A PIECE"

The view that "the problems are all of a piece" was accepted and reiterated frequently:

> Almost everything we say about the Negro family here goes back to one of the other sessions....
>
> The report on the Negro family was not designed to be introduced in any way as if it were a new element to explain the situation of the Negro in America. On the contrary. The report was designed simply to show...the effect...the results of unemployment, of the ghetto, of discrimination, of bad health, of low pay....

4. DISCRIMINATION DIMINISHES OPTIONS

The panel was reminded repeatedly that "discrimination is not passe." The ways in which deprivation of civil rights leads to other deprivations were prominent concerns. Prominent among the deprivations pointed out was the lack of choices, options, alternatives for poor families. If "the poor" feel fatalistic and robbed of choices, it is because to so large an extent they are not in a position to choose:

> "The real horror of the ghetto today is lack of choice."

5. FAMILY RIGHTS TO RESOURCES

Although the focus of attention in these planning sessions was the low-income Negro family, the point was frequently made that whether it be rich or poor, white or Negro, the family today is not free of problems. Furthermore, there was agreement that American families have the right to certain basic resources:

> We want /family/ goals which are essentially the same for Negroes as well as whites, for rich as well as poor -- goals which are essentially the same but which would permit wide variation and individual differences..
>
> Every child born in the society has a right to those resources and experiences which will socialize him in such a way that he can function in the society as it is....

* * *

B. Specific Proposals

In general, the specific proposals fall into two major categories -- (1) economic and (2) non-economic supports for family viability and choice.

1. Family income and a sense of status through jobs. High among proposals for providing adequate and stable income families was a full employment policy. The chief special means mentioned were public works and needed services, with the constant reminder that these should be undertaken on a massive scale and should be necessary and useful activities: "No made work, no busy work."

2. Among the sources in addition to jobs proposed as possibilities of assuring adequate income were family allowances, guaranteed minimal income, negative income tax.

3. Also mentioned were innovative services and added protections for families that would have the effects of generating and preserving income.

4. Among the supports needed by families, housing and housing subsidies were prominently mentioned. It is not only the poor, it was pointed out, who need help with housing. The marginal or moderate income family also requires help with this, as well as with education. And here again, it was stressed that the family requires help as a right, not as charity.

5. The Head Start concept and approach received firm endorsement as an undertaking that might generate meaningful, productive jobs. It was urged that this kind of program be broadened to include Head Start programs for adolescents, for adults, and for older people. Such programs, it was felt, can offer real support to family life, giving children enrichment they have not received before, giving adults opportunities for work that is rewarding psychologically and financially, and at the same time laying a basis for improved family life.

The necessity of thinking in terms of "jobs for the future" and "education for the future", rather than current needs only, was stressed in connection with economic maintenance and meaningful work proposals, particularly with respect to youth.

Among the suggestions for making more jobs available for youths was the the rewriting of "all the job descriptions in this country that are overwritten." Here it was felt that many jobs can be successfully performed by those who are now automatically ruled out by arbitrary and irrelevant "qualifications."

6. Although family planning was mentioned seldom, it was heartily supported and appeared to be unanimously endorsed. The present large number of unwanted pregnancies was seen as a threat to marital and also to economic stability.

7. The thought was expressed by some participants that a prime objective of efforts to improve the overall economic and social position of the Negro should be the broadening of the Negro middle class:

> This is one way of getting people into skilled trades -- and the payoff is money. And the payoff is also a different kind of community circumstances...which gives a better chance to survive in the rather complex situation in which we exist.

8. The need to deal with family problems arising from internal relationships, as well as from external pressures. There were repeated reminders that the concern for better family living includes a concern for relationships within the family as well as for the external pressures operating on the family. The thought was expressed that "the automatic relieving of the external pressures does not automatically take care of the pressures of family life."

> I think the sense of this whole gathering has been that the most important thing that needs to be done is to get families involved together -- whole families involved with each other and within the family itself.

Although the discussion of the panel neither developed nor projected a picture of a self-perpetuating "tangle of pathology" that would not respond to sharply increased employment of Negro men, it did focus on recognition of long-standing conditions that need to be attacked through the provision of non-economic as well as economic supports. Among the problems referred to and discussed were births out of wedlock, health, housing, parental control of younger children, and extra-family influences. The discussion of illegitimacy, for example, focused on the need for programs of prevention as well as more effective and enlightened ways of dealing with children and mothers in out-of-wedlock situations.

9. Needs in services and programs for families. One cluster of concerns is related to the fragmentation of services and its effects on families and communities. The magnitude and the complexity of administrative problems were recognized, although this recognition did not diminish concern for the results of these problems. There were more questions than answers concerning ways of inter-relating government and non-governmental programs, national, state and local operations. But the need for better coordination among all was strongly stated.

> There is a need to find some central clearing house in the Government and outside...so that these programs pull together for a change. And I don't think this is limited to programs for the Negro and the Negro family. This is true all the way across the board.

One type of proposal was for multi-service agencies in which health, education and welfare services would be centralized. These would not be merely referral centers, but offer integrated services. Such centers would be family-oriented and community-based.

10. To some extent, programs were felt to be inadequate because of insufficient funds. However, the way available funds were used also came in for criticism. One proposal called for review of existing programs and the application of specific criteria to their operation: for example, a requirement that there be a certain ratio of money spent on administrative structure to money funnelled into direct services or activities providing direct income for poor people.

11. Two cogent points were made by one of the resource persons: (1) there is a lack of information in some quarters about programs that are available or possible under provisions of current legislation, and (2) the program lags and gaps are frequently at the state and local--not the Federal--level.

> ...And I would like to submit for consideration of the group the idea that some of these opportunities that are available at the Federal level should become obligatory on the states rather than a matter of choice.

The most positive proposals involving family and child services concerned the need for new administrative structures. The most negative comments related to the actual carrying out of current programs.

12. Considerable attention was given to the ways in which the administration of programs discriminates against Negroes: for example, the preference of maternity homes for white unmarried mothers, the tendency of private institutions to take "the child that is easiest," leaving the Negro child to a public hospital where he is "given diagnosis but not treatment," the differences in treatment of juvenile delinquents who are white or non-white, poor or nonpoor.

13. Comments about personnel in programs dealing directly with families touched on the need for training, and on efforts to change attitudes that frequently combine impersonality with disrespect. Perhaps, it was suggested, the practitioner is part of the problem, and not just the family.

14. Some saw running throughout much of the discussion a crucial question -- whether we shoot for integration or for strengthening the Negro community through increased services and income. These were not seen as mutually exclusive, since it was proposed that simultaneous efforts to provide for both might foster economic viability and enable many families now relatively powerless to exercise options and command events.

15. Until such times as the viability and choice of low-income Negro families has been significantly improved -- and one sign of significant change would be more fathers in the home -- two kinds of support were recommended especially; (1) help for the low-income mother in her multiple roles -- homemaker, child rearer, and breadwinner; (2) effective role models for chilfren -- girls as well as boys.

16. Effective male models. Whether or not the male model must be resident in the home, however, there was no dissent from the proposition that boys -- and girls, too -- need to have before them the examples of competent, responsible, achieving men. The best way to achieve male models, it was felt, is to provide jobs for men so they are members of the community. Let youngsters see men naturally filling jobs that command respect.

Among suggested new sources for effective male models were: more male teachers in elementary and high schools, male aids in non-professional capacities helping professional workers.

17. Emphasis was placed on the need for new institutions for young people, the parents of tomorrow -- institutions that will give them imagination, role, worth, excitement and a sense of fulfillment as did the Peace Corps and the civil rights movement.

18. Among the strongest and most frequent complaints about old and new family-oriented programs was failure to involve those concerned -- that is, the poor; failure to ask them and failure to listen to them. Three not inconsistent points about the involvement of the poor were set forth:

(a) There are articulate people among the poor who might make contributions to planning and programs affecting the family;

(b) The absence of large numbers of the poor from the planning session does not necessarily mean that effective planning for poor families is impractical; and

(c) The poor should be represented in significant numbers at the proposed spring conference.

* * *

On the first day, during a discussion of the objectives of the planning session, one participant suggested:

> I wonder if our goals should not be to try to discover if it is true that the economic basis is the main thrust of all our solutions.

During the discussion of the second day he said:

> Throughout the conference, I have undergone a complete turn around.... I have come back to the classic position -- to the point of what is absolutely necessary. Is the goal of full employment absolutely necessary? Is that the only way of dealing with the necessity of competing socially so that the ideals of the family and the person are raised? In the present state of society, I suppose it's necessary....I would think that almost anything we would say would first have full employment as a central thrust and all of the rest of this is frosting on the cake. I've changed. I've turned around from hearing all of you talk.

* * *

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #7
THE COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION
Dr. David Danzig

I. Introduction

The purposes of this panel's deliberations are to identify those obstacles to the full sharing by Negroes in American life which could be eliminated through community action, and to explore ways to strengthen such community action programs. The question is what can be done by government, business, labor, church, welfare and other private groups to assist attempts to give the Negro a greater voice in the decisions which affect the quality of his community life -- the condition of his schools, his housing, his parks, his health and welfare services, his opportunities to earn and to spend his income. And the question is what community action techniques seem most promising to fulfill this goal.

In recent years there has been wider acceptance of the idea that mobilization of power is essential to bring about social change. The realization of the connection between social power and social change has lead to a re-evaluation of community-oriented programs. This approach to community organization has assumed some of the characteristics of a movement; recently it has been given impetus by the federal juvenile delinquency program and later by the anti-poverty programs. Traditional methods are currently being re-examined to see whether they involve their intended beneficiaries on the level of policy, planning and staffing. Established and new agencies are being subjected to a second look in the light of this new criterion. New techniques are being found for giving a community greater voice, and for making that voice heard by policy-makers.

II. Major Goals for Community Organization

There seems to be general agreement on the broad aims of community action; whatever specific changes it seeks to achieve as to jobs, housing, education, etc., it is also expected to mobilize community power to:

(1) create functional organization by which all segments of the society can assume a role in developing programs to meet their specific needs;

(2) open up existing social agencies, institutions, and organizations to the full participation of the poor -- in policy making, program development and staffing, as well as in the full and equal use of services;

(3) initiate programs that will foster experiences among the poor that can be the basis of political and economic power.

Questions:

1. In what ways does, or can, the Federal Government contribute to the above goals of community action?

a. What changes in the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity are needed to make it more effective in forwarding these goals?

b. How may community action components be built into other anti-poverty programs, such as the Job Corps, Head Start, and adult education?

c. Should the spirit of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" be extended to other federal agencies, such as the Housing Department's urban renewal, public housing, and other programs? Which other federal programs and agencies should be reviewed in this light?

d. Should federal agencies assume more responsibility for measuring the extent to which Negroes benefit from their programs? In what ways could community action bring this kind of information to federal attention?

2. What kinds of demonstration projects or action programs can be developed to create greater involvement of the poor in decisions at the state and local levels?

a. What are the possibilities of the application by state and local government of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" on boards, commissions and staffs of relevant programs and agencies?

b. In what specific ways could this be brought about?

c. What are some other ways of seeing to it that the needs of the minority are understood, and met, in the carrying out of state and local programs and services?

III. Major Community Organization Gaps in Low-Income Neighborhoods

While there is no monolithic, undifferentiated Negro community, one does find some pattern of communal associations among Negroes. There are, for example, church and fraternal associations, leisure time activities, and business relationships. Some of these associations transcend socio-economic and geographic boundaries. But there are few Negro communal institutions of the sort found in Catholic, Jewish and other ethnic communities.

The great need for social welfare services on the part of Negroes goes hand in hand with the lack of resources to supply such services. The absence of a voluntary welfare structure is in part responsible for a lack of influence in shaping the policies of the public welfare agencies.

Questions:

1. What are the major organizational lacks in low-income areas -- political - economic - social?

2. To what degree are the policies and practices of social welfare agencies now being shaped by local community groups representing the interests of low-income Negroes?

3. How effective are such groups in influencing policies and in representing individual citizens who have grievances before these agencies?

4. How adequate are the Community Action Programs fostered by the Economic Opportunity Act to fill community organization gaps in low-income neighborhoods? If there are inadequacies, are they those of funds? Of personnel? Of encouraging local action?

5. In what ways could other groups or agencies, public or private, help community efforts to win improved welfare services?

6. To what extent and by what means can and should the Office of Economic Opportunity, or other federal agencies make funds available to local private groups and community organizations engaged in voter education and citizenship training?

IV. Strategies for Community Action

Various strategies for community action have been developed in recent years. But there is a scarcity of factual data on the effectiveness of the different approaches. Some frequently advocated strategies include the following:

A. The Local Audit Approach. One of the possibilities for community action at the local level is the identification of gaps, inadequacies, mismanagement, etc., of the systems that provide services to the poor.

Community strength begins when the residents of the neighborhood are able to: (1) identify the service problems and gaps in terms of their own needs; (2) create broad community concern and consensus around the problem; (3) devise strategies for producing the necessary changes; and (4) take action in order to produce the designated results.

Questions:

1. What are the most promising techniques of "local auditing"? What are ways in which such a program can be both "low-cost" yet comprehensive in its scrutiny of services?

2. Is this approach aided by the employment of residents of the ghetto by service agencies?

3. How should the Federal Government react when such efforts by local citizens meet with resistance from local agencies which receive federal funds? Should some kind of "Inspector

General's Office" or other grievance machinery exist to which citizens may turn when calling for needed changes in federally backed programs?

B. Coalition of Groups. Even where Negroes organize for action, they seldom have the resources to successfully press for the fundamental changes in society which are needed to meet the problems of technological unemployment, insufficient housing, inadequate schools, etc. As a variety of groups share an interest in finding solutions for such problems, a logical strategy for mustering sufficient political influence to forward needed programs might lie in forming coalitions of such interest groups.

Questions:

1. What kinds of coalitions might be formed at the local level?

2. To achieve coalition for mutually desired goals, can different interest groups (such as Negroes-labor-poor whites) be united while utilizing divergent techniques?

C. Minority Action Approach. Contrasting with the coalition approach, the strategy of minority action accepts the necessity of community conflict as a means of achieving social change. The minority action view sees the broad coalition approach as necessarily diluting bold action in order to achieve consensus.

Those who favor minority action hold that the action must be taken by those most directly affected by the policies they want to change. They maintain that their community activity must be self-financed, so that it belongs to the local community and is beholden to no one.

Questions:

1. How seriously would use of federal funds inhibit such independent groups?

2. Are there any other outside resources which are compatible with such independent action? What kinds?

3. Should "no strings" grants be given by the Office of Economic Opportunity to such groups for community organization?

4. Are there ways to maintain independence of these groups, yet, if they want either government or private funds, to adequately insure program and staff control?

V. Resources for Community Organization

Earlier questions have dealt with the possibilities of federal contributions to community action. This section will examine other possible resources.

A. Foundations. Foundation funds have been used independently or in conjunction with federal funds to launch many of the major community action programs in the country. In numerous instances, foundations are the exclusive funding resources for experimental and controversial programs.

Questions:

1. How can foundation funds be further utilized to supplement programs also receiving public funds?

2. What are some of the programs of community development for which the foundations are uniquely suited? For instance, should foundations be urged to invest specifically in:

a. the area of leadership training among the poor?

b. community organization programs among poor Negroes in the rural South?

c. legal, technical and management assistance to the non-profit housing corporations to rehabilitate old housing or build new housing for low and moderate income families under section 221 (d) (3) of the Housing Act or under the new rent supplement program?

d. technical and management assistance to community credit unions in low-income neighborhoods?

B. Private Organizations. The private social agencies and organizations have many programs among the poor. Traditionally, these programs have offered health and welfare services financed chiefly by voluntary contributions.

Questions:

1. What potential resources do such agencies have for social action programs?

2. What are the possibilities and implications of Chamber of Commerce and other "establishment" support of these agencies for social action programs among the poor?

C. The Poor Themselves

Questions:

1. How much resource do the poor themselves represent for social action programs?

2. Are the resources of the poor being sufficiently utilized in supporting community organization programs?

D. Regional Resources. Just as problems concerned with transportation, air and water pollution, water and land use, crime control and manpower, are already considered incapable of solution within the boundaries of city or state, many feel that community development in the terms defined here, must also be dealt with on a broader basis. They point out that we shall need bold political experiments which attempt to transcend conventional state and local governing units. It is argued that there needs to be a shift to regional or sub-regional planning and operating agencies. It is anticipated that political and economic resistance to such a shift would be enormous. Indeed, we already see that the customary battle between rural and urban areas is being replaced by new struggles between the suburb and central city.

Questions:

1. In what ways would increased community planning ease the problems faced by the Negro? Is this a major goal -- particularly with regard to desegregating schools, or deconcentrating the ghetto?

2. Shoud pressure for "regional planning" -- for closer coordination of central city and suburb -- be a community action activity?

3. How can the Federal Government encourage regional planning -- for example, through grants of housing or school funds?

4. Does the developing procedure of community action suggest a new role, or new subjects of study and research by colleges and universities? Is there more for them to do in their training of professional personnel and in the development of new techniques of evaluation and research?

* * * * * * * *

November 29, 1965

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Would it be too much to have you see that some of the materials and position papers from the recent White House Conference are sent to us? I am particularly interested in those items developed for the Workshop on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security. It would be good for us to have on file the materials for the other workshops as well. Of course, Paul has those related to education.

I trust life continues frutfully apace. Please give my best regards to staff and family.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

WHC

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

THE COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION

December 1965

MEMORANDUM TO LEE C. WHITE

From: Carl Holman
Berl Bernhard
Harold Fleming

Following is a preliminary report on proposals by the panel on The Community: Institutions and Social Action of the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." It is based on a report by the director of the committee for the panel, Dr. David Danzig of Columbia University. A final report, based on a thorough study of the transcripts of the two days of meetings, will be submitted to the President by the end of the year. However, because of the seriousness of the problems which the Planning Session discussed, and the sense of urgency of the conferees, we are bringing these preliminary findings to your attention now. They are not all-inclusive; only after a more intensive study of the transcripts can we guarantee that every single suggestion made during the course of the two days comes to the President's attention. Such a study is now underway, and will be embodied in our final report

THE COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION
PRELIMINARY REPORT

The session on community was designed to focus upon problems in the context of community action. Because of this wide focus, the participants discussed the full range of Negro problems. Their observations and recommendations frequently dealt with problems of employment, segregation, or housing, as well as community action as such. There was a wide variety of opinion about the obstacles to the development of community action, as indicated in the following quotes from the discussion.

Definitions of Problem

The Social Environment: "...our real concern has to do with recognition that we live in a dual society. A dual housing market, the dual labor market, the dual school system, and even duality before the law--this entire system of duality is what has kept the Negro subjugated...."

Government Support of Discrimination: "....Our problems are mostly in government. We have certain agencies in government that deliberately, systematically, discriminate against various ethnic groups. Members of our organization cannot get a job in certain government agencies....

"....You may describe ineffective community organizations, but you have to start with the Federal Government itself, which perpetuates poverty in many instances....it does by reinforcing poverty, breaking down the family through the way it grants funds to agencies....

"....two-thirds of the industries in Chicago do not hire any non-whites, and with all those defense contracts going in there, this is perpetuating poverty. Because the Federal Government, with $100 billion a year, shores up the economy, and then when they shore it up on the basis of inequality, they are perpetuating poverty....

"....The whole welfare system, you know, many of its practices, outside of its policies, are directed towards making and perpetuating poverty...."

How Effective are Local Organizations: "....how can we, the poor, get our already existing organizations recognized by the white and Negro power structure....

"....most such organizations are much less effective than they are alleged to be, have smaller memberships; they accomplish fewer things; and the goals of community organization are greatly beyond the capacities of community organizations in low-income areas...

....I would like to see this conference give its full support to a change in our public policy on the posture of government to the effect that we recognize the necessity of government giving support to community action programs, social action programs, by providing consultative, professional, adequate resources which will aid the development of local community organizations...."

Neighborhood vs Group as a Basis of Social Organization: ....if we make the compass so big that we use the language 'the poor' alone, then we may lose the sharp focus that we would have by using the word 'Negro'.

....Should the Federal Government, for instance, fund a social agency to do something [for] the poor, a church to do something for the poor, or a unit of government to apply some kind of sop, or should it fund a unit of the population, a geographical unit....

....How far, for example, should we go in encouraging and stimulating purely racial organizations and institutions in the Negro community, regarding them not as ultimate goals, perhaps, but as interim mechanisms whereby you develop the sense of community, the sense of strength, the sense of power, and the actual fact of power.

Should Negroes get together as Negroes, for example, and develop purely Negro institutions as a stepping stone to achieving the respect and the power which alone, in my judgment, can lead to their creative activity and creative movement across a broad range....

....Who is the neighborhood? And should the neighborhood in Harlem be Harlem Negroes organized as Negroes, with Negro banks, with Negro trade unions perhaps, with any number of a range of all-Negro institutions drawing upon the sense of racial identity as one of its major sources of strength....?

Will OEO Community Action Programs Develop Political and Economic Power in Local Groups: "....policies like the 'maximum feasible participation' of the poor are absolutely meaningless, in terms of the practice of the Office of Economic Opportunity....

....I am at least in part convinced that the Poverty Program, far from securing the involvement of the poor in any meaningful way, will impede their organization; for one thing, the Poverty Program is going to consist largely of the expansion of professional bureaucracies of various sorts. These youth unemployment programs, Head Start programs, are essentially professional programs. They are huge, bureaucratically-organized, professionally-dominated programs, no matter who sits on the council or board that makes general policy for them. In view of the fact that they are likely to exert their influence in ways to secure from their clientele not militant action but relative docility, so as not to disrupt the flow of resources to their professional, bureaucratic operations....

....I don't think that OEO directly, unless it established either through its office of inspection or something -- that you have to have some kind of separate government arm, rather like the NLRB, which has the responsibility solely of policing this relationship which the community can turn to and ask for assistance when it feels that a local government agency is not giving it adequate recognition....

....if a Community Action Program can negotiate with the Board of Education to carry out a "Head Start" Program, why can it not negotiate with a group in Syracuse, New York, to carry out some other kind of program? If it can negotiate with some family agency to carry on a program dealing with family problems, why can't it not negotiate in South Los Angeles with a group that really represents that neighborhood?....

RECOMMENDATIONS

(The panel's recommendations represent the majority opinion that the White House conference did not present the proper forum for discussion of the specifics of strategy and tactics by various local groups. The recommendations assume a certain level of community action, and go beyond that to discuss the relationship between community action and government at all levels.)

I. RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH HAD SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT

The following appeared to have the support of most of the panel members. There was general agreement that organization was necessary to building Negro power in the community--and that power was essential to improving the Negro position in society.

Panel members felt that on the whole current use of federal funds leads to the strengthening of established bureaucracies on the state and city levels, and that neighborhood groups derive little amount of resources or political influence from them. The power position of low-income groups, particularly Negro communities, is not being significantly altered by these federal programs. It was recommended that the Federal Government should:

1. Discard policies which weaken and discriminate against low-income minority communities; and provide jobs and careers which recognize the abilities of the people of such areas, and

2. Support the development of autonomous, democratic, powerful, mass organizations of minority low-income communities by:

a. legislation which makes it practicable for such organizations to become bargaining agents with the institutions controlled from outside the Negro community;

b. training of organizers to create and lead such organizations;

c. allowing such organizations to secure funds directly from the Federal Government and other sources to operate their own programs.

3. New ways of funneling federal resources into communities should be found that will by-pass the "establishments" which siphon off such resources to the advantage of their own institutions:

a. Federal grants and subsidies might be given directly to community organizations;

b. The principle of "maximum feasible participation: could also be extended to agencies such as Job Corps, and others;

c. New corporate structures such as consumer corporates, credit bureaus, and other might be experimented

with, utilizing direct federal subsidies.

4. The Federal Government should assume responsibility for seeing that the rights of existing local indigenous groups are recognized. City-wide, regional and state organizations should be required to be more responsive to the demands of indigenous local organizations and institutions. In general, the channels through which federal funds flow to communities from regional and state agencies should be re-examined to see whether these moneys are dispersed in such a fashion as to undermine and weaken indigenous groups.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS BY ONE OR MORE PANELISTS

A. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL GROUPS

1. The Government should adopt as a matter of policy, as it has with trade unions, the encouragement of the development of community action groups, which can autonomously negotiate and conduct programs.

2. All people working with the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, social work, recreation, etc., should work through, under, or with already established local community groups in the effected communities.

B. FEDERAL SPONSORSHIP OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AMONG NEGROES - THE RURAL SOUTH

The Federal Government should:

1. Buy up large allotments of land in the South and make that land available at a charitable rate to "No-income" and low-income people who are trying to escape from indentured existences as sharecroppers and plantation workers in a politically and economically hostile environment.

2. The Federal Government would underwrite or finance "community neighborhood corporations" among "no-income" and low-income southern rural Negroes as they attempt to acquire land, build homes, establish businesses and community services and escape their traditionally indentured lives. Capital investments in businesses and institutions owned and run by these communities is one suggested method of assistance.

C. THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

1. The Department should concern itself not only with housing, but also with social planning in a much broader sense in communities.

2. National housing policy should encompass programs of regional planning covering both city and suburb, and also "New Towns" program.

D. THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

The Community Relations Service should be enlarged and strengthened. The Community Relations Service has demonstrated effectiveness in fostering organization in the Negro community, and this should be continued and encouraged.

E. ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW CABINET-LEVEL DEPARTMENT

There should be established a Department of Decolonization at the cabinet level. This department should oversee Federal policies which will transfer the resources of the black ghettoes of the United States into the hands of the local people.

F. STATE OF "NATIONAL DISASTER" IN NEGRO COMMUNITY

1. The Negro community, because of its political and economic status, should be declared a "national disaster area," and the Federal Government should provide massive aid, working in cooperation with existing and/or emerging indigenous organizations.

2. Considering the disastrous state of unemployment among Negro males and the conditions of substandard housing in Negro ghetto areas (and in southern rural Negro communities) massive programs for the construction and rehabilitation of housing should be begun, providing employment, the development of marketable skills, needed income and more and better housing for Negroes.

G. NEW MINIMUM WAGE LAW

A higher minimum wage should be sought, as the current rate of $1.25 per hour provides less than the recognized minimum subsistence income of $3000 annually.

H. GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO END DISCRIMINATION

The Government should enlarge its machinery and resources for limiting discrimination in all types of businesses which furnish services and which would not normally fall within the range of its contract compliance program.

I. BANKING OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO HELP THE POOR

Federal funds, especially OEO funds to local CAPs, should not be placed in banks which discriminate against Negroes or which do not offer employment and training opportunities to the poor.

J. LONG-RANGE FEDERAL PLANNING

The various massive programs suggested here are important, but they are only transitional proposals as we move out of an economy of scarcity into an economy of abundance. Therefore, after massive programs are scheduled to close present gaps, the Federal Government has to encourage a new kind of cultural, educational, political practice program, in which people who will be freed from the tyranny of burdensome work, who will have a lot more leisure, should be encouraged to minister to each other.

Federal policy should reach the point where the Government can guarantee a family income to all of the people and present welfare policies will be unnecessary.

SUMMARY

The Community: Institutions and Social Action

The community action problems considered by this panel overlapped broadly into the areas discussed by almost all of the other panels. Consideration was given to the "dual system" of housing, employment, education, services, and justice which has kept the Negro "subjugated." The proposals advanced by the panel focused upon these problems in the context of community action:

A. Relationship Between the Federal Government and Local Groups.

1. Overcoming the use of federal funds to strengthen the established bureaucracy on the state and city levels in such a way that the power position of low income Negro groups is not significantly altered by federal programs.

2. Support for the development of autonomous democratic mass organizations of minority low-income groups by: (a) legislation making it practicable for such organizations to become bargaining agents with the institutions controlled from outside the Negro communities; and (b) training of organizers to create and lead such organizations.

3. Developing new ways of funneling federal resources into communities while by-passing the "establishment" which siphons off such resources to the advantage of their own institutions:

   a. Giving federal grants and subsidies directly to community organizations.

   b. Extending the principal of "maximum feasible participation" to agencies such as the Job Corps and others.

   c. Experimenting with new corporate structures such as consumer corporations and credit bureaus, utilizing direct federal subsidies.

B. Federal Sponsorship of Community Development Projects Among Negroes in the Rural South.

1. Purchase by the federal government of large allotments of land in the South and making that land available at a charitable rate to no-income and low-income people who are trying to escape from

indentured existences as share croppers and plantation workers.

2. Federal underwriting or financing of "community neighborhood corporations" among southern rural Negroes enabling them to acquire land, build homes and establish business and community services.

C. Improvement of Existing Federal Services.

1. Focusing concern of the Department of Housing and Urban Development upon social planning in a broad sense as well as housing in a narrow sense; establishing a national housing policy that encompasses programs of regional planning covering cities, suburbs and "new towns."

2. Enlarging and strengthening the Community Relations Service.

3. Increase of the minimum wage to recognize that the current $1.25 per hour provides less than the recognized minimum subsistence income of $3,000 annually.

4. Enlargement of the government machinery and resources for limiting discrimination in all types of businesses which furnish services and which would not normally fall within the range of its contract compliance program.

5. Placing federal funds (especially OEO funds to local CAPs) in banks which do not discriminate against Negroes and which offer employment training opportunities to the poor.

6. Federal policy directed at ultimately guaranteeing a family income to all people, thus making present welfare policies unnecessary.

Unemployment
Politics
Empl. Disc.

Industrial Relations
Research Association

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1965 SPRING MEETING

Buffalo, New York
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The Public Employment Service

LEONARD P. ADAMS

Number 165

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS, *A Contract College of the State University,* CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NEW YORK

A REPORT

ON

THE 1966 PLANS FOR PROGRESS

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL

JANUARY 24-25, 1966

File

EU

MB

Toward a New Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Program*

By John Feild

Twenty-five years ago the Federal Government embarked upon its first systematic effort to eliminate racial discrimination in private employment. President Roosevelt's historic Executive Order Number 8802, applicable to holders of government war contracts, issued June 21, 1941, was to be followed by a sequence of similar orders issued by each president that has succeeded him. In the intervening years, the legislatures of 31 states and over 100 cities were to crystalize governmental policy within their jurisdictions in an increasingly determined effort to achieve equality of opportunity in employment for all citizens regardless of race, creed, or national origin. Congress, in July of 1964, broadened the Federal interest in equal employment opportunity from just those employers holding government contracts

* Prepared for the third Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights, Notre Dame Law School, February 17-20, 1966.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Employment SERVICES DEPARTMENT bulletin

PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY

February 1966

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr. / Director of Employment Services

"At the core of Oakland's plight is unemployment. Federal visitors to West Oakland, a ghetto area in which nearly 63% of the 77,100 population is Negro, say they're bombarded by the plea, 'We want jobs, jobs, jobs.' The official report declares: 'Unemployment is very high among Negroes; it is approximately 10% for whites, about 20% or more for Negroes and even higher for Negro youth.'"

Monroe W. Karmin, Staff Reporter
Wall Street Journal of January 6, 1966

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICES APPOINTED

Mr. Curtis Heaston of Chicago has been appointed Associate Director of the Employment Services Department of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. In his new position Mr. Heaston will function as Assistant National Program Director for PROJECT EQUALITY. This brings the national coordinating staff for PROJECT EQUALITY to three persons. After an initial period of work in the national offices, Mr. Heaston will begin to service existing PROJECT EQUALITY programs in the United States. Later this year he will begin to install new PROJECT EQUALITY programs. Conference Executive Director Ahmann said the increase in national staff was necessitated by the growing demand for PROJECT EQUALITY by Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Orthodox jurisdictions across the country. Mr. Heaston comes to his new position from a socio-legal background, leaving a position as assistant attorney general for the State of Illinois. He is a graduate of the Loyola University (Chicago) Schools of Business and of Law.

PROJECT EQUALITY ADVISORY COUNCIL FORMED

An Advisory Council for PROJECT EQUALITY to assist the national program staff in policy-making and in coordination of the various local programs which are growing at an increasing rate across the United States, has been established at the national offices in Chicago. Members are named to the Advisory Council by each religious jurisdiction participating in the national program. Twenty-six Advisory Council members and guests have been invited to attend the first meeting to be held in Chicago on March 4, 1966. They will represent the various Roman Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox, and Protestant denominations and jurisdictions participating in PROJECT EQUALITY nationally.

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AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE:

TO: Mr. Paul Anthony EV

FROM: Nat Goldfinger

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☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS:

For your information.

WHC

STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER
DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE A JOINT HEARING OF
THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER
AND
THE HOUSE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR

March 17, 1966

My name is Andrew J. Biemiller. I am director of legislation for the AFL-CIO.

At every opportunity, the AFL-CIO has expressed itself in support of measures to strengthen the public employment service of this nation. We have done so because we firmly believe that an effective service is essential to the needs of a rapidly-changing, highly mobile, industrialized economy. We are, therefore, pleased to have this opportunity to express ourselves once again on this most important issue, and I wish to thank the two subcommittees for extending this invitation to us.

It is no secret that the AFL-CIO believes that the public employment service should be federalized. It has long been our view that the problems confronting us in regard to the development of an effective public employment service -- one that truly measures up to our needs -- would disappear with the federalization of the present system. We have said this repeatedly and, I might add, before subcommittees chaired by the same gentlemen who chair the two subcommittees before which I am appearing today.

Back in 1961, when he appeared before the House Subcommittee on Unemployment and the Impact of Automation, chaired by Congressman Holland, our then-research director, Stanley Ruttenberg, who is now the Manpower Administrator, said that he "would like to see federalization of the U. S. Employment Service."

In 1963, when I testified for the AFL-CIO at hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, which was then, as now, chaired by Senator Clark, I said that we needed "a nation-wide employment service around which all manpower activities revolve." I went on to say that "one of the major stumbling blocks to an effective public employment service ... is the type of federal-state relationship to which we still cling in the manpower area."

Everything that has happened since reinforces our view on this issue. Just three months ago, the AFL-CIO reinterated this position in support of federalization in a resolution on manpower policy which was adopted unanimously by our Convention. I have attached to my statement the full text of that resolution.

There are many others who share our view on the issue of federalization. Only recently, the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress joined the list when, in its report to the President, it recommended that the public employment service become a wholly federal agency.

I am not unmindful of the absence of a similar recommendation by the Secretary of Labor's Employment Service Task Force. Clearly, however, that group seemed to address itself primarily to the need to improve the operations of the employment service within the general framework of the existing institutional relationships. It did not -- as the Commission on Automation did -- examine the overall needs of our economy. Such was not its charter.

If one examines the nature of our economy, and relates to it the needs of the workers as well as those of the employers, the need to federalize the employment service is the only conclusion that logic permits. We have a national economy; not 50 different economies (nor 54, which is the figure if we add in the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands). And since our economy is national in scope, we need a national approach to all of our manpower activities, especially in the public employment service which is the most crucial element of all.

In short, it makes little sense to talk about national manpower policies, in a highly-integrated, mobile and national economy, and then to turn over to the 50 individual states the major role in the operation of the program that is most critical in the manpower area.

None of this is to say that legislation before these subcommittees would not represent forward progress. Even S. 3032 and H. R. 13362, which represent the views of the Administration, is an effort to improve the existing program. But having said this, I must hasten to add that, in our judgment, it leaves much to be desired -- too much to warrant our support.

In our opinion, S. 2974 and H.R. 13037, the so-called Clark-Holland bill, is far superior to the Administration's bill. And while it may not provide the federalization we advocate, it is designed to deal more effectively with some of the basic problems -- much more so than would the Administration bill.

It is not my intention to present a section-by-section analysis of either the Clark-Holland bill or the Administration bill. Rather, I propose to discuss some of the major problem areas with which the AFL-CIO is concerned and to indicate why we think the Clark-Holland bill is, with the exception of one provision, preferable to the Administration bill. I intend also to make some suggestions for changes in the Clark-Holland bill.

Federal-State Relationship

First and foremost in our minds is the issue of the federal-state relationship in the operation of the employment service. In our judgment, this is at the root of the problem, and has much to do with our continuing inability to achieve the kind of employment service so many observers would like to have. We think, however, that many of these same observers refuse to face the fact that, given the nature of our economy, a really effective public employment service cannot be achieved without some basic changes in the federal-state relationship in the employment service field.

We think the Administration bill suffers from this weakness -- from this failure to recognize this reality -- and it is a basic defect. Thus, the Administration bill is, in effect, an effort to paper over the weak spots in the present system. It simply does not come to grips with the problems but, instead, seems for the most part to be a reaffirmation of what is already going on.

On the other hand, the Clark-Holland bill seeks to deal with some of the fundamental issues. It first imposes on the Secretary of Labor the obligation to establish and operate a public employment service. It goes on from there to authorize the Secretary to enter into agreements with the states for the purposes of operations within each state. Moreover, in the event of non-performance, it grants the Secretary the authority to withhold funds, not only for the entire operation within any state, but for those parts of the operation which do not measure up to standards called for in the agreement.

This authority to withhold funds in part is important because, as many of the experts have pointed out, the Secretary has had no alternative to the extreme penalty of cutting off completely the funds for any state's employment service operation. This provision of the Clark-Holland bill -- Section 11 (c) -- will permit him to be selective and is, we feel, a very useful tool. The language of Section 12 of the Administration bill seems also to seek to deal with this problem in this fashion.

In another important respect, however, the Administration bill misses the target. This has to do with the salaries of state personnel employed in public employment service operations.

Most observers seem to agree that this salary issue is critical. In order to attract and retain people with the right qualifications, decent salaries have to be offered. But the vicious cycle, in which we have been trapped by the existing federal-state employment service system, has locked the salaries of these state employees -- though paid by federal funds -- into the salary structures of the states. For the most part, these are generally quite low.

The Administration bill would, when all is said and done, do little about this problem. It seeks to handle this matter through the Secretary's authority to approve the states' plans.

The Clark-Holland bill is much more specific and to the point. In Section 10(a) it authorizes the Secretary to prescribe minimum salary rates for such state employees, providing as standards "the rates paid in [each] state for similar work in both public and private employment."

Contracts for Services

Both the Clark-Holland bill and the Administration bill would permit contracting with public or private agencies for the performance of employment service functions. We have no objection to contracting for purposes of research work or experimental projects of a research character, or even perhaps special counseling and testing problems.

But we do object strenuously to any proposal to contract out to private employment agencies the placement function of the public employment service under any conditions. In our view the placement activity of the public employment service belongs in the public employment service, and no place else. Should it be necessary, as the Clark-Holland bill seems to contemplate, that the Secretary may need to provide placement services that a state will not, or cannot, perform properly, then we would suggest that in his right to contract he be limited to nonprofit agencies which should be required to meet standards specified in regulations.

This is an issue we do not take lightly. Quite frankly, we are appalled at the provision in the Administration's bill which would provide a blanket authorization -- even though subject to the Secretary's approval -- for states to enter into agreements with private employment agencies for just about any and all activities.

I must remind this hearing of the lack of effective regulation that exists with regard to private employment agencies. Not only are there no federal laws, and not only do six states have no laws, but of the 44 states that have some degree of regulation it has recently been pointed out that

15 do not require an agency operator to present evidence of good character to obtain a license.

24 do not require an agency to be operated in suitable premises as a prerequisite for obtaining a license.

11 do not provide for the regulation of registration fees (fees collected before any service is rendered to the applicant).

15 do not regulate the maximum placement fees which may be charged.

16 do not prohibit the referral of a worker to employment without having a bona fide order.

29 do not prohibit private employment agencies from sending applicants to jobs where their employment will be in violation of any law.

17 do not require notifying the worker that a labor dispute exists at the place of employment to which he is referred.

13 do not prohibit the splitting of fees between an agency and an employer.

Moreover, I would like to call to your attention the problem of enforcement of equal employment opportunity policies where the private employment agencies are

concerned. They can be -- and have been -- used by employers intent on circumventing such laws. On July 31, 1963, for example, the New York Times reported that, on surveys conducted in six cities by the American Jewish Congress, more than 90 percent of the private employment agencies accepted discriminatory job orders -- and each of the six cities was in a state which had an anti-discrimination statute on its books. The cities covered by the survey were Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, Detroit and Philadelphia.

Clearly, it will take more than rules and regulations by the Secretary of Labor to straighten out the performance of these private employment agencies, since they have obviously not hesitated to flout the anti-discrimination laws of the states in their pursuit of profit. We do not think such performance merits consideration as potential government contractors.

Separation of the Employment Service

We have long favored a separation of the employment service operations from the activities relating to unemployment insurance. Thus, the steps that have been taken in recent years to separate physically the local public employment offices from the claims offices have had our support. It is, in our opinion, the fact that these operations have usually been combined which has led so often to the public employment office to be characterized as "the unemployment office." With such an image, it is not at all surprising that the service has had difficulty attracting clients -- from among workers or employers -- for the more-skilled positions.

Too many people have a view that the only, or major, function of the local office is unemployment insurance. For this reason a separation of the two operations continues to be imperative if we are to develop an effective public employment service which provides a wide range of services. This has absolutely nothing to do with the relative importance of the two programs. Both the unemployment insurance activities and the employment service activities are essential, of course. They are, however, different programs.

We are pleased to see that both the Clark-Holland bill and the Administration bill address themselves to this need for separation. However, as is the case in other crucial areas, the Clark-Holland bill seems to us to go more to the root of the problem. It not only tackles the issue of physical separation of the offices at the local level, but it seeks -- in proposing the creation of a Bureau of Manpower Services in the Department of Labor -- to establish this separation, clearly and unmistakably, at the federal level as well.

Moreover, by its proposal to make the National Manpower Advisory Committee, which was created by the Manpower Development and Training Act, advisory to the BMS, the Clark-Holland bill would help to unify and rationalize the manpower activities of the federal government. There is a great community of interest between the training function of the Department of Labor and the Department's employment service activities -- much more than exists between the employment service and the unemployment insurance activities. As a practical matter, the only real administrative tie that exists here -- between the employment service and the unemployment insurance functions -- stems from the administration of the so-called work test which the employment service handles. However, we do not see the work test as a sufficient reason to lock together administratively the entire employment service structure and the unemployment insurance program. The work test is too small a part of the total employment service activity -- or at least, it should be -- to lead to this end result. It is a good example of the tail wagging the dog.

State and Local Advisory Committees

While we are inclined to favor the proposal of the Clark-Holland bill with regard to the role of the National Manpower Advisory Committee vis-a-vis the BMS, we are troubled by its omission of concrete proposals with regard to state and local advisory committees. As our experience with the Manpower Development and Training Act has shown, positive and rather specific language is needed to assure the development of a body of advisory committees at the state and local levels -- and we firmly believe that such committees are essential.

Any effort to improve and upgrade the quality of the public employment service should take into account the constructive role that can be played by the citizens -- representing labor, business and other groups. It seems to us that, in order to facilitate the ability of the public employment service operations to penetrate more deeply into the life of each community, and thus to make its maximum contribution, we should press hard for broadly-based advisory committees at all levels of government. It would increase the service's contacts, expose it more readily to the needs of the people it is intended to serve and, in addition, make available to the service on a regular basis expert advise -- from labor, management, and others -- that might not otherwise be forthcoming.

We would suggest, therefore, that the Clark-Holland bill be changed to incorporate the type of language that exists in the Manpower Development and Training Act, wherein committees at the state and local level are a requirement. We would like to see such committees -- preferably the MDTA advisory committees -- in every state and in every labor market area -- I repeat, each labor market area, and not each community. Setting them up according to labor-market area would reinforce our efforts to have the public employment service, in conducting its activities, think in terms of economic boundaries rather than the political boundaries which bear little or no relationship to the patterns of economic activity.

Strikes and Lockouts

We are unqualifiedly opposed to having the public employment service aid employers to break strikes or reinforce their lockouts. We oppose, therefore, any procedure which would permit the service to refer applicants to employers whose workers are on strike, and we also oppose the approval of training programs for openings which exist because the regular workers are on strike. We believe the policy of the public employment service ought to be clear and airtight on this issue.

We do not believe the Clark-Holland bill covers the problem adequately and, therefore, we support the general language of the Administration bill. As a matter of fact, as we read it, the language in the Administration bill is nothing more than present policy as expressed in existing regulations.

Development of Employment Opportunities

Section 4 and Section 5 of the Clark-Holland bill talk about the development of "opportunities for public service employment." We would like to see the language improved so that the bill is clear on intent.

We believe that there is a need to expand public employment, both to provide jobs and to provide much-needed public services. Moreover, we believe that an important weapon would be added to the employment service's arsenal if it were in a position to finance the cost of placing unemployed workers into public service jobs.

We would, of course, be concerned about the standards -- the wage issue, for one, and the need to make sure that incumbent workers are not displaced -- just as we have been concerned about this matter in connection with the job-creation parts of the anti-poverty program.

But we endorse the general principle -- as an aid to the workers and to the communities, but also as a sound approach for increasing the overall effectiveness of the public employment service. As I said earlier, however, we think the language warrants some sharpening.

Relocation Allowances

The absence of a provision for relocation allowances strikes us as a serious omission from both the Clark-Holland bill and the Administration bill. This is all the more so when we consider one of the main thrusts of the two bills -- they are both seeking to improve the operations of the public employment service with regard to inter-area clearance, and thus to improve mobility. They both, for example, are concerned with the need to use more up-to-date equipment and to develop the administrative structure that will facilitate the ability of the public employment service to work more effectively in matching workers and jobs without regard to geography.

For this effort to succeed -- and I want to emphasize that we are talking about voluntary relocation, and that no one should be forced to move against his wishes -- we think that financial assistance is required.

It costs money for a worker to move -- for he must move his family and his furnishings, and he will invariably incur additional expenses in starting life in

a new house, in a strange community. His willingness to move -- to take a job at some distant place -- is to society's advantage, and we believe that society ought to be willing to share some of the financial burdens.

Logic ought to tell us that, other things being equal, more workers would be interested in moving if they have financial assistance than if they do not. And if the intention of the legislation is to improve the tools available to the employment service to perform its function as the central manpower agency, then we should not hesitate to provide the service with the necessary funds and instruments with which to do its job.

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I think it is clear from our statement, Mr. Chairman, that we support the aims of the legislation being considered by this joint hearing. We find that, on balance, the Clark-Holland bill would provide a cure for more of the ills of the public employment service than would the Administration bill.

In closing, I would like to reiterate that it has been my intention to cover some of the more troublesome areas. I have not gone into many of the details of either bill, all of which deal with matters that are essential to a well-rounded employment service program.

To a large extent, they deal with services and programs that already exist, but that do not operate as effectively as most of us would like. And perhaps more than anything else, this fact alone is the most eloquent testimony to the need to do something basic about the employment service structure.

The problem is urgent, and therefore this hearing is timely. It is the earnest hope of the AFL-CIO that these two subcommittees will adopt a bill that will not provide simply a new veneer.

It is time now for some basic renovation.

RESOLUTION ON MANPOWER POLICY

Adopted by the AFL-CIO Convention
San Francisco, California
December 9-15, 1965

America's most pressing need in its effort to achieve an effective manpower policy is jobs. Programs to expand training activities and to improve employment services, although essential, are an inadequate substitute for job opportunities. Such programs help workers to adjust to changed needs and changed conditions but cannot, by themselves, lead to full employment. And it is full employment which is the primary requirement of national manpower policy.

So long as the nation continues to suffer high levels of unemployment, it cannot have a meaningful manpower policy. True, it can have manpower programs, as indeed we have had during the past four years. But in the absence of full employment, these programs can make only a small contribution to the needs of the workers and the nation.

Full employment is the keystone of a national manpower policy by providing job opportunities for all persons who are willing and able to work. And full employment would provide the needed stimulus for employers to expand company and industry training programs - the traditional way in which manpower skills have been upgraded.

Nevertheless, except for the fact that they have been viewed by some observers as the sole or major answer to the nation's problem of joblessness, the developments in manpower programs over the last four years are encouraging. They provide substantial evidence that government policy makers have become increasingly concerned with the impact of automation and technological change on jobs, on people and on our communities. And although most of the programs are not on a scale that matches the magnitude of the problems - and although they do not represent a panacea - they represent moves in the right direction.

Through programs of federal financial aid to all levels of education, young people will have an improved chance to enter the job market better prepared for work in the modern world.

Through federal legislation to provide training and retraining, many of the unemployed and under-employed are now being given the opportunity to equip themselves for new and changing job requirements.

Through federal programs to aid depressed communities, efforts are being made to bring more jobs into areas where unemployment is excessively high. Moreover, experimental programs are in process to provide financial assistance to bring unemployed workers into areas of job opportunities.

As part of the war on poverty, jobs and training opportunities are being given to poor people, especially the young.

And, in an effort to upgrade the quality of the Federal-State Employment Service, increased funds have been made available to expand its services - to increase its counseling and placement activities and its assistance to all groups of workers and to all employers. Particularly noteworthy is the effort of the public employment service to strengthen its program for young people, through the creation of Youth Opportunity Centers.

Despite these new programs and expanded activities, all of which are sorely needed, the United States still lacks a broad national approach to what is essentially a national manpower problem. The tendency is still to view manpower problems, and to operate manpower programs, primarily as local activities. This inevitably weakens the effectiveness of these programs and

activities, as indeed has been the case in connection with two major manpower programs - the operation of the public employment service and the administration of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The public employment service, which must provide the underpinning for all of our manpower activities, is not a national system. It is in fact, 50 different state systems and, as presently structured, it inhibits efforts to establish an effective national approach, or even a regional approach, to manpower problems. As presently operated, the public employment service even fractures local job markets because its activities are patterned after the boundary lines of communities, rather than the realistic boundary lines of economic activities and job markets.

The result of this type of operation is to deny the fullest assistance possible to workers and employers alike. It can keep from the worker, essential information about job opportunities that are available within commuting distance of his home, and it can keep from the employer the opportunity to make his choice from as wide a list as possible.

Moreover, the present orientation of the public employment service affects adversely the operations of training activities because it is the service which makes the basic decision of who is to train and for what. Too often that decision is based on conditions in a particular local community, without regard to manpower conditions that may exist in other communities, even within the same job market area. There is, for example, no real effort made to search out the unemployed workers in nearby areas who may already have the skill for which a training program is to be undertaken.

This has led to the development of training programs that should not have been undertaken, including some which have infringed on longstanding apprenticeship programs, adversely affecting the employment opportunities of workers already possessing the needed skills and endangering the standards of wages and working conditions built up by organized labor's efforts over the years.

In addition, we are mindful of the fact that the present operations of the Manpower Development and Training Act may be training unemployed workers for job opportunities that properly belong to those already on an employer's payroll. To whatever extent an unemployed worker may be trained for a job above the lowest skill grade in a plant, the training program may be depriving an incumbent employee in that lower skill grade - many of whom are nonwhite - from advancing.

As a consequence, while considerable progress has been made, in recent years, in the field of manpower programs, much more remains to be done - including, above all else, a recognition of the need for a substantial increase in the number of job opportunities to achieve and sustain full employment. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. We urge that the employment service be federalized. Only through a truly national employment agency can the employment service meet the needs of workers and employers in our modern economy which transcends local and state boundaries and is national in scope.

Until such time as federalization is accomplished, we urge the following steps be taken immediately to improve the capability and effectiveness of the public employment service in assisting workers find jobs and advance occupationally:

(a) Restructure and strengthen the public employment service so that its offices can penetrate more deeply into job market activities and operate as true manpower centers. Measures should be taken to assure that the public employment service will pattern its activities long the lines of economic

activities and not be hemmed in by community boundary lines, and will utilize the most up-to-date electronic data processing equipment.

(b) As a major step in improving the quality of the service, and upgrading the entire system, we urge that steps be taken to induce the states to raise the salaries of personnel engaged in employment service activities. By and large, the present salaries are not adequate to attract, and keep, the well-qualified people who are essential to assure that the very important tasks assigned to the employment services will be carried out effectively.

(c) Encourage all employers to list job vacancies with the public employment service so that the service can function more effectively. We urge the President to issue an Executive Order requiring all government contractors, although free to hire from any source, to list all of their job vacancies with the public employment service, providing, however, where union hiring halls or other union-management arrangements are in operation, these shall be acceptable in lieu of listing with the public employment service.

(d) The U.S. Employment Service should exercise its authority to set standards for all the 50 state employment systems and should be given effective enforcement tools to assure that performance will meet those standards.

(e) We urge that more federal funds be made available, including funds from general revenues, to provide more financial assistance to the public employment service to enable it to expand and improve its service to more workers and employees in line with these recommendations.

2. We urge the Manpower Administrator, who is responsible for the operation of the manpower programs of the Department of Labor, to administer the activities under the MDTA as a national program, rather than as a series of individual local community programs. Only in this way will the retraining program be able to avoid the pitfalls of training workers for occupations in which there are already unemployed workers, frequently in communities adjacent to those in which training programs are being developed for the occupation.

3. We urge that all federally-supported training activities, regardless of the agency responsible for administration, be coordinated through the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor. With the proliferation of programs that has been developing, there is danger of duplication and overlap. Moreover, agencies without expertise in all phases of the job market are not in a position to identify skill needs adequately and to be reasonably sure of successful placement of the trainees.

4. We urge the Manpower Administrator to give special attention to the inequities that result from the failure of MDTA programs to place priority on upgrading workers already on an employer's payroll. To this end, we urge expansion of on-the-job training activities for incumbent employes.

5. We urge that the Manpower Administrator examine the extent to which local and state advisory committees, required under MDTA, are being effectively utilized. We believe that the proper use of the expert advice represented on these committees can be an invaluable tool for the program administrators. And we also urge the Manpower Administrator to refuse approval of funds for projects, where advisory committees do not exist or where they are not truly representative of all groups, including organized labor.

6. We urge the enactment of legislation which will effectively curtail discrimination on account of age. While a number of programs have been developed to meet the needs of youth, and to eliminate discrimination based on color, sex, and national origin, little has been done to provide protection to older workers. This is a waste of human resources which should not be tolerated in any society seeking full employment and a rational manpower policy.

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE: March 30, 1966

TO: Mr. P. Anthony

FROM: Nat Goldfinger

☐ **Note and File**	☐ **Prepare Reply For My Signature**
☐ **Note and Return To Me**	☐ **Take Appropriate Action**
☐ **Return With More Details**	☐ **Per Your Request**
☐ **Note and See Me About This**	☐ **Signature**
☐ **Please Answer**	☐ **Advice Please**
☐ **For Your Approval**	☐ **Attach Complete File and Return**

COMMENTS:

For your information.

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STATEMENT OF NATHANIEL GOLDFINGER, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
BEFORE A HEARING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FISCAL POLICY OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
ON
PROMPT TAX CHANGES FOR ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

March 22, 1966

At the outset, I would like to congratulate the Joint Economic Committee and this Subcommittee for holding these hearings on the important current issue of tax changes for economic stabilization.

As I see it, the subject of these hearings cannot be discussed properly in a vacuum. Therefore, I shall attempt to deal with it, within the context of the current economic situation.

I believe that current economic developments and trends require elimination of the 7 percent tax-credit for business investment in new equipment or an increase in corporate taxes, through an excess profits tax or an increase in the corporate tax rate -- to curb the very sharp rise of business investment in new plant and equipment.

If such action is not taken in the coming weeks, the need to restrain the clearly out-of-line and unsustainable rise of business outlays for new plants and machines may become more urgent.

There are uncertainties about the economic picture. For example, it may become necessary to provide a further boost to military spending. Or the demand for goods and services may be expanding at a considerably faster pace than was expected at the beginning of the year.

Under such conditions, a prompt increase of corporate taxes would be needed to dampen down the pressures from the one-sector capital goods boom that arises largely from skyrocketing profits -- through a combination of measures, involving elimination of the 7 percent tax-credit for business investment in new equipment and/or an excess profits tax, and/or an increase in the corporate tax rate.

The wisest course, in my opinion, would be elimination of the 7 percent tax-credit now. If there was ever any justification for this government subsidy of business investment in 1962, to stimulate outlays for new business

equipment when such outlays were low in the early 1960s, then, there is a powerful argument for elimination of this subsidy at present.

We are in the third year of an unsustainable capital goods boom and the government's most recent reports indicate an even sharper rise of business outlays for new plant and equipment in 1966, than was anticipated at the beginning of the year. Moreover, this out-of-line capital goods boom is picking up steam, in an economy which already has the economic stimulus of the Vietnam conflict.

Although there are no general inflationary pressures in the economy at present, there apparently are some moderate, localized pressures in capital goods industries, in a few parts of the country. To the extent that there are any inflationary demand pressures, at all, they come from sharply rising business outlays for new plant and equipment. And if these pressures are to be curbed, then, let us get at the source of the problem and curb this one-sector boom.

Moreover, the alternative suggestion of some people -- to curtail government investments in human resources and needed public services -- would be grossly unfair and, perhaps, socially dangerous. It would be most unfair to compel the poor and the disadvantaged to bear the major burden of the Vietnam conflict and the capital goods boom. In addition, it would be socially dangerous, in my opinion, to undermine or destroy the popular expectations, aroused by the progressive social and economic legislation of the past several years.

Fiscal policy action to curtail the one-sector boom would prod business managements into reviewing and postponing some of their current plans to expand and modernize productive capacity. It could reduce pressures on resources in heavy goods industries, at a time when rising military spending is increasing demand in those same industries. It could bring the rise of capital goods outlays down towards a more sustainable rate and curb the potential of a sharp drop in such outlays a year or two from now. And it could leave ample economic resources for a continuing expansion of government investment in human resources and essential public services -- such as federal programs of aid to education, training of the labor force, the rebuilding of our metropolitan areas and the war on poverty.

The tightened monetary policy of recent months -- with interest rates at their highest levels in a generation or more -- has not curbed the capital goods boom, since most large and middle-sized companies have ample and sometimes huge supplies of their own funds, after four years of skyrocketing profits and internal flows of cash. In addition, such companies can borrow money under the most favorable circumstances and at the prime rate. But the tightened monetary policy has possibly curbed residential construction, which has been a relatively weak area of the economy for several years. It undoubtedly is curtailing state and local government outlays for the expansion of needed public services. And it is clearly increasing the cost of loans to consumers and small business. Further tightening of monetary policy can possibly generate a downward spiral through most parts of the economy -- perhaps bringing an end to the capital goods boom, but only after other sectors of the economy have been pulled down.

The sharply out-of-line capital goods boom, which has been fostered by government subsidies and tax reductions on business income, can and should be curbed by an effective rise of business taxes.

* * *

The one-sector boom of corporate profits and business investment in new plant and equipment should not be confused with a general economic inflationary situation.

There are no general, widespread inflationary shortages of goods, productive capacity and manpower. There is no generally excessive demand for goods in short supply. There is no consumer scare-buying or hoarding. Neither is there evidence of a widespread, sharp build-up of business inventories.

In addition, the increase of social security taxes on employees, effective January 1, 1966, is cutting into consumer income by about $2½ billion this year. And the recent tax measure, adopted by the Congress, will have the effect of withdrawing another $1 billion, or close to it, from consumer buying power in 1966. Fiscal policy restraint of consumer buying power is already in effect, although there is no sharp rise of consumer spending and there are no inflationary shortages of consumer goods.

Moreover, the economy is not yet at full employment or at the ceiling of its vast productive ability. In most industries, and in almost all parts of the country, there are still considerable numbers of unemployed and underemployed people and amounts of productive capacity.

The economy's ability to produce more goods and services, more efficiently, is expanding rapidly. The labor force is expected to grow about 1½ million, or about 2 percent, this year. Productivity which has been rising at a rapid pace in recent years, is expected to increase about 3 percent in 1966. Moreover, it is anticipated that installations of new plants and machines will expand industry's productive capacity by approximately 7 percent or more.

The American economy has the resources for a considerable rise in demand this year without general and widespread inflationary shortages. Moreover, it is important to remember the difference between the economic impacts of the current situation and the Korean conflict, when general inflationary pressures required a wide range of restraints, regulations and controls.

Our economy is now about twice as big as it was in the early 1950s. In 1952 and 1953 national defense expenditures accounted for about 13 percent of total national production. In contrast, defense expenditures accounted for 7½ percent of total output in 1965, and in 1966 they are expected to account for an only slightly greater share. In addition, the Korean War required a sharp rise in the size of the Armed Forces and in military expenditures. The Armed Forces are expected to expand 300,000 in 1966 -- they rose 1½ million between 1950 and 1951. Moreover, in contrast to the scheduled increase of military spending this year, defense expenditures rose $19.5 billion between 1950 and 1951 and another $12.3 billion in the following year.

In light of this analysis of the current economic situation, I view with suspicion the proposals of those who say we are in the midst of a general, widespread inflationary situation that requires slamming on the brakes. Such action could halt or reverse the welcome reduction of unemployment at the very time, when the economy is at long-last beginning to provide job opportunities for the poor, the disadvantaged and the unskilled, long-term

unemployed. Moreover, cutbacks of such government programs as the war on poverty, aid to education, manpower retraining and the rebuilding of our metropolitan areas -- as proposed by some people who desire to slam the brakes on the economy -- could undermine or destroy the hopes that these programs have aroused among the poor and most of the population.

* * *

However, we are in the midst of a one-sector boom that is creating distortions and some localized strains in the economy.

From 1963 to 1964, outlays for new plants and machines rose 11.4 percent -- two-thirds faster than the increase of total national production. And from 1964 to 1965, such outlays soared 15.4 percent -- slightly more than twice as fast as the gross national product. This year, expenditures for new plant and equipment are expected to soar again by about 16 percent, or about twice as fast as total output.

This trend is clearly unsustainable. Business outlays for new plants and machines cannot continue to rise twice as fast as total demand for too long. Such out-of-line, one-sector boom results in the addition of large amounts of new productive capacity, at a much faster pace than the demand for goods and services. When idle capacity begins to increase, as in 1957 -- during the one-sector capital goods boom of 1955-57 -- businessmen begin to cut back these outlays as they did rather drastically in 1958.

Moreover, there is some evidence that the American economy cannot long sustain rising economic activities and low levels of unemployment, when outlays for new plant and equipment account for over 10 percent of total national production. At the 1963 meetings of the American Statistical Association, Professor Arthur Okun of Yale University, a present member of the Council of Economic Advisers, concluded a careful examination of this issue with the following observation: "Over the long-run, we may optimistically hope to do better than the implied 9.8 percent as our investment ratio at full employment. But, at this point, such a view is better supported by hope than by conviction."

However, outlays for new plants and machines accounted for 10.3 percent of total national production in 1965 and they were rising rapidly. This year, they are now expected to move up to about 11 percent of the gross national product -- perhaps $7-$8 billion above a sustainable level.

In 1958, business investment dropped sharply, after accounting for 10.5 percent of total national production in the previous year. I think it is utterly clear, by any rational method of examination, that the current one-sector capital goods boom cannot be sustained.

But the difficulty with this out-of-line movement of business investment does not only lie in the future -- it is generating difficulties at present.

With military expenditures now rising, in response to the Vietnam situation, the only sector of the private economy that is increasing very sharply is business outlays for new plants and machines. This one-sector boom is creating some localized strains within heavy goods industries in some parts of the country. And, in combination with rising military expenditures, it is generating boom expectations among some businessmen -- a psychological environment for them to boost prices even in industries whose production is not rising sharply and with little regard to cost.

In 1955-57, a one-sector capital goods boom -- without rising military expenditures -- generated short-term, temporary strains in a few capital goods-producing industries and a price boosting psychology that spread through the economy. And now, in 1966, we seem to be in a somewhat similar situation.

Although unit labor costs in manufacturing industries continued their declining trend from last year -- and industrial unit labor costs appear to be stable thus far in 1966 -- the level of industrial prices has been moving up slowly. The gap between wholesale industrial prices and industrial unit labor costs has not been so great since the early 1950s.

The way to curb this trend in the economy is to curb the out-of-line, one-sector capital goods boom. And the way to do so, in my opinion, is to eliminate the government's subsidy of business investment, and/or to increase taxes on corporate profits.

The capital goods boom has been encouraged and fed by government policy. Since 1962, taxes have been cut and the net reduction will amount to an estimated $21.7 billion in 1966. Of these net reductions, more than half is going to corporations and to the top-income 15 percent of American taxpayers.

The 7 percent tax-credit and the reduction of corporate taxes from 52 percent to 48 percent have boosted after-tax profits. And the rise of sales -- accompanied by rapidly increasing productivity, relatively stable labor costs in the economy as a whole and declining unit labor costs in manufacturing, combined with an upcreep of prices -- have contributed to the profits boom.

From 1960 to 1965, profits rose 50 percent before taxes and 66 percent after taxes -- approximately twice as fast as the 27 percent increase in total wage and salary payments and much faster than the 33 percent rise in personal income. In 1965, alone, profits rose 15 percent before taxes and 20 percent after taxes -- more than twice as fast as the 7 percent increase of total wage and salary payments and the similar rise of after-tax personal income.

Depreciation allowances have also been rising rapidly as a result of the step-up of depreciation under the Treasury Department's change of rules in 1962, as well as the expansion of plant and equipment. The cash-flow to corporations (after tax corporate profits plus depreciation allowances) has been moving up much more sharply than total wage and salary payments and after-tax personal income. From 1960 to 1965, the cash-flow to corporations rose 56 percent and in 1965, alone, it increased 13 percent.

Moreover, the flow of cash to corporations is accounting for an increasing share of the corporate gross product. It accounted for 18.4 percent of the corporate gross product in 1964 and 19.1 percent in 1965 -- compared with 18.2 percent in 1955 and 17.6 percent in 1956 during the capital goods boom of the mid-1950s.

These lopsided flows of income have fed the one-sector boom of business outlays for new plant and equipment that is distorting the economy. This distortion -- which threatens some price pressures, now, and an economic

decline, in the future -- should be curbed by rescinding the 7 percent tax-credit and/or increasing corporate tax rates.

If there are inflationary pressures anywhere in the private economy at present, they are to be found in the one-sector boom of profits and capital goods outlays. Any rational effort to curb these pressures would require a curb on this one-sector boom.

Postponement of some current business plans to expand plants and machines would reduce local strains in the economy -- when military spending is rising and a further boost is possible -- and curb the boom psychology that threatens general increases in the price level. Such postponement would bring down business investment towards a more sustainable level. And it would leave room for the expansion of essential government programs.

* * *

To accomplish its task of fostering balanced economic growth to reach and sustain full employment, a flexible fiscal policy is certainly needed. But fiscal policy, at any point in time, must be aimed at the special problems that exist, rather than using a general blunderbuss approach. At present, for example, restraint of the one-sector capital goods boom is required, rather than tough general restraints on both consumer and business income.

Moreover, the discussion of fiscal policy in recent years has over-emphasized the tax side and under-emphasized government investment. The long-run growth of the economy and the strengthening of American society require increasing government investments in human resources and in the expansion and improvement of public services. If such investments were increased on a long-term basis -- with ten or twenty year targets to meet public needs -- the rate of expansion could be speeded up or slowed down, depending upon changes in defense requirements and the availability of manpower and productive capacity.

In any case, when the present rise of military spending levels off or declines, the government should promptly increase its investment in the improvement of public services and in human resources, to sustain the economy's advance. Just as the government should be prepared for the contingency of a

further rise of military spending, it should also be prepared to offset the easing of military expenditures.

The federal government should develop, coordinate and maintain a national inventory of needs for housing, community facilities and public services, based on present backlogs and future population growth. Each state and metropolitan area should be encouraged to develop an inventory of needs within its geographical jurisdiction, in addition to the development of a coordinated national inventory, prepared by the federal government.

Such comprehensive inventory of needs should provide the foundation for nationwide programs in each category -- based on federal financial and technical assistance to the state and local governments, including federal grants-in-aid and guaranteed loans, as well as direct federal efforts. Target dates should be established for achieving specified objectives and the pace should be speeded up or slowed down, depending upon the availability of manpower and productive capacity and changes in economic conditions.

Such planned effort in the area of government investment would reduce pressures on federal tax policy while at the same time it would make our federal fiscal policy more equitable and flexible. And it would add strength to the national economy and to the fabric of our society.

Atl. Const.
4/1/66

Job Security Director Fears Federalization

WASHINGTON (AP)—The director of the Georgia Employment Security Agency has opposed a bill which he said would federalize the present state-federal makeup of the employment agency.

Marion Williamson testified before a Senate-House labor subcommittee and said his opposition was based on his opinion that:

"The United States Department of Labor in Washington has just too much brass at the top and too many layers of supervisory fat at the top and is overstaffed with overlapping and even competing divisions."

"Despite pious protests to the contrary," Williamson said Thursday, "federalization is the ultimate goal of those who are pushing this measure."

Williamson said the present federal-state employment security system has worked well. He said there is no reason why the secretary of labor or his manpower administrator should start making all decisions in this field.

Williamson also opposed a provision in the bill which he said would divorce the present job insurance program and the employment service.

H. Fred Garrett of Idaho, speaking for the Interstate Conference of Employment Agencies, supported efforts to obtain a new charter for the employment service, then added:

"But we do not believe that they should become the vehicle for complete domination of the program by the federal government to the exclusion of the states."

Garrett, executive director of Idaho's Department of Employment, also said any new charter must not provide the vehicle "for either directly or indirectly" separating the employment service and job insurance systems.

The Washington Post
Business & Finance
SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1966

Brimmer Sees Growth in Work Force

Extra Effort Held Needed For Negro Employment

By Jean White
Washington Post Staff Writer

Like Alice in Wonderland, Negroes will have to run faster and faster in the next decade just to stand still on unemployment rates.

If, for instance, Negroes in 1975 hold the same proportion of each occupation they held in 1964, the unemployment rate among non-whites might go as high as 17 per cent.

But this pessimistic projection doesn't have to materialize and won't if Negroes continue to get better education and training for jobs in highly skilled occupations.

These are the conclusions of Andrew F. Brimmer, new member of the Federal Reserve Board, who took a look into the future yesterday to project the Negro's place in the American economy a decade from now.

He summed up the outlook this way:

"If the rate of improvement registered in the last decade continues, the Negro in the next ten years will strengthen substantially his relative position in the American economy."

But Brimmer tacked on a warning. The gains, he stressed, are "by no means assured" and will take "far greater effort" from Negroes, the Government, and the private sector if the promises are to be fulfilled.

His remarks came at a symposium on "The Negro in the American Economy" held as part of the dedication of North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co. in Durham, N.C.

Brimmer made these projections for population and labor force trends over the next decade:

- The Negro population will grow by 28 per cent to approximately 27 million by 1975. This will be almost double the overall population rise of 15 per cent, lifting the Negro proportion to 12.2 per cent of the projected 223 million population.
- By 1975, about 10.7 million non-whites will be in the labor force compared with the 8.5 million a year ago. This would be 12 per cent of the work force.
- One potential trouble spot lies in the fact that an increasing proportion of the increasing number of teenagers will be non-white. Now one out of four Negro teenagers is jobless, and this high rate has been blamed for much restlessness and frustration in urban ghettos.
- Negroes got a 6.9 per cent share of the $424 billion in aggregate money income last year. If the present trends continued, it would rise to 8.2 per cent in 1975.

Brimmer emphasized the need for more vocational training and education for Negroes so that greater numbers shift from unskilled, blue-collar jobs into professional and highly skilled jobs. If present trends continue, he said, the occupational picture will be substantially different from what it is today.

He also foresaw increasing opportunities for Negro businessmen in an economy with more small service industries requiring less capital investment.

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EXECUTIVE ORDER

11246

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

PART I - Nondiscrimination in Government Employment

SECTION 101. It is the policy of the Government of the United States to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment for all qualified persons, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a positive, continuing program in each executive department and agency. The policy of equal opportunity applies to every aspect of Federal employment policy and practice.

SEC. 102. The head of each executive department and agency shall establish and maintain a positive program of equal employment opportunity for all civilian employees and applicants for employment within his jurisdiction in accordance with the policy set forth in Section 101.

SEC. 103. The Civil Service Commission shall supervise and provide leadership and guidance in the conduct of equal employment opportunity programs for the civilian employees of and applications for employment within the executive departments and agencies and shall review agency program accomplishments periodically. In order to facilitate the achievement of a model program for equal employment opportunity in the Federal service, the Commission may consult from time to time with such individuals, groups, or organizations as may be of assistance in improving the Federal program and realizing the objectives of this Part.

SEC. 104. The Civil Service Commission shall provide for the prompt, fair, and impartial consideration of all complaints of discrimination in Federal employment on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin. Procedures for the consideration of complaints shall include at least one impartial review within the executive department or agency and shall provide for appeal to the Civil Service Commission.

SEC. 105. The Civil Service Commission shall issue such regulations, orders, and instructions as it deems necessary and appropriate to carry out its responsibilities under this Part, and the head of each executive department and agency shall comply with the regulations, orders, and instructions issued by the Commission under this Part.

PART II - Nondiscrimination in Employment by Government Contractors and Subcontractors

Subpart A - Duties of the Secretary of Labor

SEC. 201. The Secretary of Labor shall be responsible for the administration of Parts II and III of this Order and shall adopt such rules and regulations and issue such orders as he deems necessary and appropriate to achieve the purposes thereof.

Subpart B - Contractors' Agreements

SEC. 202. Except in contracts exempted in accordance with Section 204 of this Order, all Government contracting agencies shall include in every Government contract hereafter entered into the following provisions:

"During the performance of this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

"(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

"(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under Section 202 of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

"(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor.

"(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. , 1965, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the contacting agency and the Secretary of Labor for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

"(6) In the event of the contractor's noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of such rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled, terminated, or suspended in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further Government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24 , 1965, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies involved as provided in Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24 , 1965, or by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary of Labor, or as otherwise provided by law.

"(7) The contractor will include the provisions of Paragraphs (1) through (7) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to Section 204 of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24 , 1965, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions including sanctions for noncompliance: Provided, however, That in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the contracting agency, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States.

who has been exempted

SEC. 203. (a) Each contractor having a contract containing the provisions prescribed in Section 202 shall file, and shall cause each of his subcontractors to file, Compliance Reports with the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor as may be directed. Compliance Reports shall be filed within such times and shall contain such information as to the practices, policies, programs, and employment policies, programs, and employment statistics of the contractor and each subcontractor, and shall be in such form, as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe.

(b) Bidders or prospective contractors or subcontractors may be required to state whether they have participated in any previous contract subject to the provisions of this Order, or any preceding similar Executive order, and in that event to submit, on behalf of themselves and their proposed subcontractors, Compliance Reports prior to or as an initial part of their bid or negotiation of a contract.

(c) Whenever the contractor or subcontractor has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding with a labor union or an agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training for such workers, the Compliance Report shall include such information as to such labor union's or agency's practices and policies affecting compliance as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe: Provided, That to the extent such information is within the exclusive possession of a labor union or an agency referring workers of providing or supervising apprenticeship or training and such labor union or agency shall refuse to furnish such information to the contractor, the contractor shall so certify to the contracting agency as part of its Compliance Report and shall set forth what efforts he has made to obtain such information.

(d) The contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may direct that any bidder or prospective contractor or subcontractor shall submit, as part of his Compliance Report, a statement in writing, signed by an authorized officer or agent on behalf of any labor union or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or other training, with which the bidder or prospective contractor deals, with supporting information, to the effect that the signer's practices and policies do not discriminate on the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin, and that the signer either will affirmatively cooperate in the implementation of thepolicy and provisions of this Order or that it consents and agrees that recruitment, employment, and the terms and conditions of employment under the proposed contract shall be in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the Order. In the event that the union, or the agency shall refuse to execute such a statement, the Compliance Report shall so certify and set forth what efforts have been made to secure such a statement and such additional factual material as the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may require.

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Exemptions Special

exemptions by rule

SEC. 204. The Secretary of Labor may, when he deems that special circumstances in the national interest so require, exempt a contracting agency from the requirement of including any or all of the provisions of Section 202 of this Order in any specific contract, subcontract, or purchase order. The Secretary of Labor may, by rule or regulation, also exempt certain classes of contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders (1) whenever work is to be or has been performed outside the United States and no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved; (2) for standard commercial supplies or raw materials; (3) involving less than specified amounts of money or specified numbers of workers; or (4) to the extent that they involve subcontracts below a specified tier. ? The Secretary of Labor may also provide, by rule, regulation, or order, for the exemption of facilities of a contractor which are in all respects separate and distinct from activities of the contractor related to the performance of the contract: Provided, That such an exemption will not interfere with or impede the effectuation of the purposes of this Order: And provided further, That in the absence of such an exemption all facilities shall be covered by the provisions of this Order.

Subpart C - Powers and Duties of the Secretary of Labor and the Contracting Agencies

SEC. 205. Each contracting agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor with respect to contracts entered into by such agency or its contractors. All contracting agencies shall comply with the rules of the Secretary of Labor in discharging their primary responsibility for securing compliance with the provisions of contracts and otherwise with the terms of this Order and of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to this Order. They are directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor and to furnish the Secretary of Labor such information and assistance as he may require in the performance of his functions under this Order. They are further directed to appoint or designate, from among the agency's personnel, compliance officers. It shall be the duty of such officers to seek compliance with the objectives of this Order by conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion.

SEC. 206. (a) The Secretary of Labor may investigate the employment practices of any Government contractor or subcontractor, or initiate such investigation by the appropriate contracting agency, to determine whether or not the contractual provisions specified in Section 202 of this Order have been violated. Such investigation shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures established by the Secretary of Labor and the investigating agency shall report to the Secretary of Labor any action taken or recommended.

(b) The Secretary of Labor may receive and investigate or cause to be investigated complaints by employees or prospective employees of a Government contractor or subcontractor which allege discrimination contrary to the contractual provisions specified in Section 202 of this Order. If this investigation is conducted for the Secretary of Labor by a contracting agency, that agency shall report to the Secretary what action has been taken or is recommended with regard to such complaints.

SEC. 207. The Secretary of Labor shall use his best efforts, directly and through contracting agencies, other interested Federal, State, and local agencies, contractors, and all other available instrumentalities to cause any labor union engaged in work under Government contracts or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training for or in the course of such work to cooperate in the implementation of the purposes of this Order. The Secretary of Labor shall, in appropriate cases, notify the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Department of Justice, or other appropriate Federal agencies whenever it has reason to believe that the practices of any such labor organization or agency violate Title VI or Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or other provision of Federal law.

SEC. 208. (a) The Secretary of Labor, or any agency, officer, or employee in the executive branch of the Government designated by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary, may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Secretary may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

(b) The Secretary of Labor may hold, or cause to be held, hearings in accordance with Subsection (a) of this Section prior to imposing, ordering, or recommending the imposition of penalties and sanctions under this Order. No order for debarment of any contractor from further Government contracts under Section 209(a)(6) shall be made without affording the contractor an opportunity for a hearing.

Subpart D - Sanctions and Penalties

SEC. 209. (a) In accordance with such rules, regulations, or orders as the Secretary of Labor may issue or adopt, the Secretary or the appropriate contracting agency may;

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(1) Publish, or cause to be published, the names of contractors or unions which it has concluded have compiled or have failed to comply with the provisions of this Order or of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor.

(2) Recommend to the Department of Justice that, in cases in which there is substantial or material violation or the threat of substantial or material violation of the contractual provisions set forth in Section 202 of this Order, appropriate proceedings be brought to enforce these provisions, including the enjoining, within the limitations of applicable law, of organizations, individuals, or groups who prevent directly or indirectly, or seek to prevent directly or indirectly, compliance with the provisions of this Order.

(3) Recommend to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or the Department of Justice that appropriate proceedings be instituted under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(4) Recommend to the Department of Justice that criminal proceedings be brought for the furnishing of false information to any contracting agency or to the Secretary of Labor as the case may be.

(5) Cancel, terminate, suspend, or cause to be cancelled, terminated, or suspended, any contract, or any portion or portions thereof, for failure of the contractor or subcontractor to comply with the nondiscrimination provisions of the contract. Contracts may be cancelled, terminated, or suspended absolutely or continuance of contracts may be conditioned upon a program for future compliance approved by the contracting agency.

(6) Provide that any contracting agency shall refrain from entering into further contracts, or extensions or other modifications of existing contracts, with any noncomplying contractor, until such contractor has satisfied the Secretary of Labor that such contractor has established and will carry out personnel and employment policies in compliance with the provisions of this Order.

(b) Under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor, each contracting agency shall make reasonable efforts within a reasonable time limitation to secure compliance with the contract provisions of this Order by methods of conference, conciliation, mediation, and persuasion before proceedings shall be instituted under Subsection (a) (2) of this Section, or before a contract shall be cancelled or terminated in whole or in part under Subsection (a) (5) of this Section for failure of a contractor or subcontractor to comply with the contract provisions of this Order.

SEC. 210. Any contracting agency taking any action authorized by this Subpart, whether on its own motion, or as directed by the Secretary of Labor, or under the rules and regulations of the Secretary, shall promptly notify the Secretary of such action. Whenever the Secretary of Labor makes a determination under this Section, he shall promptly notify the appropriate contracting agency of the action recommended. The agency shall take such action and shall report the results thereof to the Secretary of Labor within such time as the Secretary shall specify.

SEC. 211. If the Secretary shall so direct, contracting agencies shall not enter into contracts with any bidder or prospective contractor unless the bidder or prospective contractor has satisfactorily complied with the provisions of this Order or submits a program for compliance acceptable to the Secretary of Labor or, if the Secretary so authorizes, to the contracting agency.

SEC. 212. Whenever a contracting agency cancels or terminates a contract, or whenever a contractor has been debarred from further Government contracts, under Section 209 (a) (6) because of noncompliance with the contract provisions with regard to nondiscrimination, the Secretary of Labor, or the contracting agency involved, shall promptly notify the Comptroller General of the United States. Any such debarment may be rescinded by the Secretary of Labor or by the contracting agency which imposed the sanction.

Subpart E -- Certificates of Merit

SEC. 213. The Secretary of Labor may provide for issuance of a United States Government Certificate of Merit to employers or labor unions, or other agencies which are or may hereafter be engaged in work under Government contracts, if the Secretary is satisfied that the personnel and employment practices of the employer, or that the personnel, training, apprenticeship, membership, grievance and representation, upgrading, and other practices and policies of the labor union or other agency conform to the purposes and provisions of this Order.

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SEC. 214. Any Certificate of Merit may at any time be suspended or revoked by the Secretary of Labor if the holder thereof, in the judgment of the Secretary, has failed to comply with the provisions of this Order.

SEC. 215. The Secretary of Labor may provide for the exemption of any employer, labor union, or other agency from any reporting requirements imposed under or pursuant to this Order if such employer, labor union, or other agency has been awarded a Certificate of Merit which has not been suspended or revoked.

PART III - Nondiscrimination Provisions in Federally Assisted Construction Contracts

SEC. 301. Each executive department and agency which administers a program involving Federal financial assistance shall require as a condition for the approval of any grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee thereunder, which may involve a construction contract, that the applicant for Federal assistance undertake and agree to incorporate, or cause to be incorporated, into all construction contracts paid for in whole or in part with funds obtained from the Federal Government or borrowed on the credit of the Federal Government pursuant to such grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, or undertaken pursuant to any Federal program involving such grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, the provisions prescribed for Government contracts by Section 203 of this Order or such modification thereof, preserving in substance the contractor's obligations thereunder, as may be approved by the Secretary of Labor, together with such additional provisions as the Secretary deems appropriate to establish and protect the interest of the United States in the enforcement of those obligations. Each such applicant shall also undertake and agree (1) to assist and cooperate actively with the administering department or agency and the Secretary of Labor in obtaining the compliance of contractors and subcontractors with those contract provisions and with the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary, (2) to obtain and to furnish to the administering department or agency and to the Secretary of Labor such information as they may require for the supervision of such compliance, (3) to carry out sanctions and penalties for violation of such obligations imposed upon contractors and subcontractors by the Secretary of Labor or the administering department or agency pursuant to Part II, Subpart D, of this Order, and (4) to refrain from entering into any contract subject to this Order, or extension or other modification of such a contract with a contractor debarred from Government contracts under Part II, Subpart D, of this Order.

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SEC. 302. (a) "Construction contract" as used in this Order means any contract for the construction, rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, extension, or repair of buildings, highways, or other improvements to real property.

(b) The provisions of Part II of this Order shall apply to such construction contracts, and for purposes of such application the administering department or agency shall be considered the contracting agency referred to therein.

(c) The term "applicant" as used in this Order means an applicant for Federal assistance or, as determined by agency regulation, other program participant, with respect to whom an application for any grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee is not finally acted upon prior to the effective date of this Part, and it includes such an applicant after he becomes a recipient of such Federal assistance.

SEC. 303. (a) Each administering department and agency shall be responsible for obtaining the compliance of such applicants with their undertakings under this Order. Each administering department and agency is directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor, and to furnish the Secretary such information and assistance as he may require in the performance of his functions under this Order.

(b) In the event an applicant fails and refuses to comply with his undertakings, the administering department or agency may take any or all of the following actions: (1) cancel, terminate, or suspend in whole or in part the agreement, contract, or other arrangement with such applicant with respect to which the failure and refusal occurred; (2) refrain from extending any further assistance to the applicant under the program with respect to which the failure or refusal occurred until satisfactory assurance of future compliance has been received from such applicant; and (3) refer the case to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal proceedings.

(c) Any action with respect to an applicant pursuant to Subsection (b) shall be taken in conformity with Section 602 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and the regulations of the administering department or agency issued thereunder), to the extent applicable. In no case shall action be taken with respect to an applicant pursuant to Clause (1) or (2) of Subsection (b) without notice and opportunity for hearing before the administering department or agency.

SEC. 304. Any executive department or agency which imposes by rule, regulation, or order requirements of non-discrimination in employment, other than requirements imposed pursuant to this Order, may delegate to the Secretary of Labor by agreement such responsibilities with respect to compliance standards, reports, and procedures as would tend to bring the administration of such requirements into conformity with the administration of requirements imposed under this Order: Provided, That actions to effect compliance by recipients of Federal financial assistance with requirements imposed pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 shall be taken in conformity with the procedures and limitations prescribed in Section 602 thereof and the regulations of the administering department or agency issued thereunder.

PART IV - Miscellaneous

SEC. 401. The Secretary of Labor may delegate to any officer, agency, or employee in the Executive branch of the Government, any function or duty of the Secretary under Parts II and III of this Order, except authority to promulgate rules and regulations of a general nature.

SEC. 402. The Secretary of Labor shall provide administrative support for the execution of the program known as the "Plans for Progress."

SEC. 403. (a) Executive Orders Nos. 10590 (January 18, 1955), 10722 (August 5, 1957), 10925 (March 6, 1961), 11114 (June 22, 1963), and 11162 (July 28, 1964), are hereby superseded and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity established by Executive Order No. 10925 is hereby abolished. All records and property in the custody of the Committee shall be transferred to the Civil Service Commission and the Secretary of Labor, as appropriate.

(b) Nothing in this Order shall be deemed to relieve any person of any obligation assumed or imposed under or pursuant to any Executive Order superseded by this Order. All rules, regulations, orders, instructions, designations, and other directives issued by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and those issued by the heads of various departments or agencies under or pursuant to any of the Executive orders superseded by this Order, shall, to the extent that they are not inconsistent with this Order, remain in full force and effect unless and until revoked or superseded by appropriate authority. References in such directives to provisions of the superseded orders shall be deemed to be references to the comparable provisions of this Order.

SEC. 404. The General Services Administration shall take appropriate action to revise the standard Government contract forms to accord with the provisions of this Order and of the rules and regulations of the Secretary of Labor.

SEC. 405. This Order shall become effective 30 days after the date of this Order.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

September 24, 1965.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 23, 1966

TO: Members of the Task Force on Employment, Training, and Welfare

Dr. Vivian Henderson asked me to forward this rough list of action possibilities in advance of the Task Force meeting of March 25, to stimulate your consideration of possible Task Force recommendations. The list was hastily compiled by the staff and is for preliminary discussion purposes only.

Sincerely,

Albert L. Shostack

ALBERT L. SHOSTACK
Staff Assistant

Enclosure

Possible Approach for Staff Work

The following approach to staff work for the White House Conference may be useful:

Step 1: The task force on employment and welfare can develop a list of recommendations for consideration by the entire conference. This list would be based on the recommendations of the November planning conference plus new developments since that date.

Step 2: For as many of these recommendations as possible, the task force staff would collect background information including relevant statistics, the current status and previous history of proposed programs, the comments and recommendations of interested agencies, indications of the problems and expected impact, etc. (In this connection, it would be useful to have each interested Federal agency designate a high-level liaison staff member through whom the task force staff can obtain necessary information and comments.)

Step 3: The task force staff would prepare brief one-page summary sheets for each recommendation. These summary sheets, written in a clear and simple manner, would be bound and presented to the full Conference for its consideration. Each summary sheet might have headings such as the following:

A. The proposed recommendation

B. Action necessary to implement the recommendation (For example, specified legislative action, appropriate administrative action, necessary agreements with labor unions and employers, etc.)

C. Need for the proposed services

D. Evaluation of services currently available

E. Expected impact, coverage, and costs

F. Pros and cons of the recommendation, including anticipated problems, identification of alternative approaches, and views of interested agencies

For discussion purposes only.

PRELIMINARY LIST OF ACTION POSSIBILITIES

For Consideration by the Task Force
on Employment, Training, and Welfare

March 23, 1966

NOTE: Items marked (c) were tentatively suggested by the November Planning Conference.

Recommendation	Action Needed
A. Attack Discrimination in Employment	
1. Improve administration of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by: (c) a. More adequate budget and personnel; b. Shift of orientation from individual complaints to attacking patterns of racial discrimination; c. Strengthening of sanctions; and d. Authorizing cease and desist orders and other affirmative action by the Commission	Legislative
2. Attack discrimination in State and local employment. (c)	Administrative
3. Establish performance criteria to strengthen compliance under Executive Order 11246 (Nondiscrimination on government contracts) (c)	Administrative
4. Intensify efforts to insure the employment of Negroes at higher skill and professional levels in privately operated organizations subsidized by Federal funds: e.g., Negro physicians in hospitals. (c)	Administrative
5. Amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination by employers and unions regardless of their number of employees or members.	Legislative
B. Create New Job Opportunities for Minority Groups	
1. Improve local transportation facilities to give minority groups easier access to jobs. (c)	Local and National Administrative and Legislative
2. Encourage Negro-owned business enterprises by increasing the availability of Federal loans, grants, and technical assistance. (c)	Legislative and Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
3. Establish a Federally financed work program to provide jobs for and to improve the employability of hard-core unemployed workers.	Legislative
4. Experiment with semi-public corporations providing useful last-resort employment to unskilled workers who are not capable of meeting regular job requirements or of profiting from occupational training. For example, the workers might assist in conservation or beautification programs such as removal or screening of automobile junkyards.	Legislative
5. Institute a program of Federal wage supplements as incentives to employers to hire marginal or relatively unproductive workers.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
C. Improve Federally Subsidized Programs for Equipping Unemployed and Underemployed Workers with Work Skills	
1. Conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller Negro colleges to qualify for job opportunities available in the health or other growing technical fields. (c)	Legislative and Administrative
2. Provide tax credits to stimulate in-plant education and training. (c)	Legislative
3. Use Federal Government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts. (c)	Administrative
4. Increase the effectiveness of the MDTA program, including:	
a. Positive efforts to include more Negro trainees; (c)	Administrative
b. Additional stress on on-the-job training; (c)	Administrative
c. Reducing paper work and time lags;	Administrative
d. Maintaining closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and encouraging direct contact between prospective employers and trainees throughout the instruction process;	Administrative
e. Expanding MDTA training in fields other than specific occupations to enhance the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., training in communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc.	Legislative and Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
f. Expanding training to upgrade employed workers by defraying the unusual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing disadvantaged workers for better jobs;	Administrative and Legislative
g. Permitting additional training for a worker who has completed a previous course within the year but has not been able to find a job;	Legislative
5. Build-in greater flexibility in the provision of MDTA training allowances, including:	
a. Increase allowances to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance recipients to accept occupational training;	Legislative
b. Reduce the requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances;	Legislative
c. Pay partial allowances for part-time training;	Legislative
d. Raising training allowances in training courses of long duration.	Legislative
6. Encourage the use of MDTA training for Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates by removing the one-year restriction on the payment of MDTA training allowances to former recipients of other federal allowances, and by suspending the unemployment, work experience, and household status requirements for former NYC enrollees. Exempt NYC youth from the 25 percent limitation on young trainees in the MDTA.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
7. Amend the MDTA to institute a Federally financed program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State, and local penal institutions who require assistance in preparing for productive work at the completion of their prison terms. This program should not be subject to apportionment or state matching requirements.	Legislative
8. Expand the program of experimental and demonstration projects under MDTA to develop and test new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of disadvantaged workers.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
D. Programs to Meet the Special Needs of Negro Youths	
1. Sharply expand employment-oriented services for in-school youths, including efforts to motivate youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, reduction of drop-outs, and vocational counseling by skilled counselors who are acquainted with emerging job opportunities and the requirements of industry.	Legislative and Administrative
2. Experiment with Job Corps Programs in urban settings, realistically geared to the employment and social environment that participants are likely to face upon graduation from the Job Corps.	Administrative
3. Expand the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, including:	
(a) Providing additional resources;	Legislative
(b) Reducing the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14;	Legislative
(c) Admitting young people between the ages of 22 and 24 to the out-of-school work experience program in order to improve the employability of those with severe unemployment problems.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
E. Fill the Gaps in a Comprehensive Program of Income Security	
1. Enact negative income tax or guaranteed minimum income law. (c)	Legislative
2. Provide family allowances. (c)	Legislative
3. Extend coverage and raise benefits under unemployment insurance. (c)	Legislative
4. Establish a federally financed work program to provide last-resort employment to workers who can neither find nor be trained for other jobs.	Legislative
5. Require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is unemployed through no fault of his own and is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
F. Efforts by Non-Government Organizations to Improve the Employment Status of Negroes	
1. Positive efforts by employers to locate new business establishments in areas accessible to Negro workers. (c)	Private Employers and possible Legislative incentives
2. Positive efforts by private employers to provide job opportunities for Negro workers.	
a. Modification of job duties to permit the employment of low-skilled workers. (c)	Private Employers
b. Review of job requirements to eliminate unrealistic educational and test specifications.	Private Employers
c. Positive recruitment of minority groups in cooperation with Government agencies and minority group organizations.	Employers, Government Agencies, and Minority Group Organizations
3. Elimination of discrimination in apprenticeship programs and development of pre-apprenticeship training programs to prepare nonwhites for apprenticeship. (c)	Private Employers and Labor Organizations
4. Systematic efforts by employers to review the work potential of nonwhites on their present staffs to insure full use of this potential and to encourage upgrading.	Employers
5. Emphasis on insuring equal employment opportunity in non-profit activities, including the promotion of nondiscriminatory policies in local and State affiliates of national medical, hospital, and other non-profit associations. (c)	Private Non-Profit Organizations

Recommendation	Action Needed
6. Establishment of local and State equal employment opportunity councils. (c)	Administrative, Business, Non-Profit Organizations, Labor Unions, Etc.
7. Assistance from non-Government sources for Negroes who are starting or operating business enterprises, including the extension of franchises to nonwhites and the encouragement of joint ventures by white and nonwhite businessmen. (c)	Businessmen

Recommendation	Action Needed
G. <u>Strengthen Recruitment and Job Development Programs for Minority Groups, Including the Federal-State Employment Service System</u>	
1. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, prevention of discrimination, intensified work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that State personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members. (c)	Legislative and Administrative, including inplementation of recent Task Force report.
2. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include experimental centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance. This might include diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision. These centers would be somewhat similar to Youth Opportunity Centers but they would deal with adults.	Administrative and Legislative
3. Conduct a comprehensive Government information and technical assistance program to encourage employers and unions to provide equal employment opportunities, to exchange information on the experience of employers who have recently reversed discriminatory policies, and to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing severe problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
H. Improve Public Assistance and Welfare Services	
1. Expand non-cash welfare services to solve the basic causes of poverty among needy people:	
(a) Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities. (c)	Legislative
(b) Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients. (c)	Legislative and Administrative
(c) Separate the administration of welfare services from the more mechanical extension of cash assistance. (c)	Administrative
(d) Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children, occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs. (c)	Legislative and Administrative
2. Solve the staffing crisis in public assistance agencies:	
(a) Employ non-professional "expediters" to inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services. (c)	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
(b) Develop case work and related activities which can be conducted by supplemental subprofessional personnel and develop large scale programs to recruit and train such aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.	Legislative and Administrative
(c) Provide resources for a substantial expansion in the number of case workers and for a reduction of clients per case worker.	Legislative
(d) Improve and expand programs to recruit and train professional case workers.	Legislative
(e) Provide higher salaries for case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.	Legislative and Administrative
3. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents. (c)	Legislative
4. Adjust public assistance programs to encourage recipients to take seasonal farm jobs without endangering their subsequent access to cash benefits and non-monetary services required to help them make long-range adjustments.	Administrative and State Legislative
5. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
I. Programs for Rural Negroes	
1. Provide Federally financed employment opportunities to help seasonally employed rural Negroes in the South to supplement low farm incomes. (c)	Legislative
2. Develop a program to facilitate the economic and social assimilation of rural Negroes migrating to the city. (c)	Legislative
a. Centers in rural labor surplus areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling;	
b. Reception centers in urban labor demand areas equipped to help the in-migrants solve employment and housing problems and to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services;	
c. Residential centers in urban areas--Halfway Houses and Youth Hostels--to provide temporary quarters and health, welfare, and recreation services for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period;	
d. Provision of relocation allowances to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs without imposing burdens on their target community.	
3. Expand the labor mobility demonstration program under MDTA and make it a permanent part of the law.	Legislative
4. Experiment with measures to structure the job market for migratory and other seasonal farm workers so as to provide year-round employment and build a skilled and stable farm work force.	Legislative, Administrative, and action by Farm Employers

Recommendation	Action Needed
5. Improve agricultural labor standards, including:	Legislative
a. Extension of Workmen's Compensation,	
b. Extension of unemployment insurance,	
c. Prohibition of child labor outside of school hours.	
6. Sharply expand the availability of vocational counseling and training in rural areas, geared realistically to the demands of the increasingly technical nonagricultural occupations in which the great majority of rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas.	Legislative and Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
J. Improve Labor Standards	
1. Expand coverage of Fair Labor Standards Act to industries and occupations currently excluded. (c)	Legislative
2. Raise the minimum wage under FLSA. (c)	Legislative
3. Extend the protection of the Labor Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries. (c)	Legislative

Recommendation	Action Needed
K. <u>Insure Minority Group Representation in Decision-Making and Staffing of Government Agencies</u>	
1. "Integrate" the staffs of national agencies concerned with employment and welfare. (c)	Administrative
2. Insure minority group representation on State and local advisory, planning, and action committees under the MDTA, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and related programs.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
L. Research and Analyses	
1. Conduct a study of the advantages and disadvantages of converting the Federal-State Public Assistance Program to a Federally operated program which would include: (c) (a) Planning at the national level; (b) A Federalized welfare system with States and local agencies providing only emergency or temporary personal assistance; (c) Abolition of the present public assistance categories and the substitution of a single category based on need; (d) A Federal scale of welfare benefit levels; (e) Federal standards of eligibility.	Administrative
2. Conduct an intensive study of the use of nonprofessionals in the welfare program, including ways in which nonprofessionals can assist professional case workers, the training of nonprofessional aides (including use of Negro colleges and the Job Corps), and examination of ways to gain acceptance of subprofessionals by professional case workers. (c)	Administrative
3. Conduct an intensive study of a panel of migrants from rural to urban areas, tracing their experience, problems, motivations, and adjustments over a substantial time period.	Administrative

Recommendation	Action Needed
4. Encourage identification by race in relevant records of employers, labor unions, the Employment Service, and other agencies in order to provide a basis for evaluating the employment and training status of nonwhites.	Administrative

Add the following item to the March 23 preliminary list of action possibilities:

Recommendation	Action Needed
Preparation of a Comprehensive, Structured Program to Meet Overall Needs for Manpower Services	
Develop a comprehensive, structured program to survey and meet the employment, training, and related manpower needs of minority groups. This program should include:	Legislative and Administrative

1. Preparation of a "Human Resources Budget" to systematically:
   a.
   a. Estimate the number, characteristics, and manpower problems of the specific groups in the nonwhite population who require assistance in meeting their job and training needs. This assessment should not only be national in scope but should focus on the 70-odd cities and five or six Southern States in which Negroes are concentrated. Both urban and rural areas of Negro concentration should be included. Data on unemployment, underemployment, and skill attainment should be collected in predominantly Negro neighborhoods on a block-by-block basis if necessary. The assessment should include estimates of future needs based on population, labor force and socio-economic projections.

   b. Identification of the types of manpower services needed by the specific population groups involved; e.g., by in-school youths, out-of-school jobless youths, workers of low skill and educational attainment, older workers, female workers, etc.

   c. Establishment of specific program goals and a time schedule for meeting the goals. These goals should include the number and types of services to be provided, the specific number and types of minority group people to be served, specific locations, and a definite time schedule.

   d. Appraisal of existing Government and non-Government programs to determine the extent to which they can help meet the established goals, and to assign definite priorities and targets to specific agencies.

Recommendation	Action Needed
e. Identification of the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals. This would include determination of the nature, size, timing, and location of the additional programs.	
2. Coordinated efforts to develop, propose, and support specific programs and increased resources for which the Human Resources Budget has indicated a need.	Administrative and Legislative
3. A systematic program to evaluate the progress of minority groups in the job market, by area, industry, occupation, and type of worker; and to assess the effectiveness of the Government services involved.	Administrative and Legislative

Add the following item to the March 23 preliminary list of action possibilities:

Recommendation	Action Needed
<u>Coordination of Programs</u>	
Improve the coordination of existing programs concerned with human resource development and utilization; e.g., the OEO program, the MDTA program, programs of DHEW and the Department of Commerce. (The President's Committee on Manpower has established teams to coordinate services in 30 selected cities. It has been given responsibility for coordination of key OEO, Department of Labor, and Department of Health, Education and Welfare programs by Executive Order.)	Administrative

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

March 25, 1966

TASK FORCE MEETING ON EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND WELFARE
1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Room 301 10:00 a.m.

Present:

Task Force Members

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman
Mr. Frank Armstrong
Mr. Woodrow Ginsburg
Dr. Emory Via
Dr. T.T. Williams

White House Conference Staff

Mr. Edward Sylvester, Vice Chairman
Reverend Walter Fauntroy, Vice Chairman
Mr. Norman J. McKenzie, Administrative Officer
Mr. Craig W. Christenson, Executive Assistant to the Chairman

Staff Assistants

Mrs. Ellen J. Perkins, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Dr. Helen Nicol, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Mr. William Mirengoff, Department of Labor
Mr. Albert Shostack, Department of Labor
Mrs. Dorothy Newman, Department of Labor

The meeting was convened at 10:00 a.m.

The Chairman welcomed members, consultants and staff to the first meeting of the Task Force. He expressed his appreciation at the members coming on such short notice.

The Chairman asked participants to introduce themselves. He added he hoped the following persons would be attending the next meeting of the Task Force:

Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University;

Mahlon Puryear, Deputy Director of the National Urban League of New York, who is very interested in working with this group;

Hyland Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Howard University;

Elmer Moore, an Economist, Research, Plans, Programs and Evaluation, Office of Economic Opportunity;

Ramon Scruggs, Public Relations Manager, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Bell Telephone Company of New York.

Chairman Henderson:

We feel if we can maintain a nucleus to devise continued day-by-day consultations, to write papers, to come up with the kind of content that will make a good presentation to the Council.

Henderson:

As we will operate...We have persons who are not employed in the Government to form the nucleus of the Task Force. The Government will form the nucleus of the Staff. Mr. William Mirengoff, Deputy Director, Office of Manpower, Policy, Evaluation and Research, of the Department of Labor is the head of staff arrangements. Mr. Albert Shostack also of the Office of Manpower will do much of the research. Dorothy Newman, also of the Labor Department, is going to be working with us. There will be others that we will be calling on. We will somewhat move in terms of definitive statement of instructions. We are expecting a sort of staff with some persons outside of Government involved in staff operations.

We don't want Government people to do this work, or a Government point of view. We want to have Government people there but not let them take over. This will give us a good cross reference of ideas. You are aware that this is oriented toward June 1 and 2 when we are having the White House Conference. Our purpose immediately is to prepare for a very important meeting one week away. I understand that Mr. Heineman has scheduled an April 1 meeting, at which time they would like for us to be prepared to share with the Council our ideas about which way things ought to be going in the field of economic security and welfare.

Henderson:

We are expected to share with the Council some notion as definitive as we can be at that point, where we would like to go with this particular subject. At this point it would be wise if we could have Mr. Edward Sylvester, Vice Chairman of the Conference, give us some documentation for the organization of the Conference and give the people here the picture, give us some picture about the general structure of the Task Force.

McKenzie:

We have the staff people here take care of administrative problems, time, attendance, pay, travel, etc. We have made up sets (of papers) for each of you consultants to fill out and on the back put down the travel information for today. Attached are papers from the Planning Session which will be of interest to you.

Colonel Norman McKenzie explained the administrative operations of the Staff and the papers necessary for consultant to receive reimbursement, etc. for time, attendance, travel.

Henderson:

Mr. Sylvester, who is Chief of Staff of Operations, as well as Vice Chairman of the Conference, would you give us a sort of format and how we fit into this scheme of things.

Sylvester:

Sylvester:

To give you some background on this Conference - about three weeks ago the President appointed a 29-man Council to filter through the work of the Planning Session and other ideas for presentation for discussions at the Conference in June. The Chairman, Ben Heineman, Chairman, Chicago and Northwestern Railway, and our Council have agreed that what this meant for them was to see what kinds of specific problems they could present to the Conference for discussion. The Conference should be a "how-to-do-it" Conference and how to attack the problems; "a pie in the sky" conference... the whole orientation is "how-to-do-it." We have two or three items of importance: One, the matter of Economic Security. They did not add Welfare at that time, it was included further down the line. They also decided the matter of Education and Housing were matters of primary concern. They wanted staff work on the Administration of Justice that the President might recommend, that had been introduced to Congress. They want to look further into the matter. There is some question about Health and Welfare, could it be included as part of Economic Security?
Secondly, They want staff proposals on Health, depending on the strength of the proposals whether it would be for presentation at the June Conference. in areas of Economic Security, Education and Housing is going on. This Task Force will deal with Economic

Sylvester:

Security. We will have a meeting which takes place on April 1 and 2 at which we will present the problems you come up with. I want to emphasize the focus on "how-to-do-it" problems, the point of the problems and results of the Planning Session, its ideas of implementation and additional ideas the Task Force has about it. Our Council will discuss these with the Task Force and decide which are most important and the Task Force is asked to develop them further for the agenda. We have not decided how we will feed these back into the Council and the results of this first meeting.

One other point, the President in his initial mandate wanted to make it clear that this is a non-government Conference, but is placing the resources of the Government at the disposal of the Task Force. This is a non-government Conference -- bear this in mind right down the line. Craig do you have anything to add?

Christensen:

He has covered it, except that I would say, in your work just go back and emphasize how to do it. The Council would like specific recommendation on what ought to be done, who ought to do it, and how it ought to be done in the area of Economic Security and Welfare and come up with answers to all of these things. I think the Council would rather have some depth work

Christensen:

done in some areas rather than to spread it too thin in the priorities you decide to establish.

Q: For the purposes of planning for the Council meeting on April 1 and 2, is the Task Force expected to take into the meeting "how-to-do-it" or concentrate at the first meeting on "what to do?"

Craig:

How much you can actually do in that time? Be as specific as possible.

Henderson:

Mr. Mirengoff and Mr. Shostack and I have talked and we feel strongly that rather than trying to come up with a document that would describe our notions about how, who, etc., what we could do would be to lay out in outline fashion the broad areas we would have for the Council, what we have concluded, the priorities. It was decided that by April 1st we could do the job and feed back to the Council the recommendations, not only on who, what, and how, in terms of correcting, but also the areas we have not touched on between April 1 and June 1, the structural organization. Do we move in the direction of how the Conference should be organized for Economic Security, the difference in that point and the previous point. We will be structuring and recommending to the Council the priorities and content. We also recommend our notions as to the best

Henderson:

way we can work with this between April 1 and June 2, how to organize our work.

Sylvester:

The Council has decided tentatively that it wants all work and paper work prepared for mailing to the Conference invitees about mid-May. This give you an idea of where you are shooting. By this next Saturday we need the primary problems from the staff . We recognize the difficulty of circumstance of form . Practically, after the meeting of April 2 everybody should know where we are going and the staff should take another look at problems for the structure. We don't know if it is possible to get more than one shot on how the subject should be dealt with. by the middle of May we expect to mail out papers.

Henderson:

At the April 2 meeting we should have the mandates they want to give to this Task Force. We may expect adjustments.

Sylvester:

The Council will then tell us what we have done that is good or bad.

Henderson:

The scope of priorities, support, etc.

Sylvester:

When the Council said they wanted a paper on Economic Security

Sylvester:

they did not define it... when you have 29 problems that it can focus on, debate about, accept, or reject.

Williams:

How and who will be involved. We address ourselves as to what we are going to do.

Henderson:

How to do it in terms of solutions of the problems; this task force deals with substance.

Fauntroy:

I would like to see some of the consultation go on before the Conference occurs. Can you suggest people who ought to be consulted about the feasibility of what you are proposing, what the Council considers valid and useful. You people to check out certain problems and where they would stand on certain kinds of problems. We want direction from you if this is to work, evaluate and what we want to present to the Council.

Henderson:

We are going to discuss all these facts before we break up, what we need to do before the April 1st meeting, to keep it on schedule. We are to pull together the kind of document you have (Shostack's paper), the problems on how to get at these basic problems, and the proposals from the November Conference.

HENDERSON:

Problems from other sources, other published documents from the various Government departments, other sources from academic scholars. In this document there are proposals from three sources. The November Conference within this structure, problems from outside, organize them into more or less "what" and "how." Some problems would have to be addressed through administrative channels, some legislative procedure, others through private action - churches, hospitals etc. We thought we would address ourselves to this kind of document initially.

The second step - if this group can examine these items, and conclude that we would identify the dozen items we felt should be priorities, these we would present to the Council on April 1 and 2, and if the Council goes along with this, we could get out of these priority items - say, six items of priorities - we would begin to organize resources for April 2 through the May 15 period for presentation to the Conference.

The third step would be assignment of papers to outside consultants; organize the content into a structure that Council indicates for the June 1-2 Conference. Our mission is to examine these papers and make modifications, additions, and abstracts in Mr. Shostack's papers, which will be presented to the April 1 Council meeting.

Henderson:

We have an item about Minimum Wage. There may be some questions whether we need to take any time to do work on the minimum wage law. What may be more important would be if we take the concept of negative income tax, show not as a potential solution, but as terms of those impacts. What benefit can we expect from this?

We think negative income tax is good to correct problems. We will omit what we think we should not take time on. We are not saying we have everything in this document, we can bring other things into to it.

? We have added the last few pages this morning, pages 20,21,22. A recommendation on the preparation of a comprehensive, structured program to meet overall needs for manpower services, prepared a kind of manpower budget and using this to develop a very comprehensive and structured program over a number of areas.

Henderson:

Note the organization of this paper. It is broken down into what has been suggested as basic compenents, through legislative and administrative action, stressing job opportunities, improving Federal subsidies , Federal subsidized programs, equipping people with skills, special needs of certain groups where it is important. Identify additional programs, services and resources needed to fill gaps, location of programs.

Henderson:

The non-government approaches, private and other, to improve employment situation of Negroes.

Strengthen recruitment and job development programs., programs for rural Negroes.

Are there any major areas omitted here?

Perkins: I have now a first draft of a paper to present for your use next April. It includes each of the items numbered here. I wrote a paper and the overlap is so close I would think that anything we would have in our paper would be a matter of detail on the observation of the problems and specifics related to it. "How-to-do-it" from us. In the draft this covers income, security and welfare services in relation to economic security and other problems. I assume from this, since it is Economic Security and Welfare, the primary emphasis is on economic security among whatever you want to define as poor groups or minority groups.

Christensen:

To what extent do we want to develop recommendations that will continue welfare assistance? We want to deal with economic security. The question is, problems that really put welfare in a new context that we think in terms ...income maintenance, kinds of problems are a welfare measure. Is it just a welfare measure or will it move people from a welfare state? Conduct programs to make them more accountable

Christensen:

Task Force, but a lot has to be done by some other task forces. Specifically, what ought to be done in Economic Security as implemented for welfare. What will probably happen it will lead to some communication between the Task Forces when we get to the point they are moving along. The recommendations you have in housing and education will be helpful. Present a paper referring to it.

When you get into the area of Education as it relates to training this is not our preserve. They can get into it but we don't touch it. If you are to narrow down education as it relates to training; training is that which is not done in the schools as part of education. Training and re-training for some purposes other than in a public school building. Not related to education. You are definitely going to get some overlap in institutions in training.

Henderson:

The matter of training manpower program. You have to glean a jurisdiction when it comes to broad education policy; what is wrong with the school system?

Q: What about vocational education in the public school system? We can out here from jurisdictional rights ...

Christensen:

You are safe in saying you can for purposes of the meeting April 1 and 2. After that I would hope that at some level the two would be separated.

Q: The economic security work you are talking about are those people who can take jobs and supplement their income, people who can be trained and do not have such family responsibilities. Separate groups - the aged, some are incapacitated physically - for that group you have a different welfare. Those people drawing public assistance and welfare payment.

Many of these people are totally unemployable because of age, some with families, family responsibilities and have very little education.

Henderson:

We want the impact of a proposed program. What can we expect in a transition? How far can we get? Do you expect it to get larger?

Perkins: By a complex of other programs, related, improved, and more accountable for education of the young.

Henderson:

Training for employment and education. Are we going to draw a hard line of demarcation?

Christensen:

We could cover their education by doing work in depth. It is so easy to be talking about economic security, but really the solution is education. When you are talking about education, someone else says this is "housing." It is the purpose of this

or more acceptable?

Henderson:

The traditional acquisition is that they have kept people on welfare. Is that our objective?

Q: How do we relate the concept of negative income tax? Is it a disguised welfare approach to the income problem?

A: In the area of both economic security and welfare you need... what is economic security? How do you achieve it? Like the aged, the very young - those under six years of age - the women, mothers. The youth where it will be a long time before they are self supporting. I would say personally the number of choices you have is almost infinitesimal. This must be done on a level of accuracy. The intention to do it, and what you are to do is the important decision that has to be made.

Fauntroy:

Are we not thinking in terms of transition from welfare programs, the people, and the kind of program? Are we not talking in terms of attaching to welfare the depth of economic security? Funds which now go to welfare maintenance on a grand basis are now paid to them for re-defined work. Teachers assistance. Union. We are not talking about a specific program, we must get components of welfare and make useful participation by persons to society. Through a re-definition of work, make them feel they are a part of society,

task forces can talk about that.

If we both added resources, I see no great harm done.

Henderson:

If we emphasize how we are going to get the job done. Identify the problem by two task forces which might overlap. It really does. make a great deal of difference.

Christensen:

The point of extensive staff work.

Fauntroy:

The education task force, skills, how we improve the development of skills as they develop and some understanding of what the Conference is going to consider in both these areas - the Manpower development and Training Act. They come together and work together. The other relationship is basic education. You can't develop employability unless you have manpower development.

Henderson:

You left off comments of what was needed. We had a category on which comments were made. Suggested what was needed insofar as initial judgment in order for us to be clear and to get the kind of understanding here. I suggest two things: Are you satisfied with what ...what additions can we make with the components that have been isolated here? One component of "Discrimination" and one of "Job Creation."

Henderson:

We have components of subsidizing training programs and equipment of skills. I think the major points are there. The coincidence between items is remarkable.

Q: Is this the best way for us to define the components? We ought to divide them according to characteristics, youth, older workers, those out of the labor force..evaluate this procedure, an identification of opportunities, job opportunities. We should keep this basic here because it emphasizes solutions. Otherwise,

A I think all of us who work in this field have a host of figures, what kind of data is lacking in here to support the job and the actions required on any of these? It is not a question so much of lack of information where the gaps are, lack of concerted public support for some of the recommendations. There are certain things in these recommendations which people feel could be .... in a sense giving more back up support.

Shostack:

We had for each an indication where we would go to seek back up support, the Welfare Organization, OEO - another is Labor.

There doesn't seem to be anything on economic security. One of the other items - Government programs and policy - should constantly be geared to the achievement of economy.

Q: Do we need a set of recommendations in this area? ...worried about going into the depth of it. I think experimentation ought to be placed along with or in the minimum wage field, specifics.

Henderson:

Perkins: We ought to have expansion of coverage. Do we really have any data on what industries would be affected by the minimum wage, the number of Negroes in these low wage industries. If we raise this minimum wage, how many people would be disemployed? Then we can go on and we can have special programs for unemployed. ...it will disemploy people..how many would be disemployed? What are the job programs for those people, etc.?

A: From a standpoint of solution, our concern would be impact of the minimum wage, expansion and coverage for raising it. an x number of persons would be disemployed. What kind of programs? Particular programs, achievement programs.

Christensen:

In preliminary discussions we had before organization - one problem presented - some people hope would be considered by this group. It was called "the problem of the last hired, the first fired." This is the time to be talking about employment, the war time economy. How do you prepare for a peace time economy? In a war time economy there are people who have gotten jobs and are the first ones to go.

A. We have a contingency program.

A. You need a national program with income security. Conduct a training program if they are working. These are the basic points. Those concerned exclusively with the growth of the economy, to absorb. This should be the peace time program. Push this. Increase their capabilities which will reduce their limitations and give whole new power on the job... by pushing this you help them prepare for the period by increasing their skills.

Upgrading of skills. Here's what we have got:

a. Attack discrimination.

b. Create job opportunities.

c. Occupational training programs.

d. Youth.

e. Fill gaps.

f. Non-government.

You might as well add women, especially mothers. You should add the rural group for the job program. The Negro youth is a special problem. The fact still remains that there are many people in older groups who havn't had an education, so you need education for older groups.

The rural Negro could be broaden to rural development. Special rural Negro problem is the fact that they live in the South, and the South isn't a viable economic union, I mean unit. Treat it like technical aid programs. Traditionally is the discrimination he has gotten at the lowest level of life which is the whole problem, economic problem. We need programs for youth and insecurity.

Henderson:

We want to push for the alternatives we have, whether we address the solutions under these kinds of components- women or older people, job opportunities for all Negroes are here under these items, we may assume. We pull out youth or substitute under other categories. I think you can make a case and figure this out. The whole rural development problem and migration of rural Negroes to the cities.

Nicol:

Education, health, and responsibilities. Keep it out until convinced you can fit it in to other categories. Younger people.. things relating to the drop-out problem. People who think persons who work are skilled. You have to get at the motivation problem for persons migrating to the cities, and the psychological problem. You must find out the psychological reason some move to the cities. This is an area you can't ignore.

Take d and e. Pulling together from many sources....many of these things are too small to warrant the attention of the Conference. One major problem the Negro faces when he moves away from the country and migrates to the city is unemployment. What shall we do to lick this problem, the problem of people who migrate from rural areas to cities and have no place to live. What do we do for them?

A third problem is the lack of advanced work skills. The problem of the unemployed, problems of the employed. There are always a few that will not fit in any category.

Newman:

Whether we are thinking about attacking discrimination - from what point of view, and whether the various items under the "attack discrimination" were sufficiently large. Also, creation of job opportunities. We might think more in terms of broadening them.

What needs to be done for everyone and up-grade their skills. You could get a group of three or four broad areas which would include these in limited kinds of approaches. In the case of discrimination I am thinking that the reason that people discriminate is because they are ill informed. This is a basic problem and may be an education problem, but I think also a labor problem and an economic security problem. I am thinking of economic status and no job. Job opportunities can only be created when we want to do them.

Henderson:

This is the guide we are given. Develop the circumstances that we want to present to the Council on Saturday, so they will have some sense of direction.

Fauntroy:

The Education task force is given considerable thought as we attempt to change the whole picture of discrimination.

Henderson:

We should address educational problems to employers and Union officials, which would be within their province. When we talk about discrimination, we might want to suggest that this is an important avenue of approach. The establishment of local councils... does anyone know the extent or number?

Christensen:

There are supposed to be about 60. I am sure there are 60

not going strongly.

We need a bigger thrust from rural areas.

Plans for Progress is available to assist this Task Force.

Perkins:

In the Civil Rights Act, isn't there a provision which says what Federal programs should be examined in relation to the way they are defined by Congress... the potential for discrimination is built in. In attacking discrimination we could talk about that which is legal and built into the law..in terms of its effect on Negroes as compared with white groups. We could reexamine or make a recommendation that part of the civil rights law be applied to reexamine programs. I could talk about this for two hours.

Q: Could you put this down in writing?
A: Yes.

In this way you are looking for a new fresh approach. The first three items are very classic. Attack discrimination; create job opportunities and improve occupational training programs. Coming up with the first three, we would not be adding anything fresh or novel to the subjects that have received attention.

In terms of policy recommendations are things under organization such as OEO operations.

Full employment and economy ideas. Tie in idea of what you do about reconversion of the economy. What special element got us below 4%? Was it Vietnam? Put your best thinking to attack "last hired, first fired." It all ties up. Do we want a specific paper under Discrimination in Employment.

Item A on page 2: The kinds of things said about Federal legislation. Are they applicable?

There are charges that the County Agent is actively against Negro persons trying to get a loan for agricultural purposes.

Q: How about two state and rural programs?

Programs financed by Federal funds. The whole area of state and county and local is untouched.

Insure minority group representation in decision making and staffing of government agencies.

Q: Is there enough emphasis being placed on Negroes being unable to get loans because of discrimination of Federal programs or Federal agencies. I am told that in the South it is impossible to be a successful Negro. Regarding 4 H groups, there is not a single non-white 4 H organization in the South. None of the kinds of training available to youngsters who grow up on white farms are made available to non-white youngsters.

Fauntroy:

We focus constantly on the Department of Agriculture and it is zeroing in on this kind of problem.

Williams:

There is too much thrust in .....on the one hand we have a discrimination problem for which we need to address a solution. What kind of a solution do we want to offer for Negroes who want to stay and some incentive for them to stay in rural areas. What can we propose.

A: I argue that they want to get out of the rural areas.

Q: Can we differentiate between solutions for those who want to stay in rural areas and who those want to migrate.

There is a discussion by Dr. Maddox addressed to those who remain and those who leave.

There is a whole new effort for regional economic development.. is that some people will stay. Most people do not migrate. We work on the subject that should do the most for people who do not.

Q: You say that people do not migrate?

A: I believe that more people stay than migrate.

Q: More migrate out than in. I am talking about Negroes.

The question is more than 50% of the people...they are constantly migrating out.

Williams:

The question is why they migrate out or remain?

You are going to have enough people remaining so that you must have regional development programs.

Nicol:

Isn't it true with a new concept we should increase...there may be a possibility to up grade their conditions if they stay on a farm, if they are given advantages of economic opportunity?

Sheppard:

Talk about rural areas...do they stay as share groups, stay on their farms with grants...

The whole business of trying to attract industry into rural areas. Do you bring them into areas where the potential is white or Negro. How do you get to employers where people are primarily Negro?

A: ...there is EBA and SBA in those types of areas.

Henderson:

In context of solutions to the aspects of the problems we might want to identify this as the type of component under rural areas.

? There are two problems. Economic development where the Negro impact can be used; the availability of Federal support that has been developed for Negroes. Welfare programs, pinpointing the availability , heavy subsidizing economy and developing means of bringing in business to people.

Newman:

The rural Negro is largely in the South, the money he makes, the occupation he has..the problem becomes one of Negro farming but there is also the Negro who works off the farm. It is not only

a local problem, but more a Southern problem.

Perkins:

I was disturbed at the Planning Conference - I was there as an observer and not a participant - when people talked about Negro rights and opportunities. You have to have freedom of opportunity, but you have to have freedom of choice. Those people do not choose to move to those fields. I think a woman should be free to take a job or stay at home with her children.

A: We need to address ourselves to the structure of incentives. .

A: We need the element of freedom of choice as well as freedom of opportunity.

Henderson:

People can't make any money in most states and get a welfare payment. There is no incentive for them to work because they lose the welfare payment. When you provide incentives for people to work you get to a self supporting state.

Perkins:

Sometimes it is sufficiently difficult to qualify for welfare. When you do become qualified, you run the risk of losing welfare payments if you take a job that doesn't work out, and run the risk of not getting back on welfare. The assistance standards are so low that work even at the lowest level of wages disqualifies you.

Q: Do you question the housing program?

A: At the Planning Session an activist mentioned "I would rather have

any family I was interested in living in a rat infested basement."...

We can pull the solutions together in the kind of problems we want to discuss. We shall not push, but be concerned with a problem. Can you get your handle on the impact? How many people would it hit? What would be the final outcome in a period of time, say 10 years? The cost type benefit. Some things trusted to states...the states took away...resources must be considered under public law.Is there enough in this report on health generally or discussion of health?

A: There is a task force on the subject.

Henderson:

It is basically agreed these things give you basic power for organized opportunities. Are we in a position to set up some priorities for the task force to be working on between now and the first of April? What should we have ready for April 1?

Some solutions in the whole area of general health and economics. Do we have to say something about discrimination.

Christensen:

At the outset in this document you have some more sensitive areas. Its great that this (document) is this far along. What they have done...the step they have attempted is some broad grouping; others have been sensitive and have addressed themselves to the agenda for the Council meeting; others have taken a broad grouping. Typically what has happened..there was no votes taken. No voting.

If you choose four or five items they will talk about it in detail.

Henderson:

Let's assume that we organize these and add two or three items. We take these 14 and list 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. If we presented it in this format, is this desirable for that kind of application?

Christensen:

I think so. We contemplated as a staff there was going to be some real selectivity. There were too many people to identify, too many involved by this task force. Our agenda should focus on new ideas.. very few things have come out.

Hendersen:

Restate to give five items of priorities.

Christensen:

It would be helpful to get some broad groupings.

Fauntroy:

One of the most attractive items to some people on the Council would be a paper on "creating job opportunities". The Civil Rights people say we have to have more jobs in terms of work. Jobs for people able to work and willing to work. Our economy has risen to a higher level since 1960. You have high unemployment rates. We need to find job opportunities...creating of job opportunities to do this.

Secondly, the concepts of providing jobs for and to improve the

employability of hard core unemployed; the hard core unemployed reduces when there are openings around. We ought to start with the concept that there ought to be jobs. We can have jobs under pressure of the Vienam situation. Put this type into the public assistance concepts. With job opportunities you still have welfare, but what is the motivation of the youth. If you could assure them of jobs. Item 4 on page 3.

Sheppard:

We ought to indicate strongly that they shouldn't be satisfied with low employment rates and Negro structures of employment.

Perkins:

Many do work under this risk of going on and off. They scrub floors and clean streets, etc. Some work for under $60 a month.

Q: There is no maximum they can make?

A: Some work and are given assistance. Many work... like in New York cleaning streets, or ones who have gone off in the summer who pick cotton and apples and come back in the fall. They work for amazingly low wages.

Q: How do you want to guide the staff on this? In terms of organizing material for presentation to the Council on April 1 and 2? Do you feel you ought to present all of these items or reorganize under four or five headings? Do you feel this kind of pin-pointing is better than trying to do a paper which has some illustration and statement of the problems?

If we tackle a couple that we agree are important one it is something we think could be handled. We could always say look at minimum wage legislation for the task force. Labor standards thinking. We ought to take "Attack on Discrimination" and present some extensive inquiries before the Conference. Some inquires should be made of the present administrative and legislative set up.

We were enjoined to come up with specific suggestions. The solutions will fall in this category, some through administrative procedure and channels. See that you have enough laws, enough representative policy to get it through the administrative channels. Others would require representative new laws. On the job training from both public and private sources and subsidizing training opportunities. We need policies in last resort employment. In some of these areas we define the solution and in processing we are also suggesting the channel through which these solutions have to be approached.

Hendersen:

We are going to this Council next week. We want your proposals in the areas we ought to try and examine and come up with solutions as well as some specific illustrations.

Christensen:

Give some illustrations and hear some possibilities.

Christensen:

I believe we have an agenda problem.

Henderson:

First of all I believe it would be extremely helpful if the document could be in their hands before they get there. If that is possible, then you would have hundreds of alternatives. You could then select priorities and talk about 4 or 5 of them.

For April 1. There is so much you can get out of the April 1 meeting. You can't give a definite analysis. We might restructure this document to send out on a preliminary basis and bring in additions we have selected out of this.

Christensen:

Send with the document with brief changes today.

For the agenda:

I. Job Creation

Plus these areas and legislation and administration.

You deal with developing jobs, rural industries, or job redefinition.

a. Rural industries

b. Job redefinition

c. Youth

II. Attack Discrimination

A. Federal structures into industry

B. Private industry

C. Labor

III. Job Training

You have to have more jobs available to Negroes and if you have more jobs, then training is not as important. In Germany they are employing people from Italy, so language is not a barrier, they are able to train them.

IV. Gaps - Minimum Economic Security

Henderson:

We are in step 1 - to develop a list of recommendations for consideration by the Conference. This list is to be based on the recommendations of the Planning Session plus new ideas and is to be completed by April 2.

Step 2 is the staff is to collect background information, including statistics, proposed programs, recommendations to the Council what we think would be a good procedure. We want to get the material necessary for this meeting.

Step 3, we would prepare one page summaries for each recommendation to be presented to the Conference June 1 and 2, recommendations, and the actions necessary to implement these recommendations, specific legislative action, administrative action, impact, coverage, cost, the pros and cons of the recommendations.

At 12:30 the meeting adjourned until 1:30 p.m.

The meeting reconvened at 1:30 p.m.

Henderson:

I. Job Creation

We should present our views on what we think the content should be in terms of discussions or solutions to these problems. Presumably we will have a rather detailed discussion with them as to give and take , the whys, we have this part of the Conference.

This Task Force will meet again on April 1, begining at 4:00 p.m. and spill over to the next day. We could get here a couple of hours before meeting with the Council. If we could meet from 3:30 to 5:30 and have a session.

Q: I won't be able to be here, I have another meeting that day.

Q: How do you feel about sending a substitute?

Christensen:

If the task force wanted to do that. It wouldn't be necessary. Representatives of the task force are here to present and discuss the problems . We would have on the agenda so many hours set aside to deal with "Job Creation", time for questions and answers.

Henderson:

We would meet here at 4:00 p.m. April 1. Second, we do not really know how we want to present the agenda to them. We have to decide this between now and April 1.

Christensen:

Do you want us to make up the agenda?

Henderson:

Yes. Do that with Ed. (Sylvester)

The possible approach for staff work is only concerned with April 2. We have a step by step arrangement. We are now in step 1. What we are doing in step one is to get prepared by April 2. We would like to see what recommendation we are really dealing with we now want to leave out; the kind of papers; data we want to gather when we come to mid-May mailing, then we can get to step 3. We want two page summary sheets for each recommendation we want to deal with. What we will do from A through F. This is the basis for presentation of this section to members of ;the White House Conference - recommendations, action necessary to implement the recommendation, specific legislative action and administrative action, necessary arrangements with employers and labor unions, etc.; need for proposed services.

Job Creation.

We need a program setting forth legislation. One page on rural, one page on jobs, etc. We also thought when we were in step 2 we could get the thinking to a point of a 5 page document with 20 recommendations. We need to take them and examine them and assign them to 10 or 20 people, each to a cross section of people and let them give us a one page reaction and we would

incorporate it somewhere and have it become part of the document. We need to get participation outside the task force. We meet with the Council next weekend and go over ours. In the meantime we should be receiving the one page summary on the 20 recommendations to channel to 10 to 20 people. Each report back no later than May 1, in order to give the staff two weeks to work on them. We would have about three weeks at the most to do step 2, until April 25. Get the enthusiasm about the concept of the panel; get reactions and their thinking before they get there.

I think we can get reactions on Saturday that they ought to know, that is the kind of thinking we have in the back of our minds.

If rural areas, we can get 8 to 10 people to give us a quick reaction from a cross section of people. We are going to reword this.

We do not want reactions from Federal agencies.

Q: Do you utilize Federal agencies as resouces?

A: We want papers from outside the Government.

I. Job Creation

A. Rural industry

B. Job redefinition

C. Youth

A becomes II

B becomes I

C to be put in III

D becomes part of I

E becomes IV

F -

1. Go under I

   Job creation

   Job locations

2. 1 can go under I

   private employment

3. Discrimination and training

   Take 3

   a would be under II

   b. beginning with "develop"

4. Employers to work potential should be under I

   opportunities for upgrading and training. You are asking employers "Why don't you take a new look?" In other areas here we are talking about upgrading and promotions. We are also talking about looking at the potential the man has.

Nicol: Simply put down two reasons involved. In the work we have been doing we have developed papers suggesting a greater emphasis be made on up-grading these now built into the program. The theory being is that if we can move some of the semi-skilled workers up to skilled jobs. Take them off the streets and try to train them.

5 should be under II

6 should be under II

7 should be under I

Strengthen Recruitment and job development programs for minority groups - the statement job creation does.

You could use I so long as you discuss it comprehensively.

Union resources and development program.

Technical information and assistance program - II

1 - I
2 - III
3 - II

Improve public assistance and welfare program. On the recommendations should it be a small number or larger. If larger, should we try to give it a new structure?

A: Expand the potential to benefit and who should do it? Should it be done under the auspices of welfare? Under Labor? or where? If we have someone develop a paper on this particular subject, he should be given a mandate, saying we are interested in this paper, and want to know what welfare concepts are presently operating.

On page 12, d should be II

Henderson: We ourselves want to give a particular thrust where an important impact will be in solving problems. We are thinking of occupational training.

Page 12 d ..... operation of Federal state employment services. They ought to be doing a better job.

2 should go under H.

I, page 14, Programs for Rural Negroes. The rural situation will all be placed under item I.

Present employment orientation. Expand training and present employment, sort of programs, support of pre-employment devices; talk about achievement processes.

I - programs

1 - I

2.a. should be III - present employment services

3. Expand the labor mobility demonstration program under MDTA... this is really relocation. We have the ability to give resources and grants to federally financed relocation programs and individuals.

3. Expand the labor III

4. I

5. Improve agricultural labor standards - put under IV. Extension of Workmen's Compensation, and unemployment insurance to agricultural workers.

Page 16 - for those employed. Employment, paying jobs and opportunities. People not employed should get some kind of income.

Q: Page 16. J - 1, 2,3. Should we really talk about our basic guarantees and assistance?

1. Employment situation for the Negro.

2. How large could the minimum wage be? There should be a a certain minimum income, a minimum standard for which we should work. It has broader economic implications too. You could talk about extension of unemployment insurance.

Q. Combine 5 and 6 under J, or keepd separate?

A. Keep 5 and item J separate.

Q: Where do we put 5; and where do we put J?

A. If you call IV Human Resources Development, 5 goes under IV.

Henderson:

We need jobs for rural farm Negroes. Come up with a set of recommendations to subsidize farming as an industry among Negroes. What are we going to do about farm occupations and industry? When we talk about job creation, this possibly could come here. Could we get into item I Negro farm operators?

Put a component in here on Negro farmer as an operator; farming as an occupation or business, and then as the staff we will try to get a handle on it and some solutions to these problems.

Newman:

There are two places this could follow, the first being that under b. 2.; and, secondly, under "Discrimination" where you are going to get a spectrum of things, in cost to the farmer and other things. Take the case of the Negro veteran here. He forms his own operation and got GI training. He did this with white veterans, however, when he went out to get a GI loan, it was a smaller loan in porportion. We have to indicate areas of Federal, state, and local discrimination. We can do it in respect to the farm and small business loans. Get it in here where we can propose new avenues to solving this problem, and to correct discrimination practices; new solutions to become effective, plus outside subsidizing.

A. This is good.

Q. There are two specific items as an illustration among the list of recommendations. I am wondering whether you would want a brief moment or two....

We are trying to operate in this show by a con census; we are still groping for alternatives, pros and cons. We might come up with some other alternatives, that is why we put number 5..

You ought to send these in.

We ought to develop recommendations a little more... particularly the implementation services, recommendations to the Commission on technique and .

2. The tax credit for training - I wonder if it is a very solid measure in terms of technical aspects of tax credit. Would it be for specific training or to subsidize companies who are already doing the training. I would like to get this into the hopper.

Henderson:

When we go up before the Council, we are not saying these are solutions, we are recommending; they will want to present papers for the White House Conference. There is this point of view - these are the things that are important and we need to prepare them and get a draft.

There is a suggestion here on tax credit to stimulate training for industry.

Henderson:

We will not be making a presentation on Friday evening but on Saturday only. Will the members of this task force be able to be here at 4:00 p.m. on April 1?

On the whole business of discrimination, I would hope we would have orientation, individual complaints and particulars from whatever agency is able to do this on its own initiative; have a broad scale investigation of what is going on. We also need

a pertinent paper on wage hour violations. We will ask the staff to isolate and develop our components in some sort of priorities. Bring before the Council a document structured along these lines and simply say that the solutions to the problems of economic security are within these priorities that we are presenting to you. We do not have all the pros and cons, but we can suggest to you why we think these are priorities. Between April 2nd and June 1 we will develop substantive material to support the pros and cons.

Emory Via:

Most of the recommendations are good. If I have to establish priorities of Discrimination in Employment, number 5, why not change it to "Prohibitive Discrimination". I would argue it is more important to get into administration this kind of initiative from the complaint areas. I would like to see a provision that takes us down to one employer or one union man.

A: I think really it is awfully hard to answer this kind of thing.

Henderson:

Here are the four areas. Frankly, we are only in a position to suggest right now that these five items constitute priorities under the section of discrimination. What we are saying is that we just can't define the details of priorities, only the areas of problems.

Q: At what point does the task force make a decision?

A: I hope that, as we leave here, you will review these papers and communicate right to Colonel McKenzie on your ideas. Our stamp of approval on it will be next Friday.

Two groups have prepared substantive documents on capital, manpower, resources, budget, etc. There are some concerns around these areas. Much of it covers education and the housing area. There is a whole structure of views and social changes. We do intend to incorporate this.

Mirengoff:

One way would be to recognize the proposal or suggestion and indicate that in the area of job security and welfare. Many of the proposals will be incorporated and put together a structured package.

Henderson:

We need a paper that can be circulated before the Conference and be prepared to discuss all the issues and problems at hand. I appreciate your coming. This has been a long day. We will be in touch between now and Friday.

The meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 28, 1966

To : Members
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

From: Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare Vivian W. Henderson/jmb

1. Minutes of the meeting of March 25 are under preparation and will be mailed to you within the next day or so.

2. The Task Force will hold its second meeting Friday afternoon, April 1 at 4 P.M., 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, Room 301. The purpose of the meeting is to prepare for the meeting with the Conference Council Saturday, April 2.

3. On Saturday, April 2, 10:30 A.M. the Task Force will meet with the Council in the Executive Office Building of the White House. At that time the Council will receive from the Task Force proposals in the area of economic security and welfare.

4. Enclosed is a copy of the initial draft of the document that will provide the basis of our recommendations. You will recall that the document is undergoing revision as a result of discussions in our first meeting.

5. I am also enclosing a list of Task Force members and members of the staff.

Encls 3

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 29, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

From: Dorothy K. Newman, Member of the Staff DKN

Subject: Content and Format of the Report for Saturday, April 1

To meet the test imposed by the Council in past sessions and the optimum requirements outlined by Mr. Christensen that would lead to fewer items and greater depth in the presentation of those proposed, it may be desirable

1. To group suggestions and develop each group and its parts in terms of need, feasibility, cost, impact, and legislative history.

2. To present a time table for introduction and final accomplishment of the goal.

The present design is clear and useful as a means of summary, but allows the documentation required only if enough space is permitted at the left for developing the rationale and at the right for showing how the legislation or administrative action is to take place, and what the cost, and economic and personal or social impact will be.

The program proposals do not include many made within the Department of Labor itself for the Council of Economic Advisers, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and others, some of which are especially relevant, and the format and content of which might be helpful.

Major recommendations having a huge economic impact, such as the negative income tax, appear to receive equal weight with additions to training programs already in operation.

Recommendations that are alike or could be substitutes for one another are listed separately, as, for instance, family allowances and the negative income tax. Either is complex and requires substantive development to preclude unnecessary discussion.

Gaps in the list are, for instance, major measures to improve income security, such as removing or reducing the payroll tax among low-wage workers; envolving a system of National, State, and local goals for services to expand job opportunities; provisions for low-income housing and a substantial program of rehabilitation that could penetrate the construction apprenticeship system; programs to reduce seasonality of employment which especially affect Negro workers; etc. etc.

The most significant omissions I find are in the areas of basic economic proposals to ensure full employment and occupational advances; proposals that help erase and combat discrimination; and needed welfare programs.

Perhaps expected proposals from others will fill these gaps and you are doubtless aware of them as well as many other items that could be added.

Let me know how I can help.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 30, 1966

To : Members
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

From: Vivian W. Henderson
Chairman

Vivian W. Henderson/jmb

1. Enclosed you will find an unedited version of proceedings of the meeting on March 25. There are several inaccuracies in the minutes. Despite this, I believe the minutes provide useful information and should be helpful as we prepare for the April 1 meeting of the Task Force. In particular I call your attention to the second half of the proceedings beginning about page 18. This portion of the minutes is concerned with some of the concrete suggestions for the work of the Task Force.

2. We have requested Government Transportation orders for the April 1 meeting which have been sent under separate cover.

For discussion purposes only

PRELIMINARY LIST OF ACTION POSSIBILITIES

For Consideration by the Task Force
on Economic Security and Welfare

March 31, 1966
2nd Draft

I

The faster the American economy is able to offer employment opportunities at a livable wage to all who need jobs, the faster minority groups will be able to reach a desirable level of economic security. While the nation intensifies its efforts to achieve this objective the following constructive actions should be undertaken since they likewise contribute significantly to improve the economic security of minority groups.

Recommendations	Action Needed

Reaching & Sustaining

I. ~~MAINTAINING~~ A FULL EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY

The effectiveness of measures to improve the economic security and welfare of minority groups depends, to a very large extent, on ~~the~~ reaching and maintenance of a healthy, growing, full employment economy. Measures to achieve this condition should continue to receive the widest support. In addition, measures should be considered to help minority group members retain their gains during any periods of recession that might occur.

Federal legislative action supported by labor and industry.

Include tax policy –

& additional

II. CREATE NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITY GROUPS

B. Establish a ~~permanent~~ federally subsidized public employment program to provide constructive and socially useful employment for jobless & underemployed workers in such categories as:

Federal legislative action aimed at utilizing State and local government and community non-government organizational resources.

1. Workers who require work experience, training & ~~and~~ supplemental services to ~~develop needed skills to~~ increase their employability.

2. Workers of low skill and educational attainment who lack potential for higher-skill occupations and who have a need for a last-resort source of gainful employment.

3. Workers who are only temporarily unemployed, need additional income, but do not qualify for unemployment insurance or for other income maintenance programs.

4. Workers engaged in seasonal industries such as agriculture, forestry, construction, or fishing, who can be helped by providing a regular program of off-season employment to supplement their primary jobs.

Recommendations	Action Needed
5. Workers who need special assistance in the job market, such as older workers, nonemployable relief recipients, or the mentally and physically handicapped, ~~and~~ who can benefit from useful employment under carefully supervised conditions.	
B. Thoroughly evaluate and modify local transportation routes and facilities to give minority groups access to the widest possible range of jobs in the job market.	Local and national legislative and administrative action.
C. Institute a program of federal wage supplements as incentives to employers to hire, train, and upgrade workers who are at a special disadvantage in the job market.	Federal legislative action

Recommendations	Action Needed
D. Encourage "Negro-owned business enterprises" by:	
1. Increasing the availability of federal loans, grants, and technical assistance. ~~in appropriate geographic areas~~ and ~~categories of enterprises~~.	Federal legislative and administrative action.
2. Assistance from non-government sources for Negroes starting or operating business enterprises, including the extension of franchises to nonwhites and the encouragement of joint ventures by white and nonwhite businessmen.	Private industry.
E. Develop and aggressively administer a program to improve job opportunities for Negroes in rural-farm areas including:	Federal legislative and administrative action.
1. A federally subsidized program of employment on socially useful jobs in rural areas during the off-season.	
2. Aggressive administration of community development programs to ~~bring~~ create new industry to rural areas through financial incentives, improvement of community facilities, and the training of local rural workers.	without encouraging non-farm
3. Experimentation with the economic development district approach authorized under the Public Works and Economic Development Act.	
4. Experiments with measures to structure the job market for migratory and other seasonal farm workers so as to provide year-round employment and build a skilled and stable farm work force. This would include efforts to develop combinations of complementary seasonal farm and nonfarm jobs, major changes in recruitment and transportation facilities,	

Recommendations	Action Needed
arrangements for central assignment of workers to a succession of temporary jobs by the employment service and by associations of employers, and other experimental approaches.	
5. Develop an experimental-demonstration program of assistance to Negro farm operators, including means and incentives to successfully operate and gain ownership of farms through a combination of loans, grants, educational and vocational training, counseling, technical assistance, ~~and~~ provision of complementary off-season or part-time off-farm job opportunities.	
6.	
A ~~B~~. <u>Positive efforts by private and public employers to improve job opportunities for Negro workers including:</u>	Private employers and employer associations, assisted by minority group organizations, government agencies, and labor unions. Possible legislative incentives.
5 ~~1~~. Location of new establishments in areas accessible to Negro workers.	
~~2~~. Modification of job duties to facilitate the employment of low-skilled workers.	
3. Review of job requirements to eliminate unrealistic educational and test specifications.	
2 ~~4~~. Positive recruitment of minority groups in special cooperative programs with government agencies and minority organizations.	
1 ~~5~~. Systematic reviews of the work potential of nonwhites on their present staff to insure full use of their potential and to encourage upgrading.	
6 Senior programs should be ~~language~~ undertaken by local, state, and, federal agencies.	

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

TASK FORCE MEETING ON ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

April 2, 1966

PRELIMINARY LIST OF ACTION POSSIBILITIES

Presented to the Planning Council
White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
by the Task Force on
Economic Security and Welfare

April 2, 1966

Recommendations	Action Needed

I. REACHING AND SUSTAINING A FULL EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY

The faster the American economy is able to offer employment opportunities at a livable wage to all who need jobs, the faster minority groups will be able to reach a desirable level of economic security. While the nation intensifies its efforts to achieve this objective the following constructive actions should be undertaken since they likewise can contribute significantly to improve the economic security of minority groups.

Federal legislative action supported by labor and industry.

Recession policies

II. CREATE NEW AND ADDITIONAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITY GROUPS

A. Positive efforts by private employers to improve job opportunities for Negro workers including:

1. Systematic reviews of the work potential of nonwhites on their present staff to insure full use of their potential and to encourage upgrading.

2. Positive recruitment of minority groups in special cooperative programs with government agencies and minority organizations.

3. Review of job requirements to eliminate unrealistic educational and test specifications.

description(?)

4. Modification of job duties to facilitate the employment of low-skilled workers.

Private employers and employer associations, assisted by minority group organizations, government agencies, and labor unions. Possible legislative incentives.

~~Recession policies~~

Recommendations	Action Needed
5. Location of new establishments in areas accessible to Negro workers.	
6. (Federal, State, and local agencies should undertake similar programs.)	
B. Establish a ~~permanent~~ financed federally subsidized public employment program to provide constructive and socially useful employment for jobless and underemployed workers in such categories as:	Federal legislative action aimed at utilizing State and local government and community non-government organizational resources.
1. Workers who require work experience, training and supplemental services to develop needed skills to increase their employability.	
2. Workers of low skill and educational attainment who lack potential for higher-skill occupations and who have a need for a last-resort source of gainful employment.	
3. Workers who are only temporarily unemployed, need additional income, but do not qualify for unemployment insurance or for other income maintenance programs.	
4. Workers engaged in seasonal industries such as agriculture, forestry, construction, or fishing, who can be helped by providing a regular program of off-season employment to supplement their primary jobs.	
5. Workers who need special assistance in the job market, such as older workers, employable relief recipients, or the mentally and physically handicapped, who can benefit from useful employment under carefully supervised conditions.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
C. Thoroughly evaluate and modify local transportation routes and facilities to give minority groups access to the widest possible range of jobs in the job market.	Local and national legislative and administrative action.
D. Encourage "Negro-owned business enterprises" by:	
1. Increasing the availability of federal loans, grants, and technical assistance.	Federal legislative and administrative action
2. Assistance from non-government sources for Negros starting or operating business enterprises, including the extension of credit and franchises to nonwhites and the encouragement of joint ventures by white and nonwhite businessmen.	Private industry.
E. Develop and aggressively administer a program to improve job opportunities for Negroes in rural-farm areas including:	Federal legislative and administrative action.
1. A federally subsidized program of employment on socially useful jobs in rural areas during the off-season, such as beautification and highway improvement programs.	
2. Aggressive administration of community development programs to create new industry in rural areas without creating unemployment elsewhere, through financial incentives, improvement of community facilities, and the training of local rural workers.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
3. Experimentation with the economic development district approach authorized under the Public Works and Economic Development Act.	
4. Experiments with measures to structure the job market for migratory and other seasonal farm workers so as to provide year-round employment and build a skilled and stable farm work force. This would include efforts to develop combinations of complementary seasonal farm and nonfarm jobs, major changes in recruitment and transportation facilities, arrangements for central assignment of workers to a succession of temporary jobs by the employment service and by associations of employers, and other experimental approaches.	
5. Develop an experimental-demonstration program of assistance to Negro farm operators, including means and incentives to successfully operate and gain ownership of farms through a combination of loans, grants, educational and vocational training, counseling, and technical assistance.	
6. Provision of complementary off-season or part-time off-farm job opportunities to supplement farm operator incomes.	

Disc.

Recommendations	Action Needed
III. ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS	
A. Strengthen the administration of Title VII (prohibition of discrimination by employers and unions and employment agencies) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by:	Federal administrative action
1. Requesting more adequate budget and staff.	
2. Establishing federal guidelines for tests used to evaluate current and prospective employees to insure that there are no artificial barriers to hiring and upgrading minority group members.	
3. Emphasis on programs to upgrade the Negro work force through mandatory review of promotion programs and of seniority systems.	
4. Emphasizing positive remedial action in conciliation agreements, including encouragement of special recruitment and on-the-job training programs, and alteration of underlying patterns and conditions.	
5. Extensive use of complaints initiated by Commissioners to alter basic patterns of discrimination.	
6. Expanding educational programs to reduce discrimination in employment.	
7. Stressing affirmative action to change discrimination patterns through such means as informal conferences with employers who have failed to aggressively recruit, train, or promote nonwhites.	

Disc.

Recommendations	Action Needed
8. Strengthen liaison with civil rights organizations including briefing sessions and special materials for their field workers.	
9. Develop performance criteria and other enforcement aids through research and analysis of reports from employers and unions.	
B. <u>Amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, including</u>:	Federal legislative action
1. Expanding coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with 8 or more employees or members.	
2. Authorizing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue cease and desist orders.	
3. Authorizing the EEOC to order monetary awards to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.	

Dist-

Recommendations	Action Needed
C. Strengthen the administration of Executive Order 11246 (nondiscrimination on government contracts) by:	Federal administrative action
1. Compliance reviews prior to the award of government contracts.	
2. Requiring the employer to demonstrate affirmative recruitment, training, and promotion action directed at insuring equal employment opportunity.	
3. Establishing specific performance criteria for objective measurement of compliance.	
4. Increasing compliance budget and staff, in federal agencies with compliance responsibilities.	
D. Undertake effective enforcement of Title VI (prohibition on discrimination in state or local programs financed by federal funds) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:	Federal administrative action
1. Expand staff and budget resources for enforcement.	
2. Develop performance criteria and other enforcement aids.	
3. Expand training programs for State and local staffs.	

Disc.

Recommendations	Action Needed
4. Review Federal government economic assistance programs to insure nondiscriminatory administration. Utilize them in a positive manner to break existing area patterns of job and business discrimination; e.g.,	
(a) Loan and technical assistance programs of the Department of Agriculture (recently surveyed by the Civil Rights Commission).	
(b) Loan and grant programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.	
(c) Activities of the Small Business Administration.	
(d) Housing, urban renewal and other programs.	
E. Develop more effective cooperation between federal, state, and local fair employment agencies.	Federal, state and local administrative action
F. Eliminate discrimination in employment in Federal, state, and local governments. The Federal government should become a model employer.	Federal, state, and local administrative action, supported by non-government community organizations

Disc

Recommendations	Action Needed
G. Conduct a comprehensive Government technical assistance program to help employers and unions develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities, to exchange information on the experience of employers and unions who have recently eliminated discriminatory practices, and to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing severe problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.	Federal administrative action
H. Embark upon a massive educational program to reduce prejudice among employers, unions, government officials, workers, and the general population.	Federal legislative and administrative action add priority
1. Establish an appropriate office with specific responsibility for coordinating such a program, and with adequate staff and funds.	
2. Develop effective educational materials for distribution to schools, unions, and employer associations.	
3. Aggressively seek opportunities to present facts and ideas to groups of industry, labor, and other representatives.	

Dist.

Recommendations	Action Needed
4. Develop and support special programs to create constructive racial attitudes among children and teenagers through school channels.	
5. Develop nationwide educational programs for teachers, counselors, personnel directors, supervisors, and others who teach, select, or evaluate people.	
6. Develop and utilize emblems, symbols, awards, contests, and related ideas to reward cooperating organizations, and to stimulate interest and pride in anti-discrimination activities.	
7. Encourage establishment of local and State Equal Opportunity Councils to stimulate anti-discrimination efforts.	
I. Insure minority group representation on State and local advisory, planning, and action committees under agricultural and vocational education, the MDTA, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and other federally aided programs.	Federal administrative action

Dist.

5:45
4:40
4:15

Recommendations	Action Needed
J. Eliminate racial discrimination in apprenticeship programs:	Employers, labor unions, and Federal administrative action
1. Develop new techniques to recruit young Negroes into all craft unions.	
2. Expand pre-apprenticeship training programs to help disadvantaged youths qualify for admission.	
3. Revise selection criteria to eliminate unnecessary barriers which handicap minority group members.	
K. Develop a well-publicized and systematic program to eliminate discriminatory employment practices in nonprofit organizations, and utilize the influence of such organizations by:	Action by nonprofit organizations and Federal administrative action
1. Working through national non-profit organizations to persuade local affiliates to drop discriminatory practices.	
2. Persuading nonprofit organizations such as churches and hospitals to withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination.	
3. Provision of technical assistance by national organizations to local affiliates to help them review hiring practices and standards and to engage in positive recruitment of minority group members.	

Information Centers.

Recommendations	Action Needed
IV. HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES	
A. A large scale effort to develop, stimulate, and implement training and upgrading programs by private employers, directed especially at disadvantaged workers:	Private industry: federal legislative action to provide incentives; support from labor unions
1. Introduce programs to encourage the reinvestment of gains from rising productivity into training and upgrading programs, both within and outside the plant.	
2. Provide additional tax credits to stimulate in-plant education and training.	for New training –
3. Use Federal Government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts.	
B. Develop and implement a comprehensive program for preparing disadvantaged youths for a productive place in the job market.	Federal, State and local administrative action
1. Greatly expand, update, and broaden high school vocational education programs, emphasizing training in new or growing occupations, utilizing the latest equipment, and closing the gap between the school and work settings.	Action by educational authorities and federal legislative action

Recommendations	Action Needed
2. Provide funds and training programs to sharply expand the number of counselors and counseling services for in-school youths, including efforts to motivate minority youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, reduction of dropouts, and vocational guidance by skilled advisers who are acquainted with the requirements of industry.	Legislative and administrative action by federal and by local educational authorities
3. Greatly expand and improve vocational counseling and training in rural areas, gearing facilities realistically to nonagricultural occupations in which most rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas. Achieve rapid expansion of area vocational schools authorized under the Vocational Education Act of 1963.	Federal, state, and local legislative and administrative action
4. Expand government and nongovernment assistance to improve the quality and scope of education available in the small, predominantly Negro colleges. Conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller Negro colleges qualify for job opportunities available in the health or other growing technical fields.	Resources from all government and all nongovernment sources. Federal and State legislative and administrative action; action by educational authorities and industry
5. Expand and strengthen the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, including:	Federal legislative action
(a) Providing additional resources;	
(b) Reducing the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14;	
(c) Admitting young people between the ages of 22 and 24 to the out-of-school work experience program in order to improve the employability of those with severe unemployment problems.	
(d) Facilitating the use of MDTA training to prepare Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates for employment.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
6. Experiment with Job Corps Programs in urban settings, realistically geared to the employment and social environment that participants are likely to face upon graduation from the Job Corps.	Federal administrative action
7. Revise the hiring practices of Federal, State, and local governments to permit the probationary employment of juveniles with police records involving only minor crimes.	
C. Undertake a massive attack on adult illiteracy.	Federal and state legislative action; action by educational authorities and cooperating community agencies
D. Expand the authority and basic conceptual framework of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to relate anti-discrimination efforts to a comprehensive manpower development program. This would include giving EEOC authority to refer workers to training programs, to provide funds for manpower development programs, and to take other positive measures.	Federal legislative action
E. Strengthen Recruitment and job development programs for minority groups, including the Federal-State Employment Service System.	Federal and state legislative and administrative action including implementation of recent Task Force report prepared for the Secretary of Labor
1. Federalization of the employment service system.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
2. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, prevention of discrimination, intensified work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that State personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members.	
3. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include experimental Human Resource Centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance such as diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision. (These centers would be somewhat similar to Youth Opportunity Centers but they would deal with adults.)	Federal and State administrative and legislative action
4. Develop strong anti-discrimination practices in the employment services.	
F. <u>Increase the effectiveness of the MDTA program, including</u>:	Federal legislative and administrative action
1. Positive efforts to include more minority trainees, by liberalizing the recruitment, testing and selection process;	
2. Additional stress on on-the-job training;	
3. Reducing paper work and time lags;	
4. Maintaining closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and encouraging direct contact between prospective employers and trainees throughout the instruction process:	

Recommendations	Action Needed
5. Expanding MDTA training in fields other than specific occupations to enhance the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., training in remedial education, communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc.	
6. Expanding training to upgrade employed workers by defraying the usual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing disadvantaged workers for better jobs;	
7. Greater flexibility in MDTA training allowances, including:	
(a) Increasing allowances to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance recipients to accept occupational training;	
(b) Reducing the requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances;	
(c) Raising training allowances in training courses of long duration.	
G. Amend the MDTA to institute a Federally financed program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State, and local penal institutions.	Federal legislative action
H. Expand the MDTA experimental and demonstration program.	Federal legislative and administrative action

Recommendations	Action Needed
1. Develop and test new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of disadvantaged workers.	
2. Strengthen and expedite the experimental MDTA program under which former prison inmates are assisted in obtaining surety bonds needed to qualify for employment.	
3. Expand the MDTA labor mobility demonstration program which provides financial assurance and supplemental services for unemployed workers who are moving to out-of-area jobs.	
I. <u>Develop and implement a large scale program to facilitate the economic and social assimilation of rural Negroes migrating to the city, including</u>:	Federal legislative action, in cooperation with action by State and local government and community agencies
1. Provision of centers in rural surplus labor areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for job and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling.	
2. Arranging reception facilities in urban labor demand areas, equipped to help the in-migrants to solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period.	
3. Provision of relocation allowances under adequate safeguards, to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs without imposing burdens on the target communities.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
V. DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY: IMPROVE LABOR STANDARDS AND WELFARE	
A. Improve federal minimum wage, protect and improve labor standards, including:	Federal and State legislative action.
1. Expanding coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated.	
2. Increase the minimum wage under the FLSA, permitting adjustments to help workers of very low productivity obtain gainful employment.	
3. Extend the protection of the Labor Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries.	
4. Extend workmen's compensation to farm workers and other excluded groups.	
5. Prohibit child labor on farms outside of school hours.	
B. Improve the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system by:	Federal legislative action.
1. Extending coverage to small employers, farm and agricultural processing workers, employees of non-profit institutions, and other currently excluded groups.	
2. Raising the level of benefits to at least 50% of the average weekly wage, with a target of 66 2/3% in future years.	
3. Extending the duration of unemployment insurance benefits to a minimum of 26 weeks.	
4. Providing additional federal assistance for benefit payments to the long-term unemployed and to help States meet unusually severe unemployment situations.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
C. <u>Improve the effectiveness of public assistance programs in providing a minimum income for the poor by:</u>	Federal legislative and administrative action.
1. Eliminating the separate categories of public assistance and substituting a single category based exclusively on need.	
2. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.	
3. Under existing programs require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.	
4. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents.	
5. Adjust public assistance rules to encourage recipients to seek employment:	
a. By increasing the amount of earnings which can be retained without reducing the level of benefits;	
b. By insuring that recipients who go to work will not endanger their subsequent access to benefits in times of future need;	
c. By continuing non-monetary services to recipients who have found jobs, where such services are needed to help with long-range adjustments;	

Recommendations	Action Needed
d. By permitting teenagers to keep a substantial proportion of job earnings or MDTA or NYC allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.	
D. Simplify determination of need by:	State administrative action.
1. Accepting certifications of need made by community agencies other than the Public Welfare Agency.	
2. Experimenting with the substitution of affidavits from applicants for intensive means test investigations.	
3. Simplifying budget procedures by eliminating variations in items used, and consolidating items.	
E. Permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in States which cannot or will not meet Federal standards.	Federal legislative action.
F. Expand non-cash welfare services to solve the basic causes of poverty among needy people:	Federal and State legislative and administrative action.
1. Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
2. Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients.	
3. Separate the administration of welfare services from the more mechanical extension of cash assistance.	
4. Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs.	
G. <u>Relieve the acute staffing problem in public assistance agencies:</u>	Federal, State, and Local administrative action.
1. Employ non-professional "expediters" to locate, identify, and inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services.	
2. Develop case work and related activities which can be conducted by supplemental subprofessional personnel and develop large scale programs to recruit and train such aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.	
3. Provide resources for a substantial expansion in the number of case workers and for a reduction of clients per case worker.	
4. Improve and expand programs to recruit and train professional case workers.	
5. Provide higher salaries for case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
H. <u>Facilitate availability of federally subsidized programs for disadvantaged people which are secured largely on the basis of local development to all areas of comparable need</u>.	Federal administrative action.
1. Allocate available resources to insure the best geographic coverage, including both rural and urban areas.	
2. A greatly expanded technical assistance to communities, both rural and urban, which lack the leadership, experience, or sophistication to develop, process, or conduct projects for their disadvantaged people.	

Recommendations	Action needed

VI. PREPARATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO STRUCTURE THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROVISION OF MANPOWER SERVICES FOR MINORITY GROUPS

Develop a comprehensive structured program to survey and meet the employment, training, and related manpower needs of minority groups. This program should include:	Federal legislative and administrative action.

A. Preparation of a "Human Resources Budget" to systematically:

1. Estimate the number, characteristics, and manpower problems of the specific groups in the nonwhite population who require assistance in meeting their job and training needs. This assessment should not only be national in scope but should focus on the 70-odd cities and five or six Southern States in which Negroes are concentrated. Both urban and rural areas of Negro concentration should be included. Data on unemployment, underemployment, and skill attainment should be collected in predominantly Negro neighborhoods on a block-by-block basis if necessary. The assessment should include estimates of future needs based on population, labor force and socio-economic projections.

2. Identify the types of manpower services needed by each of the specific population groups involved; e.g., by in-school youths, out-of-school jobless youths, workers of low skill and educational attainment, older workers, female workers, etc.

3. Establish specific program goals and a time schedule for meeting the goals. These goals should include the number and types of services to be provided, the specific number and types of minority group people to be served, specific locations, and a definite time schedule.

Recommendations	Action Needed
4. Appraise existing Government and non-Government programs to determine the extent to which they can help meet the established goals, and to assign definite priorities and targets to specific agencies.	
5. Identify the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals. This would include determination of the nature, size, timing, and location of the additional programs.	
B. Coordinated efforts to develop, propose, and support specific programs and increased resources for which the Human Resources Budget has indicated a need.	Federal administrative and legislative action supported by nongovernment and local government groups
C. A systematic program to evaluate the progress of minority groups in the job market, by area, industry, occupation, and type of worker; and to assess the effectiveness of the Government services involved.	Federal and State administrative and legislative action

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THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 26, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Members
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

FROM : VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, Chairman Vivian W. Henderson/jmb
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

SUBJECT: April 20 Document on Economic Security and Welfare

Enclosed is the latest version of the task force document on economic security and welfare. The document is sent to you for your exclusive use and is not to be distributed to anyone without the approval of Mr. Edward Sylvester, Vice Chairman, White House Conference Staff.

Please let us have any suggestions you may have on the document as it presently stands.

Enclosure

Preliminary
For Discussion Purposes Only.

TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

Proposed Recommendations

April 20, 1966

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INTRODUCTION

The employment and income problems of the Negro population, to which the Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare addressed itself, are complex, long-standing, and rooted in deep economic, social, psychological, and political disabilities. Bold, creative, and large-scale action is necessary if rapid progress is to be made toward equal opportunity, fair and full employment, decent living standards, full use of human potential, and security for the nation's Negro citizens.

There is no single, simple, or quick solution for the Negro's economic problems. The range of action needed to achieve an adequate level of employment and income security must cover the multi-faceted problems of many different sub-groups. Assistance to jobless Negro youths would not be adequate to meet the needs of underemployed Negro adults. Action to help farm workers would not necessarily improve the lot of people who work in the city. Programs to aid the unemployed mother who depends on public assistance for a livelihood would be of little utility for the Negro professional or businessman. Lasting solutions must be tailored, therefore, to the particular needs of specific components of the Negro population.

Moreover, it must be re-emphasized that the economic problems Negroes face along with other disadvantaged workers are compounded for Negroes by the continuing widespread presence of racial segregation and racial discrimination. Thus, solutions must go beyond strictly economic measures and be related to sociological, political, and psychological approaches.

The Task Force has attempted to consider all of the fundamental factors underlying the Negro's economic disadvantages. A wide-ranging battery of specific and realistic actions is proposed, calculated to achieve sharp progress on a variety of fronts--jobs, training, non-discrimination, supportive services, labor standards, income maintenance, public assistance, and others. Moreover, the recommended action involves not merely one, but all sectors of the American community--the federal as well as state and local governments; business enterprises as well as organized labor; educational bodies; community organizations such as churches, and health and welfare groups; and the spectrum of national associations. The intention is to mobilize the nation's brainpower and material resources for a systematic and many-sided effort to eliminate the artificial barriers that prevent the Negro's full participation in the economic and social process.

The Social and Economic Setting

Recommendations to improve the economic security and welfare of the Negro people must take into account the large magnitude of the Negro's disadvantages in the job market, the wide gap between the income and employment status of whites and nonwhites, and the changing characteristics and geographic distribution of the Negro population and labor force. They must take into account sharp and decisive advances in technology and other such forces which generate abundant benefits to some and disproportionate burdens to others.

Today there are more than 20 million Negro Americans. They comprise more than one-tenth of the nation's total population.

There are some 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force; i.e., employed or looking for jobs. They include about 3.5 million women. By 1970, the total is expected to reach ten million.

The figure of 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force presents an incomplete picture. Many members of the working age population are not in the labor force but could be if jobs and incentives in the form of decent earnings were consistently available to them. Thus, eight percent of all Negro men aged 25 to 64 were not in the labor force in 1963, compared with only five percent of comparable whites. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro women who work or seek jobs is considerably higher than the proportion for whites, since more of the former are primary family wage earners or must supplement the wages of their husbands.

Today, the Negro population is predominantly an urban one. About three-fourths of all Negroes live in urban areas, mainly in larger cities with populations of more than 50,000. The six cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles alone account for one-fifth of all Negro people. There are 18 cities in which 100,000 or more Negroes live--these cities account for almost one-third of the total Negro population. The concentration of Negroes in largely segregated areas of central cities, while white residents, industrial establishments, and offices move toward the suburbs, constitutes an important factor in framing proposals to improve economic and welfare conditions.

The heavy out-movement of Negroes from the South in search of better economic, educational, social, and political status (3.3 million left the South between 1940 and 1965) is an important factor in planning action programs. However, over one-half of all Negroes still live in the Southern States, and there are recent indications that the rate of out-migration is decreasing.

Most of the Negroes who still live in rural areas are in the South. Even in that region, however, almost three-fifth of all Negro people are urban residents. In 1960, two out of every five residents of Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans were Negroes.

While urban problems must command an increasing proportion of our attention, we cannot overlook two facts. First, many of the hard-core economic security and welfare problems Negroes face are in rural areas. Second, those rural migrants who find their way into the stream of urban life bring with them problems which impede significantly their ability to adjust to present and future urban labor markets.

The Negro's disadvantaged status in the job market is underscored by government statistics on unemployment and underemployment. Even in today's booming economy (Feb. 1966), the unemployment rate for Negroes is about 8 percent--more than twice the national average--and the gap between whites and nonwhites is even greater for married people and heads of households (particularly women) who are most in need of a job to support their families. Negroes only comprise eleven percent of the nation's labor force, but make up more than twenty percent of the nation's unemployed.

Not only is unemployment higher among Negroes, but they tend to be out-of-work for longer periods than whites. They also suffer heavily from underemployment, including part-time work, substandard pay, and the necessity to accept jobs below their skill or educational potentials.

The most serious unemployment problem is the shocking incidence of joblessness among Negro youths. Although this problem has been decreasing in recent months, fully 18 percent of out-of-school Negro youths aged 16 to 21 were unemployed in February 1966. This is twice the rate for white youths and it means that thousands of young Negro ~~men~~ people who are actively looking for jobs cannot find a productive place in our society. In addition, it is estimated thay many thousands of youths have withdrawn from the labor force, or refrained from entering it, because they have given up hope of finding decent employment.

The school "drop-out" problem among young people is another factor compounding the situation. Some three-fifths of out-of-school nonwhite youths aged 16 to 21 lack high school diplomas. In this era of technological advance and complex job requirements, "drop-outs" have twice the unemployment rates of high school graduates. When they are employed, they work for less pay and are more subject to layoffs and displacement by machines.

The Negro's disadvantages do not end when he finds a job. Even when he is employed, he tends to work in low-skill, low-wage occupations and industries with the lowest growth rates and the most limited opportunities for advancement and mobility.

In recent years, technological change and other job market conditions have led to a rising demand for skilled craftsmen, white collar workers, and service workers, while reducing opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. In particular, the technical, professional, clerical, sales, and related white collar occupations have shown rapid growth. Yet, it is precisely in the skilled and white collar occupations that the Negroes are heavily under-represented, while they are concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled labor categories in which job opportunities are most restricted.

Only one-fifth of all nonwhite workers hold white collar jobs, compared with almost one-half of all white workers. Only seven percent of all Negro workers are in the professional and technical category--half the proportion among whites. Only three percent of the nonwhites are managers, officials, or proprietors, compared with eleven percent of the whites. The figures for clerical workers are nine percent versus seventeen percent; for sales workers, two percent versus seven percent; for skilled craftsmen, seven percent versus thirteen percent.

By contrast, twelve percent of all Negro workers are nonfarm laborers--three times the proportion of whites. And nonwhites are heavily represented among migratory and other seasonal farm workers and small tenant farmers who face severe underemployment, substandard earnings, and eventual replacement by new agricultural technology on large farms.

Negroes are heavily concentrated in the service occupations, which have shown rising manpower needs. However, they tend to be employed at

household service, custodial, and other low-paid work rather than in the higher-paid service occupations.

To keep abreast of new technological demands and changes in occupational requirements, a fundamental alteration in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force is necessary. ~~If~~ Otherwise severe problems of economic insecurity ~~and welfare~~ are ~~to be effectively reduced~~ likely to continue.

A major problem in improving the occupational status of the Negro labor force is its relatively low average educational attainment. In 1962, for example, less than one-third of the nonwhite members of the labor force had completed high school, compared with a majority of the whites. Educational attainment has, however, shown continuous improvement in successive generations. This fact represents an important element in plans to improve the Negro's lot.

On the other hand, achievements in occupational status and earnings by Negro workers have not kept pace with improvements in their educational attainment. The average Negro male with 16 or more years of school earns an annual income less than that earned by a white male with ten years of school.

Employment handicaps are reflected in the relatively low incomes of most Negroes. The income of the average Negro family is little more than half of the white family income. It is true that the Negro income level is rising, with greatest progress in Northern and Western urban areas. However, the rapid rise of incomes among whites has

prevented a narrowing of the income gap between the races. Even when whites and Negroes are employed in the same occupation, and have had the same number of years of schooling, the average incomes of the two groups show this disparity.

Because of unemployment and low incomes, a much higher proportion of Negroes than of whites must rely on public assistance to supplement inadequate earnings. These poor people need not only money for subsistence, but a wide range of services to qualify them for productive employment, and to meet basic family, health, and welfare problems.

Poverty goes hand-in-hand with cultural deprivation, alienation from the mainstream values of American society, and unstable family relationships. The social and psychological consequences of discrimination and ghetto life are woven into the economic problems of the Negro and require consideration in economic security and welfare programs. For this reason, there is mounting awareness that conventional programs to solve the employment needs of minority groups must be accompanied by a wide range of supportive services designed to instill favorable work attitudes and character and personality traits, fill gaps in basic education, solve health and family problems, and overcome other barriers to the individual's labor force adjustments.

What Must Be Done

Taking into account the complexity and inter-relationships of the underlying factors, the Task Force has attempted to develop meaningful, action-oriented recommendations. The first recommendation made is a

basic one which influences the rapidity and degree of success with which the other recommendations can be implemented. This basic recommendation is for the attainment and maintenance of a full employment economy.

The second recommendation is for the development of a Comprehensive Human Resource Plan. This Plan is intended to set goals, measure progress, and structure the action needed to attack the economic security and welfare problems of the Negro. It will pull together scattered approaches, insure full consideration of all relevant factors, and coordinate necessary programs in a systematic manner.

The next two recommendations include the creation of more and better job opportunities and the elimination of discrimination in employment. Stress is placed on action by both private and government employers. In particular, employment in state and local governments, which has risen rapidly from 5.4 million in 1957 to almost eight million in 1965, offers great potential opportunities for Negro job seekers. Public employment is growing in all regions, with the fastest growth in the South, pointing to the need for positive efforts to recruit and train Negroes in both local and state agencies.

A fifth recommendation is the expansion of training programs and supportive services, to provide Negroes with the skills, educational attainment, and other characteristics needed to qualify and successfully compete for the increasingly complex jobs of today's economy. Training for jobs in both government and private industry is considered.

Because of the severity of the unemployment problem among Negro youth and its effects on juvenile delinquency and other symptoms of social and economic deprivation, a sixth section of urgent recommendations for youth programs is presented. It is followed by a seventh set of recommendations on ways to strengthen income maintenance and labor standards programs, which currently do not provide adequate protection for some important occupations and industries in which Negroes tend to be employed.

Finally, a series of recommendations are made to strengthen and restructure public assistance and related welfare programs. These recommendations take into account the needs of Negro and other disadvantaged people who, because of age, family status, physical handicaps, or other reasons cannot benefit directly from measures to help them adjust to the job market, but who require financial assistance and constructive rehabilitation or other services.

I. REACH AND SUSTAIN A FULL EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY

Why the recommendation is needed.

Measures to improve the economic security and welfare of minority groups take effect most rapidly in a healthy, growing, full employment economy. The availability of jobs at fair wages to all who need them eases the task of eliminating discrimination, upgrading the nonwhite work force, raising labor standards, and providing income security. Consequently, the attainment and maintenance of a full employment economy is a recommendation of high priority.

Closely related to this basic goal is the desirability of developing preventive programs to help minority group and other workers retain their gains in the face of continous technological change, changes in the demand for civilian or defense products, shifts in the location of job opportunities, and other adjustments in manpower requirements. Such forward-looking action to avoid layoffs and other dislocations in the job market sharply reduces the dimensions of economic security problems.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Utilize fiscal, monetary, and manpower policies, public works programs, and other measures to sustain a full employment economy.

2. Develop preventive manpower programs designed to help adjust workers, industries, and areas in advance of major changes in manpower requirements. For example, manpower training programs should be established to retrain workers while they are still employed, in cases where their jobs are expected to be eliminated by technical change or cutbacks in production in the near future.

II. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PLAN TO SET GOALS, TO MEASURE PROGRESS, AND TO STRUCTURE THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Why the recommendation is needed.

The emphasis of the White House Conference is on action. Effective action programs must be based on accurate information about the economic status and problems of nonwhites. The programs must also be based on systematic planning, which mobilizes all available resources, selects specific goals, and schedules all necessary activities in accordance with definite timetables and priorities. Moreover, the component parts of the overall program must be efficiently coordinated to attain a maximum impact. The recommendation for a Comprehensive Human Resource Plan is intended to provide a flexible basis for such a creative, hard-hitting, action program.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop and conduct an effective program for collecting and analyzing information on the number, characteristics, employment, unemployment, and job opportunities of Negro workers. This program should focus most heavily on the 70-odd cities in which most urban Negroes are concentrated and on the 5 or 6 Southern States in which most rural Negroes live. Data should be obtained for both urban and rural areas, and on a neighborhood basis.
2. Develop and keep up-to-date a Human Resource Budget:
   a. Identifying the number, types, and problems of nonwhite youths, unskilled workers, older workers,

women, and other specific groups in need of intensive manpower services;

b. Establishing specific goals and timetables for providing these services;

c. Determining the extent to which existing government and nongovernment programs can help meet the goals;

d. Indicating the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals;

e. Assigning definite priorities and targets for action by specific agencies.

3. Systematically evaluate the progress of minority groups in the job market and the effectiveness of government and nongovernment services in meeting their needs.

III. CREATE MORE AND BETTER JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITY GROUPS

Why the recommendation is needed.

The availability of decent job opportunities at fair wages is essential to the economic and social progress of the Negro. The high rate of unemployment and underemployment among Negroes; their concentration in low-paying jobs at the bottom of the skill ladder; their vulnerability to displacement by automation--all are factors at the very heart of their insecurity, poverty, and waste of human resources.

This section of recommendations approaches job creation and expansion of employment opportunities through improvements in economic measures and manpower utilization. Action to eliminate discrimination in employment is covered in the following section. The job creation recommendations call for affirmative action by both private and government employers, labor organizations, and community groups. The recommendations are tailored to the special needs of various subgroups in the Negro labor force, ranging from unskilled workers who need special help in adjusting to the demands of the job market to skilled Negro professionals and business people. They take account of the needs of workers in both urban and rural areas, and include measures not only to aid jobless workers, but to upgrade employed workers into more skilled, higher-paying occupations.

Subrecommendation A

Make positive efforts to improve job opportunities for Negroes.

Action Required:

By Employers and Labor Unions

1. Positive recruitment of minority group workers.
2. Review the work potential of nonwhite staff members to insure full use of their potential and to encourage upgrading to more skilled and managerial jobs.
3. Review official job descriptions to eliminate excess educational, skill, and test score requirements.
4. "Re-engineer" job duties to provide employment opportunities for low-skill workers where this will not impair the employment status of other workers.
5. Locate new business establishments and government offices in areas accessible to Negro workers. For example, many establishments being located in suburban areas and industrial parks to which commuting from Negro residential areas is difficult and expensive could have been located in more convenient inner-city areas.
6. Increase job opportunities for nonwhites in the skilled crafts by:
   a. Actively recruiting Negroes into craft unions;

b. Helping Negro youths to qualify for apprenticeship programs by establishing pre-apprenticeship training and by revising selection criteria to eliminate unnecessary barriers.

Subrecommendation B

Develop and aggressively administer programs to improve job opportunities for Negroes in rural-farm areas.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop an experimental program to give Negro farm operators the means and incentives to gain ownership of, and successfully operate, farms through a combination of loans, grants, training, counseling, and technical assistance.
2. Expand community development programs to create new non-farm job opportunities in rural areas without creating unemployment elsewhere, and expedite tests of the economic development district approach (delineating districts around central cities with development potential, and emphasizing the development of job opportunities in these central cities as a means of providing additional employment and other economic benefits for both the rural and urban residents of the district) authorized under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.
3. Develop and establish a federally subsidized program to provide off-season or part-time work opportunities to supplement the incomes of underemployed farm people.
4. Experiment with new ways to provide year round employment for migratory and other seasonal farm workers and to build a skilled and stable farm work force.

By State and Local Governments

1. Utilize federal financial incentives to plan and conduct effective community development programs to improve community facilities and human resources and to expand job opportunities.

Subrecommendation C

Establish a federally financed work program to provide constructive and socially useful employment and on-the-job training for jobless and underemployed workers.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop, supervise, and provide resources for an employment program for jobless and underemployed workers.
2. Provide work assignments on government activities for some enrollees.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

Furnish federally subsidized work-training opportunities on socially useful projects which would not have been otherwise performed.

Subrecommendation D

Encourage ownership of business enterprises by Negroes.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Increase the availability of federal loans, grants, and technical assistance under such legislation as Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

By Business

1. Extend credit and franchises to nonwhites.
2. Encourage joint ventures by white and nonwhite businessmen.

Subrecommendation E

Improve the access of nonwhite workers to all available jobs in the community.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Encourage and finance studies of local transportation and employment patterns.
2. Support the construction of roads and other transportation facilities to help bring together workers and available jobs.
3. Locate federal offices and other establishments in places easily accessible to residential areas in which nonwhites live.

By Local and State Governments

1. Evaluate and modify local transportation routes, fares, and facilities to improve the access of minority groups to available jobs.

IV. ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BY BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

Why the recommendation is needed.

Racial discrimination in employment has had a long and shameful history in our country. From the nation's point of view, it has barred the Negro from making his maximum contribution to the productive life of our society. From the viewpoint of the individual Negro, it has served as a barrier to the full use of his human potentials-- often relegating him to low-paid, low-skill jobs offering the lowest levels of economic security and occupational dignity.

Recent years have seen the development of new legal tools to combat discrimination. These tools need strengthening and effective and rapid implementation.

The recommendations in this section provide for effective use of federal government powers to end discriminatory practices. At the same time, the roles of private employers, labor organizations, state and local governments, and community groups are stressed. The recommendations constitute a community-wide effort to make equal employment opportunities a reality.

Subrecommendation A

Greatly strengthen efforts by employers and labor unions to eliminate discrimination in hiring, assigning, and upgrading employees.

Action Required:

By Government Employers

1. Eliminate discrimination in Federal, State, local governments. The federal government should become a model employer.

By Nongovernment Employers

1. Issue and enforce anti-discrimination policies, and improve company records on the hiring and employment of Negro personnel.
2. Employ more nonwhites in personnel and supervisory positions responsible for hiring and evaluating employees.
3. Withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination.

By Labor Unions

1. Establish and maintain non-discriminatory membership policies.
2. Enforce non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts covering hiring, tenure, terms and conditions of employment, work assignments, and advancement.

By Community Organizations such as Churches, Educational, and Health and Welfare Groups and Associations

1. Provision of technical assistance by national organizations to persuade and help local affiliates drop discriminatory practices.
2. Withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination; e.g., "Project Equality" of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Subrecommendation B

Enact and improve State and local Fair Employment Practice laws and programs.

Action Required:

By State and Local Governments

1. Enact F.E.P. laws in States and cities that do not yet have such programs.
2. Southern States should give special emphasis to enacting and implementing F.E.P. programs. Some progress in implementing F.E.P. programs has already been made in Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

Subrecommendation C

Strengthen Title VII (Prohibition of Discrimination by Employers, Unions, and Employment Agencies) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Amend Title VII to:

   a. Expand coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with eight or more employees or members.

   b. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue "cease and desist" orders.

   c. Aurhorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to order monetary awards to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.

2. Strengthen administration of Title VII by:

   a. A more adequate budget and staff.

   b. Establishing federal guidelines for tests used to evaluate current and prospective employees and developing performance criteria and other enforcement aids.

   c. Mandatory review of promotion programs and seniority systems.

d. Affirmative action to change discrimination patterns through educational programs, informal conferences with employers and union officials, closer liaison with civil rights organizations, and remedial action in conciliation agreements.

e. Increase use of complaints initiated by Commissioners to alter basic patterns of discrimination.

f. Develop more effective cooperation between federal, state, and local fair employment agencies.

Subrecommendation D

Eliminate discrimination in State or local programs financed by federal funds.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Intensify enforcement efforts under Title VI (Prohibition of Discrimination in State or Local Programs Financed by Federal Funds) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, including:
   a. Expanding staff and budget resources.
   b. Developing performance criteria and other enforcement aids
   c. Expanding the training of state and local staffs.
2. Insure minority group representation on state and local advisory, planning, and action committees in federally subsidized programs: e.g., agricultural programs, vocational education, training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act, community development programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act, activities under the Economic Opportunity Act, and housing and urban renewal programs.

By State and Local Governments

1. Cooperate with the federal government in measures to effectuate Title VI.

Subrecommendation E

Prevent discrimination in employment on government contract work.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Strengthen the administration of Executive Order 11246 (Nondiscrimination on Government Contracts) by:

   a. Compliance reviews prior to the award of contracts.

   b. Requiring employers to demonstrate affirmative action to insure equal employment opportunity.

   c. Increasing compliance budget and staff in federal agencies with compliance responsibilities.

   d. Establishing specific performance criteria for objective measurement of compliance.

By State and Local Governments

1. Develop and enforce rules for nondiscrimination on government contract work.

Subrecommendation 8

Undertake technical assistance and educational programs to help employers, unions, and others develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities and to reduce employment prejudice and discrimination.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish and finance an appropriate office with responsibility for developing and coordinating a large scale educational program to combat misinformation, prejudice, and discrimination among employers, labor union officials, educators, counselors, personnel managers and others responsible for teaching, selecting, and evaluating employees.
2. Expand programs to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.
3. Provide an effective means for employers and unions to exhange information on their experience in attacking discriminatory practices.
4. Arrange a White House Conference of industry and union representatives, to stimulate their acceptance of reasonable responsibilities for eliminating job discrimination.

By State and Local Governments

1. Encourage the establishment of State and Local Equal Opportunity Councils and the convening of conferences to give leadership to anti-discrimination efforts.
2. Insure the teaching of constructive racial attitudes in school systems.

By Community Organizations

1. Develop and conduct educational programs for such groups as churches, women's organizations, and local business and professional organizations.

V. EXPAND TRAINING PROGRAMS AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO DEVELOP AND UTILIZE THE EMPLOYMENT POTENTIAL OF NEGRO WORKERS

Why the recommendation is needed.

Discrimination, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, relegation to low-skill jobs, and poverty have left their mark on the Negro labor force. A relatively high proportion of Negro workers lack the educational attainment and occupational skills needed to meet the increasingly complex job requirements of today's economy. The problem is made more severe by the migration of hundreds of thousands of nonwhites from rural to urban areas, often without the kinds of vocational skills demanded for nonfarm work, and often lacking adequate knowledge of city life and services.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials. In many cases, existing training or educational programs are of inadequate size, inconveniently located, and not geared to the needs of disadvantaged groups. On-the-job training by employers has also been relatively limited for nonwhites.

Formal training is not enough to assist Negroes at the lower end of the economic scale, where poverty is often accompanied by cultural deprivation and social disorganization. People in this group require a variety of supportive services to ease their adjustment to the demands of the job market. They need specialized help in solving health, family, housing,

and welfare problems which interfere with their success at seeking and holding jobs. Those who migrate from the countryside to the city often need help in adjusting to their new environment. Many disadvantaged people require counseling and related services to develop effective work, job-seeking, and human relations attitudes and behavior patterns. New institutions to rehabilitate persons with especially severe adjustment problems must be developed.

This set of recommendations covers training programs and supportive services to meet these urgent needs. It includes steps to strengthen government services, as well as measures to utilize the facilities and experience of nongovernment organizations.

Subrecommendation A

Develop and implement training and upgrading programs directed especially at disadvantaged workers.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Provide additional tax credits to stimulate employers to undertake or expand education and training programs without reducing their previous training efforts.
2. Use government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts.

By Business and Labor

1. Introduce programs to encourage the reinvestment of gains from rising productivity into training and upgrading programs.

Subrecommendation B

Undertake a massive attack on illiteracy and other basic educational deficiencies among adults.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand resources available for local adult basic education programs and experiment with new ways of motivating and teaching adults with low educational attainment.

By Educational Authorities and Community Organizations

1. Expand basic education programs and gear teaching methods and the location of classes to the needs and characteristics of disadvantaged people.

Subrecommendation C

Strengthen services to minority groups by public Employment Service agencies.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Federalize the employment service system.
2. Develop strong anti-discrimination practices in the Employment Service.
3. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, intensifying work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that state personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members.
4. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include establishment of Human Resource Centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance such as diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision.

By State Governments

1. Cooperate in a positive manner with federal government efforts to improve Employment Service operations.
2. Eradicate discriminatory practices in selection and referral of job applicants.

Subrecommendation D

Expand and increase the effectiveness of the federally financed program for training unemployed and underemployed workers under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Make positive efforts to include more minority trainees by liberalizing the recruitment, testing, and selection process.
2. Place greater stress on on-the-job training, and maintain closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and placement of trainees.
3. Reduce time lags and paper work in establishing training projects.
4. Expand MDTA training in nonoccupational subjects needed to improve the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., remedial education, communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc.
5. Expand training to upgrade employed Negro workers by defraying unusual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing severely disadvantaged workers for better jobs.
6. Allow greater flexibility in MDTA training allowances, including:
   a. Increasing allowance to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance

recipients to accept occupational training.

b. Reducing the eligibility requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances.

c. Raising training allowances in courses of long duration.

7. Amend the MDTA to establish an extensive program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State and local penal institutions.

8. Expand and expedite experimental and demonstration programs, including programs to help former prison inmates obtain surety bonds needed to qualify for employment and the provision of financial assistance and supplemental services to unemployed workers who are moving to out-of-area jobs.

By State Governments

1. Stress positive efforts to include minority group trainees in training programs and to develop programs geared to their special needs.

By Business and Labor

1. Cooperate in establishing MDTA on-the-job training programs to help minority group workers find employment or advance to more skilled jobs.

Subrecommendation E

Develop and implement a large scale program to facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural Negroes migrating to the city.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop and provide resources for a program to assist rural Negroes migrating to the city including:
   a. Centers in rural surplus labor areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling.
   b. Reception facilities in urban labor demand areas equipped to help the in-migrants solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period.
   c. Relocation allowances under adequate safeguards to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs, without imposing burdens on the target communities.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Support the adoption and implementation of a large scale program to help disadvantaged people migrating to the city from rural areas.

2. Provide centers and reception facilities in rural and urban areas, under federal subsidies, standards, and coordination.

VI. DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM TO PREPARE DISADVANTAGED NEGRO YOUTHS FOR PRODUCTIVE JOBS

Why the recommendation is needed.

The shocking high rate of unemployment among Negro youths--both male and female--their unduly high rate of school drop-outs, and disturbing evidence of social disorganization among some young residents of the impoverished Negro ghetto are problems of such magnitude and urgency that a separate section of recommendations has been devoted to them.

The recommendations in this section are directed at the fundamental problems and needs of youth, rather than the elimination of superficial symptoms. Such needs include greatly strengthened vocational education facilities, expansion of counseling services, and more and better government work experience and training activities. Creative experimentation is needed to develop and test new ways to help young people with especially severe labor force handicaps. At the same time, the need to improve opportunities for youths with potential for advancement into higher professional and technical occupations is also given consideration.

Subrecommendation A

Greatly expand and strengthen high school vocational education programs.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand resources for grants to improve vocational education in the states.
2. Strengthen standards for the content and quality of vocational education subsidized by federal funds.

By State and Local Governments

1. Revise vocational education programs to emphasize training in new or growing occupations, to utilize the latest equipment, and to narrow the gap between the school and work place.
2. Expand and improve vocational training in rural areas, gearing it realistically to non-agricultural occupations in which most rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas.
3. Expedite the establishment of area vocational schools authorized under the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Subrecommendation B

Greatly expand and strengthen counseling services for in-school youths, making available skilled vocational advisors who are acquainted with the requirements of industry, motivating nonwhite youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, and reducing dropouts.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Provide resources to assist educational and Employment Service authorities to sharply expand and improve counseling services. A target of at least one full-time counselor for every 100 youths in schools in poverty areas should be set.
2. Finance more adequately and strengthen programs to train more and better counselors, with emphasis on training in dealing with the problems of youth in minority groups.

By State and Local Governments

1. Expand and improve counseling services in schools and public employment offices.

By Community Organizations

1. Supplement the counseling services of government, with emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youths with especially severe employment and training problems.

Subrecommendation C

Expand opportunities for Negroes to prepare for professional and technical jobs.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand assistance to improve the education available in small, predominantly Negro colleges.
2. Develop and conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller, predominantly Negro colleges qualify for job opportunities available in the health, education, scientific, or other growing fields.
3. Strengthen programs of financial assistance to needy students.

By State and Local Governments

1. Develop and conduct programs to improve the educational potential of predominantly Negro colleges and to assist disadvantaged Negro students.

By Business, Labor, and Community Organizations

1. Provide financial assistance to predominantly Negro colleges and scholarships to qualified needy students.
2. Actively recruit nonwhite youths into management or technical training programs.

Subrecommendation D

Expand and strengthen the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Extend and improve NYC services by legislative action to provide additional resources, reduce the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14, increase the maximum age from 22 to 24, and facilitate the use of MDTA training to prepare Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates from employment.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Utilize federal financial assistance to provide more and better work opportunities and supportive services for Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees.

Subrecommendation E

Intensify experimentation to develop new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of minority youths.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand experimental and demonstration programs currently authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Education Act, and other laws.
2. Experiment with programs geared to the special needs of jobless Negro girls and young women, with residential training and work-experience programs in urban settings for problem youths, and with employment of juveniles who have police records.

By State and Local Government and Community Organizations

1. Propose and participate in experimental programs.
2. Furnish probationary employment to juveniles with police records involving only minor crimes.

By Business and Labor

1. Participate more directly in proposing and operating experimental programs for youths, adding to experience already gained by industry in operating Job Corps centers.

VII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

Why the recommendation is needed.

The strengthening of income maintenance and labor standards programs is of special importance for Negroes, who are heavily concentrated in occupations and industries which pay low wages, provide only intermittent employment, and are excluded from protective labor standards legislation. For example, extension of minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and laws protecting the right to join labor unions to currently excluded agricultural and service workers would greatly contribute to the economic security of large numbers of Negro workers. Such protection would help to raise incomes to adequate levels and would reduce the dependence of impoverished nonwhites on public assistance. Improved labor standards and income safeguards would also help to provide the Negro work force with the dignity, self-respect, and security needed to motivate workers to develop their skills, actively seek employment, and make their maximum contribution in the job market.

Subrecommendation A

Improve federal minimum wage and child labor standards.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated: e.g., service and agricultural jobs.
2. Increase the minimum wage, permitting adjustments to help workers of very low productivity obtain gainful employment.
3. Prohibit child labor outside of school hours on farms except those operated by the child's own family.

Subrecommendation B

Extend the protection and benefits of collective bargaining to occupations and industries in which nonwhites are concentrated.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Extend the protection of the Labor-Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries: e.g., agriculture.

By State Government

1. Insure, through State laws and programs, protection of collective bargaining rights for workers excluded from the Labor-Management Relations Act.

By Labor Organizations

1. Intensify efforts to organize workers in service, agricultural, and other occupations in which nonwhites are heavily concentrated.

Subrecommendation C

Improve the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Extend coverage to small employers, farm workers, agricultural processing workers, employees of non-profit institutions, and other currently excluded groups.
2. Raise the level of benefits to at least 50% of the average weekly wage, with a target of 66 2/3% in future years.
3. Extend the duration of unemployment insurance benefits to a minimum of 26 weeks.
4. Provide additional federal assistance for benefit payments to the long-term unemployed and to help States meet unusually severe unemployment situations.

Subrecommendation D

Extend Workmen's Compensation to farm workers and other excluded groups.

Action Required:

By State Governments

1. Enact legislation to strengthen Workmen's Compensation programs.

VIII. STRENGTHEN AND RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

Why the recommendation is needed.

Welfare programs as they are presently operated fall far short of providing an adequate living to the poor. The annual income available to families under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program only averages about $1.15 per day per person for all of the costs of living. Aged and disabled recipients of public assistance receive only between $900 and $1000 a year and blind recipients receive slightly over $1100 a year.

In addition to low cash payments, the provision of services to help poor people overcome the barriers to self-sufficiency is also limited in most cases. Widespread shortages of trained staff members add to this problem.

Both Federal and State laws impose eligibility conditions that deny help to some needy people. The most important group excluded from coverage under Federal law are families with children in which the parent or parents are employed but whose earnings do not provide even a meager living. More than half of the children among the poor are thus excluded from eligibility for Federally-aided public assistance. Also excluded are persons nearly but not yet 65 and young and middle-aged couples or individuals who are not blind or disabled and who have no minor children. Requirements for a specified length of residence and special requirements that exclude some families with children that are headed by women also result in many needy persons not receiving aid.

The limitations of existing programs bear particularly heavily on Negroes. More heads of households in the non-white than the white population work part-time or for only part of the year. Negro earnings tend to be lower. The proportion of non-white families headed by women is almost two and one-half times the corresponding proportion of white families. The risk of poverty among children in non-white families headed by employed women is about two and one-half times that of white children in such familes. Finally, the southern States have conspicuous difficulty in financing adequate assistance programs, even with a relatively high tax effort for public services. Since half of the total non-white poor and only about one-half of the white poor live in the south, this situation adversely affects Negro families.

The recommendations in this section seek to assure assistance to all needy persons, to assure reasonable payments, and to provide adequate staff and nonmonetary services. In addition, some thought has been given to more basic approaches to the poverty problem, beyond the limits of conventional public assistance programs.

Subrecommendation A

Raise the level of public assistance benefits to furnish a standard of living compatable with health and decency.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.

Subrecommendation B

Insure the availability of public assistance to all impoverished people.

Action Required

By Federal Government

1. Eliminate the separate categories of public assistance and substitute a single category based exclusively on need.
2. Under existing programs, require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.
3. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents.

Subrecommendation C

Strengthen the administration of welfare programs.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Enact legislation to permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in states which cannot or will not meet federal standards.
2. Greatly expand technical assistance to both rural and urban communities and improve the geographic distribution of funds to insure that all areas of comparable need have access to federally subsidized programs for disadvantaged people which are secured largely on the basis of local development: e.g., community action projects under the Economic Opportunity Act and community development projects under the Public Works and Economic Development Act.

By State and Local Governments

1. Simplify the process through which need for assistance is determined for public assistance applicants.

Subrecommendation D

Adjust public assistance rules to encourage recipients to take jobs or training.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish rules and standards for State public assistance agencies to encourage public assistance recipients to seek employment. (These rules should guide State agencies to take action such as listed below.)

By State and Local Governments

1. Increase the amount of job earnings which can be retained by public assistance recipients without reducing the level of benefits.
2. Insure that recipients who go to work will not endanger their subsequent access to benefits in times of future need.
3. Continue non-monetary services to recipients who have found jobs, where such services are needed to help with long-range adjustments.
4. Permit teenagers to keep a substantial proportion of job earnings or MDTA or NYC allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.

Subrecommendation E

Expand non-monetary welfare services to alleviate the basic causes of poverty.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish standards and provide additional resources for State and local governments and community organizations to provide supplemental non-monetary services to needy people, including the services listed below.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities.
2. Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients.
3. Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children, occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs.

Subrecommendation F

Relieve the acute staffing problem in public assistance agencies.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Stimulate and provide resources for a greatly expanded program of recruitment and training for professional case workers, aimed at a sharp reduction of the number of clients served by each worker. A target of no more than 60 clients per professional case worker should be set.
2. Provide resources for the payment of higher salaries to case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.
3. Analyze case work and related activities to determine which supplemental work can be assisgned to subprofessionals.
4. Develop and provide resources for large scale programs to recruit and train subprofessional aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Revise salary schedules for professional case workers.
2. Undertake a substantial reduction in the number of clients assigned to each case worker.
3. Employ nonprofessional staff members to handle the more routine tasks and as "expediters" to locate and inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services.

Subrecommendation G

Explore new approaches to assure a minimum level of income.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Explore means of guaranteeing a minimum income to the poor through the tax system: e.g., the negative income tax.
2. Explore the utility of a system of family allowances based on the number of dependents.

W.H.C.

Preliminary
For Discussion Purposes Only

TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

Proposed Recommendations

April 27, 1966

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THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

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INTRODUCTION

The employment and income problems of the Negro population, to which the Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare addressed itself, are complex, long-standing, and rooted in deep economic, social, psychological, and political disabilities. Bold, creative, and large-scale action is necessary if rapid progress is to be made toward equal opportunity, fair and full employment, decent living standards, full use of human potential, and security for the nation's Negro citizens.

There is no single, simple, or quick solution for the Negro's economic problems. The range of action needed to achieve an adequate level of employment and income security must cover the multi-faceted problems of many different sub-groups. Assistance to jobless Negro youths would not be adequate to meet the needs of underemployed Negro adults. Action to help farmers and hired farm workers would not necessarily improve the lot of people who work in the city. Programs to aid the unemployed mother who depends on public assistance for a livelihood would be of little utility for the Negro professional or businessman. Lasting solutions must be tailored, therefore, to the particular needs of specific components of the Negro population.

Moreover, it must be re-emphasized that the economic problems Negroes face along with other disadvantaged workers are compounded for Negroes by the continuing widespread presence of racial segregation and racial discrimination. Thus, solutions must go beyond strictly economic measures and be related to sociological, political, and psychological approaches.

The Task Force has attempted to consider all of the fundamental factors underlying the Negro's economic disadvantages. A wide-ranging battery of specific and realistic actions is proposed, calculated to achieve sharp progress on a variety of fronts--jobs, training, non-discrimination, supportive services, labor standards, income maintenance, public assistance, and others. In addition, stress is placed on the need to reach and maintain a full employment economy, as a setting which greatly increases the effectiveness of all other measures taken to improve the Negro's economic status.

The recommended action involves not merely one, but all sectors of the American community--the federal as well as state and local governments; business enterprises and organized labor; educational bodies; community organizations such as churches and health and welfare groups; and the spectrum of national associations. The intention is to mobilize the nation's brainpower and material resources for a systematic and many-sided effort to eliminate the artificial barriers that prevent the Negro's full participation in the economic and social process.

The Social and Economic Setting

Recommendations to improve the economic security and welfare of the Negro people must take into account the large magnitude of the Negro's disadvantages in the job market, the wide gap between the income and employment status of whites and nonwhites, and the changing characteristics and geographic distribution of the Negro population and labor force. They must take into account sharp and decisive advances in technology and other such forces which generate abundant benefits to some and disproportionate burdens to others.

Today there are more than 20 million Negro Americans. They comprise more than one-tenth of the nation's total population.

There are some 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force; i.e., employed or looking for jobs. They include about 3.5 million women. By 1970, the total is expected to reach ten million.

The figure of 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force presents an incomplete picture. Many members of the working age population are not in the labor force but could be if jobs and incentives in the form of decent earnings were consistently available to them. Thus, eight percent of all Negro men aged 25 to 64 were not in the labor force in 1963, compared with only five percent of comparable whites. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro women who work or seek jobs is considerably higher than the proportion of whites, since more of the former are primary family wage earners or must supplement the wages of their husbands.

Today, the Negro population is predominantly an urban one. About three-fourths of all Negroes live in urban areas, mainly in larger cities with populations of more than 50,000. The six cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles alone account for one-fifth of all Negro people. There are 18 cities in which 100,000 or more Negroes live--these cities account for almost one-third of the total Negro population. The concentration of Negroes in largely segregated areas of central cities, while white residents, industrial establishments, and offices move toward the suburbs, constitutes an important factor in framing proposals to improve economic and welfare conditions.

The heavy out-movement of Negroes from the South in search of better economic, educational, social, and political status (3.3 million left the South between 1940 and 1965) is an important factor in planning action programs. However, over one-half of all Negroes still live in the Southern States, and there are recent indications that the rate of out-migration is decreasing.

Most of the Negroes who still live in rural areas are in the South. Even in that region, however, almost three-fifths of all Negro people are urban residents. In 1960, two out of every five residents of Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans were Negroes.

While urban problems must command an increasing proportion of our attention, we cannot overlook two facts. First, many of the hard-core economic security and welfare problems Negroes face are in rural areas. Second, those rural migrants who find their way into the stream of urban life bring with them problems which impede significantly their ability to adjust to present and future urban labor markets. The adjustment problems of the migrants is due, in part, to the failure of most urban areas to prepare for the influx of new residents and to take steps to ease their transition to urban life.

The Negro's disadvantaged status in the job market is underscored by government statistics on unemployment and underemployment. Even in today's booming economy (Feb. 1966), the unemployment rate for Negroes is about eight percent--more than twice the national average--and the gap between whites and nonwhites is even greater for married people and heads of households (particularly women) who are most in need of a job to support their families. Negroes only comprise eleven percent

of the nation's labor force, but make up more than twenty percent of the nation's unemployed.

Not only is unemployment higher among Negroes, but they tend to be out-of-work for longer periods than whites. They also suffer heavily from underemployment, including part-time work, substandard pay, and the necessity to accept jobs below their skill or educational potentials.

The most serious unemployment problem is the shocking incidence of joblessness among Negro youths. Although this problem has been decreasing in recent months, fully 18 percent of out-of-school Negro youths aged 16 to 21 were unemployed in February 1966. This is twice the rate for white youths and it means that thousands of young Negro people who are actively looking for jobs cannot find a productive place in our society. In addition, it is estimated that many thousands of youths have withdrawn from the labor force, or refrained from entering it, because they have given up hope of finding decent employment.

The school "drop-out" problem among young people is another factor compounding the situation. Some three-fifths of out-of-school nonwhite youths aged 16 to 21 lack high school diplomas. In this era of technological advance and complex job requirements, "drop-outs" have twice the unemployment rates of high school graduates. When they are employed, they work for less pay and are more subject to layoffs and displacement by machines.

The Negro's disadvantages do not end when he finds a job. Even when he is employed, he tends to work in low-skill, low-wage occupations

and industries with the lowest growth rates and the most limited opportunities for advancement and mobility.

In recent years, technological change and other job market conditions have led to a rising demand for skilled craftsmen, white collar workers, and service workers, while reducing opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. In particular, the technical, professional, clerical, sales, and related white collar occupations have shown rapid growth. Yet, it is precisely in the skilled and white collar occupations that the Negroes are heavily under-represented, while they are concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled labor categories in which job opportunities are most restricted.

Only one-fifth of all nonwhite workers hold white collar jobs, compared with almost one-half of all white workers. Only seven percent of all Negro workers are in the professional and technical category--half the proportion among whites. Only three percent of the nonwhites are managers, officials, or proprietors, compared with eleven percent of the whites. The figures for clerical workers are nine percent versus seventeen percent; for sales workers, two percent versus seven percent; for skilled craftsmen, seven percent versus thirteen percent.

By contrast, twelve percent of all Negro workers are nonfarm laborers--three times the proportion of whites. And nonwhites are heavily represented among migratory and other seasonal farm workers and small tenant farmers who face severe underemployment, substandard earnings, and eventual replacement by new agricultural technology on large farms.

Negroes are heavily concentrated in the service occupations, which have shown rising manpower needs. However, they tend to be employed at household service, custodial, and other low-paid work rather than in the higher-paid service occupations.

To keep abreast of new technological demands and changes in occupational requirements, a fundamental alteration in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force is necessary. Otherwise severe problems of economic insecurity are likely to continue.

A major problem in improving the occupational status of the Negro labor force is its relatively low average educational attainment. In 1962, for example, less than one-third of the nonwhite members of the labor force had completed high school, compared with a majority of the whites. Educational attainment has, however, shown continuous improvement in successive generations. This fact represents an important element in plans to improve the Negro's lot.

On the other hand, achievements in occupational status and earnings by Negro workers have not kept pace with improvements in their educational attainment. The average Negro male with 16 or more years of school earns an annual income less than that earned by a white male with ten years of school.

Employment handicaps are reflected in the relatively low incomes of most Negroes. The income of the average Negro family is little more than half of the white family income. It is true that the Negro income level is rising, with greatest progress in Northern and Western urban areas. However, the rapid rise of incomes among whites has

prevented a narrowing of the income gap between the races. Even when whites and Negroes are employed in the same occupation, and have had the same number of years of schooling, the average incomes of the two groups show this disparity.

Because of unemployment and low incomes, a much higher proportion of Negroes than of whites must rely on public assistance to supplement inadequate earnings. These poor people need not only money for subsistence, but a wide range of services to qualify them for productive employment, and to meet basic family, health, and welfare problems.

Poverty goes hand-in-hand with cultural deprivation, alienation from the mainstream values of American society, and unstable family relationships. The social and psychological consequences of discrimination and ghetto life are woven into the economic problems of the Negro and require consideration in economic security and welfare programs. For this reason, there is mounting awareness that conventional programs to solve the employment needs of Negroes must be accompanied by a wide range of supportive services designed to instill favorable work attitudes and character and personality traits, fill gaps in basic education, solve health and family problems, and overcome other barriers to the individual's labor force adjustments.

What Must Be Done

Taking into account the complexity and inter-relationships of the underlying factors, the Task Force has attempted to develop meaningful, action-oriented recommendations. The first recommendation made is a

basic one which influences the rapidity and degree of success with which the other recommendations can be implemented. This basic recommendation is for the attainment and maintenance of a full employment economy.

The second recommendation is for the development of a Comprehensive Human Resource Plan. This Plan is intended to set goals, measure progress, and structure the action needed to attack the economic security and welfare problems of the Negro. It will pull together scattered approaches, insure full consideration of all relevant factors, and coordinate necessary programs in a systematic manner.

The next two recommendations include the creation of more and better job opportunities and the elimination of discrimination in employment. Stress is placed on action by both private and government employers. In particular, employment in state and local governments, which has risen rapidly from 5.4 million in 1957 to almost eight million in 1965, offers great potential opportunities for Negro job seekers. Public employment is growing in all regions, with the fastest growth in the South, pointing to the need for positive efforts to recruit and train Negroes in both local and state agencies.

A fifth recommendation is the expansion of training programs and supportive services, to provide Negroes with the skills, educational attainment, and other characteristics needed to qualify and successfully compete for the increasingly complex jobs of today's economy. Training for jobs in both government and private industry is considered.

Because of the severity of the unemployment problem among Negro youth and its effects on juvenile delinquency and other symptoms of social and economic deprivation, a sixth section of urgent recommendations for youth programs is presented. It is followed by a seventh set of recommendations on ways to strengthen income maintenance and labor standards programs, which currently do not provide adequate protection for Negroes and other workers in some important occupations and industries.

Finally, a series of recommendations are made to strengthen and restructure public assistance and related welfare programs. These recommendations take into account the needs of unemployed and underemployed Negroes and other disadvantaged people who, because of age, family status, physical handicaps, or other reasons cannot benefit directly from measures to help them adjust to the job market, but who require financial assistance and constructive rehabilitation or other services.

I. REACH AND SUSTAIN A FULL EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY

Why the recommendation is needed.

Measures to improve the economic security and welfare of Negroes take effect most rapidly in a healthy, growing, full employment economy. The availability of jobs at fair wages to all who need them eases the task of eliminating discrimination, upgrading the Negro work force, raising labor standards, and providing income security. Consequently, the attainment and maintenance of a full employment economy is a recommendation of high priority.

Unemployment among Negroes varies sharply with the general level of economic activity. During World War II, with unemployment at a low point, job opportunities for Negroes were at a new high. By 1949, when the nation's unemployment rate had risen to 5.5 percent, almost one out of every 10 nonwhite workers were out-of-work. As total unemployment dropped to 3 percent in 1953, the rate for nonwhites also declined to less than 5 percent. A new unemployment peak of almost 7 percent was reached in 1958, accompanied by an unemployment rate of more than 12 percent for nonwhites. Currently, the economy's high level of employment is again accompanied by a decline in joblessness among Negroes.

Closely related to the goal of full employment is the desirability of developing preventive programs to help Negro and other workers retain their gains in the face of continuous technological change, changes in the demand for civilian or defense products, shifts in the location of job opportunities, and other adjustments in

manpower requirements. Such forward-looking action to avoid layoffs and other dislocations in the job market sharply reduces the dimensions of economic security problems.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Utilize fiscal, monetary, and manpower policies, public works programs, and other measures to sustain a full employment economy.
2. Develop preventive manpower programs designed to help adjust workers, industries, and areas in advance of major changes in manpower requirements. For example, manpower training programs should be established to retrain workers while they are still employed, in cases where their jobs are expected to be eliminated by technological change or cutbacks in production in the near future.

By Employers and Private Organizations

1. Cooperate in implementing government policies and programs to achieve full employment.
2. Develop and install programs to anticipate technological, market, or other developments, and to retrain or reassign workers so as to prevent lay-offs or other adverse effects.

II. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PLAN TO SET GOALS, TO MEASURE PROGRESS, AND TO STRUCTURE THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Why the recommendation is needed.

The emphasis of the White House Conference is on action. Effective action programs must be based on accurate information about the economic status and problems of Negroes. The programs must also be based on systematic planning, which mobilizes all available resources, selects specific goals, and schedules all necessary activities in accordance with definite timetables and priorities. Moreover, the component parts of the overall program must be efficiently coordinated to attain a maximum impact. The recommendation for a Comprehensive Human Resource Plan is intended to provide a flexible basis for such a creative, hard-hitting, action program.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop and conduct an effective program for collecting and analyzing information on the number, characteristics, employment, unemployment, and job opportunities of Negro workers. This program should focus most heavily on the 70-odd cities in which most urban Negroes are concentrated and on the 5 or 6 Southern States in which most rural Negroes live. Data should be obtained for both urban and rural areas, and on a neighborhood basis.
2. Develop and keep up-to-date a Human Resource Budget:
   a. Identifying the number, types, and problems of Negro youths, unskilled workers, older workers,

women, and other specific groups in need of intensive manpower services;

b. Establishing specific goals and timetables for providing these services;

c. Determining the extent to which existing government and nongovernment programs can help meet the goals;

d. Indicating the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals;

e. Assigning definite priorities and targets for action by specific agencies.

3. Systematically evaluate the progress of Negroes in the job market and the effectiveness of government and nongovernment services in meeting their needs.

4. Assign definite responsibilities for the above steps to the Department of Labor and other appropriate agencies.

III. CREATE MORE AND BETTER JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

Why the recommendation is needed.

The availability of decent job opportunities at fair wages is essential to the economic and social progress of the Negro. The high rate of unemployment and underemployment among Negroes; their concentration in low-paying jobs at the bottom of the skill ladder; their vulnerability to displacement by automation--all are factors at the very heart of their insecurity, poverty, and waste of human resources.

This section of recommendations approaches job creation and expansion of employment opportunities through improvements in economic measures and manpower utilization. Action to eliminate discrimination in employment is covered in the following section. The job creation recommendations call for affirmative action by both private and government employers, labor organizations, and community groups. The recommendations are tailored to the special needs of various subgroups in the Negro labor force, ranging from unskilled workers who need special help in adjusting to the demands of the job market to skilled Negro professionals and business people. They take account of the needs of workers in both urban and rural areas, and include measures not only to aid jobless workers, but to upgrade employed workers into more skilled, higher-paying occupations.

Subrecommendation A

Make positive efforts to improve job opportunities for Negroes.

Action Required:

By Employers and Labor Unions

1. Positive recruitment of Negro workers.
2. Review the work potential of Negro staff members to insure full use of their potential and to encourage upgrading to more skilled and managerial jobs.
3. Review official job descriptions to eliminate excess educational, skill, and test score requirements.
4. "Re-engineer" job duties to provide employment opportunities for low-skill workers where this will not impair the employment status of other workers.
5. Locate new business establishments and government offices in areas accessible to Negro workers. For example, many establishments being located in suburban areas and industrial parks to which commuting from Negro residential areas is difficult and expensive could have been located in more convenient inner-city areas.
6. Increase job opportunities for Negroes in the skilled crafts by:
   a. Actively recruiting Negroes into craft unions;

b. Helping Negro youths to qualify for apprenticeship programs by establishing pre-apprenticeship training and by revising selection criteria to eliminate unnecessary barriers.

Subrecommendation B

Develop and aggressively administer programs to improve job opportunities for Negroes in rural-farm areas.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop an experimental program to give Negro farm operators the means and incentives to gain ownership of, and successfully operate, farms through a combination of loans, grants, training, counseling, and technical assistance.
2. Expand community development programs to create new non-farm job opportunities in rural areas without creating unemployment elsewhere, and expedite tests of the economic development district approach (delineating districts around central cities with development potential, and emphasizing the development of job opportunities in these central cities as a means of providing additional employment and other economic benefits for both the rural and urban residents of the district) authorized under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.
3. Develop and establish a federally subsidized program to provide off-season or part-time work opportunities to supplement the incomes of underemployed farm people.
4. Experiment with new ways to provide year round employment for migratory and other seasonal farm workers and to build a skilled and stable farm work force.

5. Revise agricultural price support and production stabilization programs to insure that operators of small farms receive adequate assistance; to require farm employers to pass on some of their gains from government programs to their hired farm workers, in the form of higher wages and more adequate labor standards; and to provide adjustment allowances and other assistance to hired workers and small farm operators adversely affected by agricultural support programs.

By State and Local Governments

1. Utilize federal financial incentives to plan and conduct effective community development programs to improve community facilities and human resources and to expand job opportunities.

Subrecommendation C

Establish a federally financed work program to provide constructive and socially useful employment and on-the-job training for jobless and underemployed workers.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop, supervise, and provide resources for an employment program for jobless and underemployed workers.
2. Provide work assignments on government activities for some enrollees.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Furnish federally subsidized work-training opportunities on socially useful projects which would not have been otherwise performed.

Subrecommendation D

Encourage ownership of business enterprises by Negroes.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Increase the availability of federal loans, grants, and technical assistance under such legislation as Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

By Business

1. Extend credit and franchises to Negroes.
2. Encourage joint ventures by white and Negro businessmen.

Subrecommendation E

Improve the access of Negro workers to all available jobs in the community.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Encourage and finance studies of local transportation and employment patterns.
2. Support the construction of roads and other transportation facilities to help bring together workers and available jobs.
3. Locate federal offices and other establishments in places easily accessible to residential areas in which Negroes live. (See Recommendation III A. 5.)
4. Provide tax credits and other incentives for private employers to locate new establishments in areas with substantial unemployment problems.

By Local and State Governments

1. Evaluate and modify local transportation routes, fares, and facilities to improve the access of Negroes to available jobs.

By Private Employers

1. Locate new business establishments in areas accessible to Negro workers. (See Recommendation III A. 5.)

IV. ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BY BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

Why the recommendation is needed.

Racial discrimination in employment has had a long and shameful history in our country. From the nation's point of view, it has barred the Negro from making his maximum contribution to the productive life of our society. From the viewpoint of the individual Negro, it has served as a barrier to the full use of his human potentials-- often relegating him to low-paid, low-skill jobs offering the lowest levels of economic security and occupational dignity.

Recent years have seen the development of new legal tools to combat discrimination. Of greatest potential impact is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies. Other titles of this Act, Executive Order 11246 banning discrimination in government contract work, state and local fair employment practice laws, and recent rulings of the National Labor Relations Board are also of great significance. These tools need strengthening and effective and rapid implementation.

The recommendations in this section provide for effective use of federal government powers to end discriminatory practices. At the same time, the roles of private employers, labor organizations, state and local governments, and community groups are stressed. The recommendations constitute a community-wide effort to make equal employment opportunities a reality.

Subrecommendation A

Greatly strengthen efforts by employers and labor unions to eliminate discrimination in hiring, assigning, and upgrading employees.

Action Required:

By Government Employers

1. Eliminate discrimination in Federal, State, local governments. The federal government should become a model employer. Southern States should give special emphasis to eliminating discrimination in state employment, following-up on the progress already made in such states as Kentucky.

By Private Employers

1. Issue and enforce anti-discrimination policies, and improve company records on the hiring and employment of Negro personnel.
2. Employ more Negroes in personnel and supervisory positions responsible for hiring and evaluating employees.
3. Withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination.

By Labor Unions

1. Establish and maintain non-discriminatory membership policies.
2. Enforce non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts covering hiring, tenure, terms and conditions of employment, work assignments, and advancement.

By Community Organizations such as Churches, Educational, and Health and Welfare Groups and Associations

1. Provision of technical assistance by national organizations to persuade and help local affiliates drop discriminatory practices.
2. Withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination; e.g., "Project Equality" of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Subrecommendation B

Strengthen Title VII (Prohibition of Discrimination by Employers, Unions, and Employment Agencies) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Amend Title VII to:

   a. Expand coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with eight or more employees or members.

   b. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue "cease and desist" orders.

   c. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to order monetary awards to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.

2. Strengthen administration of Title VII, including:

   a. Establishing federal guidelines for tests used by employers to evaluate current and prospective employees and developing performance criteria and other enforcement aids.

   b. Mandatory review of promotion programs and seniority systems.

   c. Increase use of complaints initiated by Commissioners to alter basic patterns of discrimination.

Subrecommendation C

Eliminate discrimination in State or local programs financed by federal funds.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Intensify enforcement efforts under Title VI (Prohibition of Discrimination in State or Local Programs Financed by Federal Funds) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, including:
   a. Developing specific criteria by which to measure compliance with federal rules.
   b. Expanding the training of state and local staffs to inform them of federal requirements and provide guidence in ways to eliminate discrimination.
2. Insure Negro representation on state and local advisory, planning, and action committees in federally subsidized programs; e.g., agricultural programs, vocational education, training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act, community development programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act, activities under the Economic Opportunity Act, and housing and urban renewal programs.

By State and Local Governments

1. Cooperate with the federal government in measures to effectuate Title VI.

Subrecommendation D

Prevent discrimination in employment on government contract work.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Strengthen the administration of Executive Order 11246 (Nondiscrimination on Government Contracts) by:

   a. Compliance reviews prior to the award of contracts.

   b. Requiring employers to demonstrate affirmative action to insure equal employment opportunity.

   c. Increasing compliance budget and staff in federal agencies with compliance responsibilities.

   d. Establishing specific performance criteria for objective measurement of compliance.

By State and Local Governments

1. Develop and enforce rules for nondiscrimination on government contract work.

Subrecommendation E

Enact and improve State and local Fair Employment Practice laws and programs.

Action Required:

By State and Local Governments

1. Enact F.E.P. laws in States and cities that do not yet have such programs.

Subrecommendation F

Undertake technical assistance and educational programs to help employers, unions, and others develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities and to reduce employment prejudice and discrimination.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Combat misinformation, prejudice, and discrimination through a large scale educational program directed at employers, labor union officials, educators, counselors, personnel managers and others responsible for teaching, selecting, and evaluating employees.
2. Expand programs to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.
3. Provide an effective means for employers and unions to exchange information on their experience in attacking discriminatory practices.

By State and Local Governments

1. Encourage the establishment of State and Local Equal Opportunity Councils and the convening of conferences to give leadership to anti-discrimination efforts.
2. Insure the teaching of constructive racial attitudes in school systems.

By Community Organizations

1. Develop and conduct educational programs for such groups as churches, women's organizations, and local business and professional organizations.

V. EXPAND TRAINING PROGRAMS AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO DEVELOP AND UTILIZE THE EMPLOYMENT POTENTIAL OF NEGRO WORKERS

Why the recommendation is needed.

Discrimination, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, relegation to low-skill jobs, and poverty have left their mark on the Negro labor force. A relatively high proportion of Negro workers lack the educational attainment and occupational skills needed to compete for many of the jobs in today's increasingly complex economy. This is especially true of white collar and technical jobs. The problem is made more severe by the migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from rural to urban areas, often without the kinds of vocational skills demanded for nonfarm work, and often lacking adequate knowledge of city life and services. Many of these people were persuaded to move to cities by employers and city officials during periods of labor shortage, such as World War II, and they suffered substantial unemployment and underemployment in subsequent periods of reduced manpower requirements.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials. In many cases, existing training or educational programs are of inadequate size, inconveniently located, and not geared to the needs of disadvantaged groups. On-the-job training by employers has also been relatively limited for Negroes.

Formal training is not enough to assist Negroes at the lower end of the economic scale, where poverty is often accompanied by cultural deprivation

and social disorganization. People in this group require a variety of supportive services to ease their adjustment to the demands of the job market. They need specialized help in solving health, family, housing, and welfare problems which interfere with their success at seeking and holding jobs. Those who migrate from the countryside to the city often need help in adjusting to their new environment. Many disadvantaged people require counseling and related services to develop effective work, job-seeking, and human relations attitudes and behavior patterns. New institutions to rehabilitate persons with especially severe adjustment problems must be developed.

This set of recommendations covers training programs and supportive services to meet these urgent needs. It includes steps to strengthen government services, as well as measures to utilize the facilities and experience of nongovernment organizations.

Subrecommendation A

Develop and implement training and upgrading programs directed especially at disadvantaged workers.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Provide additional incentives to stimulate employers to undertake or expand education and training programs without reducing their previous training efforts.
2. Use government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts.

By Business and Labor

1. Introduce programs to encourage the reinvestment of gains from rising productivity into training and upgrading programs.

Subrecommendation B

Undertake a massive attack on adult illiteracy and other basic educational deficiencies which reduce employment and occupational training opportunities.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand resources available for local adult basic education programs and experiment with new ways of motivating and teaching adults with low educational attainment.

By Educational Authorities and Community Organizations

1. Expand basic education programs and gear teaching methods and the location of classes to the needs and characteristics of disadvantaged people.

Subrecommendation C

Strengthen services to minority groups by public Employment Service agencies.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Federalize the employment service system.
2. Develop strong anti-discrimination practices in the Employment Service.
3. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, intensifying work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that state personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members.
4. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include establishment of Human Resource Centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance such as diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision.

By State Governments

1. Cooperate in a positive manner with federal government efforts to improve Employment Service operations.
2. Eradicate discriminatory practices in selection and referral of job applicants.

Subrecommendation D

Expand and increase the effectiveness of the federally financed program for training unemployed and underemployed workers under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Make positive efforts to include more Negro trainees by liberalizing the recruitment, testing, and selection process.
2. Place greater stress on on-the-job training, and maintain closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and placement of trainees.
3. Reduce time lags and paper work in establishing training projects.
4. Expand MDTA training in nonoccupational subjects needed to improve the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., remedial education, communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc.
5. Expand training to upgrade employed Negro workers by defraying unusual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing severely disadvantaged workers for better jobs.
6. Allow greater flexibility in MDTA training allowances, including:
   a. Increasing allowance to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance

recipients to accept occupational training.

b. Reducing the eligibility requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances.

c. Raising training allowances in courses of long duration.

7. Amend the MDTA to establish an extensive program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State and local penal institutions.

8. Expand and expedite experimental and demonstration programs, including programs to help former prison inmates obtain surety bonds needed to qualify for employment and the provision of financial assistance and supplemental services to unemployed workers who are moving to out-of-area jobs.

By State Governments

1. Stress positive efforts to include Negro trainees in training programs and to develop programs geared to their special needs.

By Business and Labor

1. Cooperate in establishing MDTA on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers find employment or advance to more skilled jobs.

Subrecommendation E

Develop and implement a large scale program to facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural Negroes migrating to the city.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Develop and provide resources for a program to assist rural Negroes migrating to the city including:
   a. Centers in rural surplus labor areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling.
   b. Reception facilities in urban labor demand areas equipped to help the in-migrants solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period.
   c. Relocation allowances under adequate safeguards to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs, without imposing burdens on the target communities.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Support the adoption and implementation of a large scale program to help disadvantaged people migrating to the city from rural areas.

2. Provide centers and reception facilities in rural and urban areas, under federal subsidies, standards, and coordination.

VI. DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM TO PREPARE DISADVANTAGED NEGRO YOUTHS FOR PRODUCTIVE JOBS

Why the recommendation is needed.

The shockingly high rate of unemployment among Negro youths-- both male and female-- their unduly high rate of school drop-outs, and disturbing evidence of social disorganization among some young residents of the impoverished Negro ghetto are problems of such magnitude and urgency that a separate section of recommendations has been devoted to them.

The recommendations in this section are directed at the fundamental problems and needs of youth, rather than the elimination of superficial symptoms. Such needs include greatly strengthened vocational education facilities, expansion of counseling services, and more and better government work experience and training activities. Creative experimentation is needed to develop and test new ways to help young people with especially severe labor force handicaps. At the same time, the need to improve opportunities for youths with potential for advancement into higher professional and technical occupations is also given consideration.

Subrecommendation A

Greatly expand and strengthen high school vocational education programs.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand resources for grants to improve vocational education in the states.
2. Strengthen standards for the content and quality of vocational education subsidized by federal funds.

By State and Local Governments

1. Revise vocational education programs to emphasize training in new or growing occupations, to utilize the latest equipment, and to narrow the gap between the school and work place.
2. Expand and improve vocational training in rural areas, gearing it realistically to non-agricultural occupations in which most rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas.
3. Expedite the establishment of area vocational schools authorized under the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Subrecommendation B

Greatly expand and strengthen counseling services for in-school youths, making available skilled vocational advisors who are acquainted with the requirements of industry, motivating Negro youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, and reducing dropouts.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Provide resources to assist educational and Employment Service authorities to sharply expand and improve counseling services. A target of at least one full-time counselor for every 100 youths in schools in poverty areas should be set.
2. Finance more adequately and strengthen programs to train more and better counselors, with emphasis on training in dealing with the problems of Negro youth.

By State and Local Governments

1. Expand and improve vocational counseling services in schools and public employment offices, including counseling on related health and welfare needs which affect adjustments in the job market.

By Community Organizations

1. Supplement the counseling services of government, with emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youths with especially severe employment and training problems.

Subrecommendation C

Expand opportunities for Negroes to prepare for professional and technical jobs.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand assistance to improve the education available in small, predominantly Negro colleges.
2. Develop and conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller, predominantly Negro colleges qualify for job opportunities available in the health, education, scientific, or other growing fields.
3. Strengthen programs of financial assistance to needy students.

By State and Local Governments

1. Develop and conduct programs to improve the educational potential of predominantly Negro colleges and to assist disadvantaged Negro students.

By Business, Labor, Community Organizations

1. Provide financial assistance to predominantly Negro colleges and scholarships to qualified needy students.
2. Actively recruit Negro youths into management or technical training programs.

Subrecommendation D

Expand and strengthen the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Extend and improve NYC services by legislative action to provide additional resources, reduce the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14, increase the maximum age from 22 to 24, and facilitate the use of MDTA training to prepare Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates for employment. (See also recommendation III-C.)

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Utilize federal financial assistance to provide more and better work opportunities and supportive services for Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees.

Subrecommendation E

Intensify experimentation to develop new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of minority youths.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand experimental and demonstration programs currently authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Education Act, and other laws.
2. Experiment with programs geared to the special needs of jobless Negro girls and young women, with residential training and work-experience programs in urban settings for problem youths, and with employment of juveniles who have police records.

By State and Local Government and Community Organizations

1. Propose and participate in experimental programs.
2. Furnish probationary employment to juveniles with police records involving only minor crimes.

By Business and Labor

1. Participate more directly in proposing and operating experimental programs for youths, adding to experience already gained by industry in operating Job Corps centers.

VII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

Why the recommendation is needed.

The strengthening of income maintenance and labor standards programs is of special importance for Negroes, who are heavily concentrated in occupations and industries which pay low wages, provide only intermittent employment, and are excluded from protective labor standards legislation. For example, extension of minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and laws protecting the right to join labor unions to currently excluded agricultural and service workers would greatly contribute to the economic security of large numbers of Negro workers. Such protection would help to raise incomes to adequate levels and would reduce the dependence of impoverished Negroes on public assistance. Improved labor standards and income safeguards would also help to provide the Negro work force with the dignity, self-respect, and security needed to motivate workers to develop their skills, actively seek employment, and make their maximum contribution in the job market.

Subrecommendation A

Improve federal minimum wage and child labor standards.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Expand coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated; e.g., service and agricultural jobs.
2. Increase the minimum wage. Provide for adjustment programs to help disemployed workers obtain gainful employment.
3. Prohibit child labor outside of school hours on farms except those operated by the child's own family.

Subrecommendation B

Extend the protection and benefits of collective bargaining to occupations and industries in which Negroes are concentrated.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Extend the protection of the Labor-Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries; e.g., agriculture.

By State Government

1. Insure, through State laws and programs. protection of collective bargaining rights for workers excluded from the Labor-Management Relations Act.

By Labor Organizations

1. Intensify efforts to organize workers in service, agricultural, and other occupations in which Negroes are heavily concentrated.

Subrecommendation C

Improve the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Provide and strengthen national standards for unemployment insurance, including:

   a. Extending coverage to small employers, farm workers, agricultural processing workers, employees of non-profit institutions, and other currently excluded groups.

   b. Raising the level of benefits to at least 50% of the average weekly wage, with a target of 66-2/3% in future years.

   c. Extending the duration of unemployment insurance benefits to a minimum of 26 weeks.

   d. Providing additional federal assistance for benefit payments to the long-term unemployed and to help States meet unusually severe unemployment situations.

Subrecommendation D

Extend Workmen's Compensation to farm workers and other excluded groups.

Action Required:

By State Governments

1. Enact legislation to strengthen Workmen's Compensation programs.

VIII. STRENGTHEN AND RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

Why the recommendation is needed.

Welfare programs as they are presently operated fall far short of providing an adequate living to the poor. The annual income available to families under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program only averages about $1.15 per day per person for all of the costs of living. Aged and disabled recipients of public assistance receive only between $900 and $1000 a year and blind recipients receive slightly over $1100 a year.

In addition to low cash payments, the provision of services to help poor people overcome the barriers to self-sufficiency is also limited in most cases. Widespread shortages of trained staff members add to this problem.

Both Federal and State laws impose eligibility conditions that deny help to some needy people. The most important group excluded from coverage under Federal law are families with children in which the parent or parents are employed but whose earnings do not provide even a meager living. More than half of the children among the poor are thus excluded from eligibility for Federally-aided public assistance. Also excluded are persons nearly but not yet 65 and young and middle-aged couples or individuals who are not blind or disabled and who have no minor children. Requirements for a specified length of residence and special requirements that exclude some families with children that are headed by women also result in many needy persons not receiving aid.

The limitations of existing programs bear particularly heavily on Negroes. More heads of households in the nonwhite than the white population work part-time or for only part of the year. Negro earnings tend to be lower. The proportion of nonwhite families headed by women is almost two and one-half times the corresponding proportion of white families. The risk of poverty among children in nonwhite families headed by employed women is about two and one-half times that of white children in such families. Finally, the southern states have conspicuous difficulty in financing adequate assistance programs, even with a relatively high tax effort for public services. Since half of the total number of nonwhite poor people and only about one-third of all white poor people live in the South, this situation adversely affects Negro families.

The recommendations in this section seek to assure assistance to all needy persons, to assure reasonable payment, and to provide adequate staff and nonmonetary services. In addition, some thought has been given to more basic approaches to the poverty problem, beyond the limits of conventional public assistance programs.

Subrecommendation A

Raise the level of public assistance benefits to furnish a standard of living compatable with health and decency.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.

Subrecommendation B

Insure the availability of public assistance to all impoverished people.

Action Required

By Federal Government

1. Eliminate the separate categories of public assistance and substitute a single category based exclusively on need.
2. Under existing programs, require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.
3. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents.

Subrecommendation C

Strengthen the administration of welfare programs.

Action Required

By Federal Government

1. Enact legislation to permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in states which cannot or will not meet federal standards.
2. Greatly expand technical assistance to both rural and urban communities and improve the geographic distribution of funds to insure that all areas of comparable need have access to federally subsidized programs for disadvantaged people which are secured largely on the basis of local development; e.g., community action projects under the Economic Opportunity Act and community development projects under the Public Works and Economic Development Act.

By State and Local Governments

1. Simplify the process through which need for assistance is determined for public assistance applicants.

Subrecommendation D

Adjust public assistance rules to encourage recipients to take jobs or training.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish rules and standards for State public assistance agencies to encourage public assistance recipients to seek employment. (These rules should guide State agencies to take action such as listed below.)

By State and Local Governments

1. Increase the amount of job earnings which can be retained by public assistance recipients without reducing the level of benefits.
2. Insure that recipients who go to work will not endanger their immediate access to benefits in times of future need.
3. Continue non-monetary services to recipients who have found jobs, where such services are needed to help with long-range adjustments.
4. Permit teenagers to keep a substantial proportion of job earnings or MDTA or NYC allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.

Subrecommendation E

Expand non-monetary welfare services to alleviate the basic causes of poverty.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Establish standards and provide additional resources for State and local governments and community organizations to provide supplemental non-monetary services to needy people including the services listed below.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities.
2. Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients.
3. Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children, occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs.

Subrecommendation F

Relieve the acute staffing problem in public assistance agencies.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Stimulate and provide resources for a greatly expanded program of recruitment and training for professional case workers, aimed at a sharp reduction of the number of clients served by each worker. A target of no more than 60 clients per professional case worker should be set.
2. Provide resources for the payment of higher salaries to case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.
3. Analyze case work and related activities to determine which supplemental work can be assisgned to subprofessionals.
4. Develop and provide resources for large scale programs to recruit and train subprofessional aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.

By State and Local Governments and Community Organizations

1. Revise salary schedules for professional case workers.
2. Undertake a substantial reduction in the number of clients assigned to each case worker.
3. Employ nonprofessional staff members to handle the more routine tasks and as "expediters" to locate and inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services.

Subrecommendation G

Explore new approaches to assure a minimum level of income.

Action Required:

By Federal Government

1. Explore means of guaranteeing a minimum income to the poor through the tax system.
2. Explore the utility of a system of family allowances based on the number of dependents.

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 13, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Director, Labor Program
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

This is just a note to express my personal appreciation for your very excellent cooperation with the Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare for the June 1-2 White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." Many of the recommendations contained in our original "cookbook" did not find their way into the Council's report to the Conference; nevertheless, the reaction in the press and by Conference participants indicates that we did deal with some rather substantive recipes as approaches to the problem.

I am not sure at this point as to whether the Task Force will have anything further to do. If there is any reason to call upon you in connection with the report to be made to The President, I shall be in hasty contact with you.

Kindest personal regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian W. Henderson

VWH/ds

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Recommendations	Action Needed

III. Eliminate ~~ATTACK~~ DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

A. ~~Accelerate rate of progress by~~ strengthen~~ing~~th administration of Title VII (prohibition of discrimination by employers and unions and employment agencies) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by:

Federal administrative action

* 1. Requesting more adequate budget and staff.

2. Establishing federal guidelines for tests used to evaluate current and prospective employees to insure that there are no artificial barriers to hiring and upgrading minority group members.

for enough? results test vs. intent test

* 3. Emphasis on programs to upgrade the Negro work force through mandatory review of promotion programs and of seniority systems.

4. Emphasizing positive remedial action in conciliation agreements, including encouragement of special recruitment and on-the-job training programs, and alteration of underlying patterns and conditions.

* 5. Extensive use of complaints initiated by Commissioners to alter basic patterns of discrimination.

6. Expanding educational programs to reduce discrimination in employment.

7. Stressing affirmative action to change discrimination patterns through such means as informal conferences with employers who have failed to aggressively recruit, train, or promote nonwhites ~~and educational programs.~~

(See B - below)

Recommendations	Action Needed
8. Strengthen liaison with civil rights organizations including briefing sessions and special materials for their field workers.	
9. Develop performance criteria and other enforcement aids through research and analysis of reports from employers and unions.	
B. Amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, including:	Federal legislative action
* 1. Expanding coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with 8 or more employees or members.	
* 2. Authorizing the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to issue cease and desist orders.	
3. Aurhorizing the EEOC to order monetary awards to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.	
4.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
C. Strengthen the administration of Executive Order 11246 (nondiscrimination on government contracts) by:	Federal administrative action
1. Compliance reviews prior to the award of government contracts.	
2. Requiring the employer to demonstrate affirmative recruitment, training, and promotion action directed at insuring equal employment opportunity.	
3. Establishing specific performance criteria for objective measurement of compliance.	
4. Increasing compliance budget and staff, in federal agencies with compliance responsibilities.	
D. ~~Undertake aggressive~~ Effective enforcement of Title VI (prohibition on discrimination in state or local programs financed by federal funds) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:	Federal administrative action
1. Expand staff and budget resources for enforcement.	
2. Develop performance criteria and other enforcement aids.	
3. Expand training programs for State and local staffs.	
4. (See I below)	

Recommendations	Action Needed
E. Develop more effective cooperation between federal, state, and local fair employment agencies.	Federal, state and local administrative action
F. Eliminate ~~Attack~~ discrimination in employment in Federal, state, and local governments. The Federal government should become model employer.	Federal, state, and local administrative action, supported by non-government community organizations
G. Conduct a comprehensive Government technical assistance program to help employers and unions develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities, to exchange information on the experience of employers and unions who have recently eliminated ~~reversed~~ discriminatory practices ~~policies~~, and to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing severe problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.	Federal administrative action
H. Embark upon a massive educational program to reduce prejudice among employers, unions, government officials, workers, and the general population. members leaders? not parallel	Federal legislative and administrative action

Recommendations	Action Needed
1. Establish an appropriate office with specific responsibility for coordinating such a program, and with adequate staff and funds.	
2. Develop effective educational materials for distribution to schools, unions, and employer associations.	
3. Aggressively seek opportunities to present facts and ideas to groups of industry, labor, and other representatives.	
4. Develop and support special programs to create constructive racial attitudes among children and teenagers through school channels.	
5. Develop nationwide educational programs for teachers, counselors, personnel directors, supervisors, and others who teach, select, or evaluate people.	
6. Develop and utilize emblems, symbols, awards, contests, and related ideas to reward cooperating organizations, and to stimulate interest and pride in anti-discrimination activities.	
7. Encourage establishment of local and State Equal Opportunity Councils to stimulate anti-discrimination efforts.	
Under D ~~I.~~ as 4. Review Federal government economic assistance programs to insure nondiscriminatory administration. Utilize them in a positive manner to break existing area patterns of job and business discrimination; e.g.,	Federal administrative action

Recommendations	Action Needed
a 1. Loan and technical assistance programs of the Department of Agriculture (recently surveyed by the Civil Rights Commission).	
b. 2. Loan and grant programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.	
c 3. Activities of the Small Business Administration.	
J. Insure minority group representation on State and local advisory, planning, and action committees, such as those Agricultural & Vac. ed., under the MDTA, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and other federally aided programs ~~related programs~~.	Federal administrative action
K. Elimination of ~~Attack~~ racial discrimination in apprenticeship programs;	Employers, labor unions, and Federal administrative action (State action?)
1. Develop new techniques to recruit young Negroes into all craft unions. FEV Info Center	
2. Expand pre-apprenticeship training programs to help disadvantaged youths qualify for admission.	
3. Revise selection criteria to eliminate unnecessary barriers which handicap minority group members.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
L. Develop a well-publicized and systematic program to eliminate discriminatory employment practices in ~~private~~ nonprofit organizations, and utilize the influence of such organizations by:	Action by nonprofit organizations and Federal administrative action Tech Assistance?

1. Working through national non-profit organizations to persuade local affiliates to drop discriminatory practices.

2. Persuading nonprofit organizations such as churches and hospitals to withdraw business from suppliers and contractors who engage in discrimination.

3. Provision of technical assistance by national organizations to local affiliates to help them review hiring practices and standards and to engage in positive recruitment of minority group members.

Recommendations	Action Needed

IV. HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

A large scale effort to

A. Develop, stimulate, and implement ~~large-scale~~ training and upgrading programs by private employers, directed especially at disadvantaged workers:

Private industry; federal legislative action to provide incentives; support from labor unions

1. Introduce programs to encourage the reinvestment of gains from rising productivity into training and upgrading programs, both within and outside the plant.

? 2. Provide tax credits to stimulate in-plant education and training.

3. Use Federal Government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts.

~~B~~ F. Increase the effectiveness of the MDTA program, including:

Federal legislative and administrative action

1. Positive efforts to include more minority trainees by liberalizing ~~recruitment~~ ~~selection~~, testing, and selection processes.
2. Additional stress on on-the-job training;
3. Reducing paper work and time lags;
4. Maintaining closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and encouraging direct contact between prospective employers and trainees throughout the instruction process;

Recommendations	Action Needed
5. Expanding MDTA training in fields other than specific occupations to enhance the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., training in remedial education, communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc.	
6. Expanding training to upgrade employed workers by defraying the usual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing disadvantaged workers for better jobs;	
7. Greater flexibility in MDTA training allowances, including:	
(a) Increasing allowances to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance recipients to accept occupational training;	
(b) Reducing the requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances;	
(c) Raising training allowances in training courses of long duration.	
G ~~C~~. <u>Amend the MDTA to institute a Federally financed program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State, and local penal institutions.</u>	Federal legislative action
H. ~~D~~. <u>Expand the MDTA experimental and demonstration program</u>	Federal legislative and administrative action
1. Develop and test new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of disadvantaged workers.	

Recommendations	Action Needed
2. Strengthen and expedite the experimental MDTA program under which former prison inmates are assisted in obtaining surety bonds needed to qualify for employment.	
3. Expand the MDTA labor mobility demonstration program which provides financial assurance and supplemental services for unemployed workers who are moving to out-of-area jobs.	
B. E. ~~Fill the gaps in a~~ Develop a comprehensive program for preparing disadvantaged youths for a productive place in the job market.	Federal, State and local administrative action
1. Greatly expand, update, and broaden high school vocational education programs, emphasizing training in new or growing occupations, utilizing the latest equipment, and closing the gap between the school and work settings.	Action by educational authorities and federal legislative action
2. Provide funds and training programs to sharply expand the number of counselors and counseling services for in-school youths, including efforts to motivate minority youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, reduction of dropouts, and vocational guidance by skilled advisers who are acquainted with the requirements of industry.	Legislative and administrative action by federal and by local educational authorities
3. Greatly expand and improve vocational counseling and training in rural areas, gearing facilities realistically to nonagricultural occupations in which most rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas. Achieve rapid expansion of area vocational schools authorized under the Vocational Education Act of 1963.	Federal, state, and local legislative and administrative action
4. Expand government and nongovernment assistance to improve the quality and scope of education available in the small, predominantly Negro colleges. Conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller Negro colleges qualify for job opportunities available in the health or other growing technical fields.	Resources from all government and all nongovernment sources. Federal and state legislative and administrative action; action by educational authorities and industry

Recommendations	Action Needed
5. Expand and strengthen the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, including:	Federal legislative action
(a) Providing additional resources;	
(b) Reducing the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14;	
(c) Admitting young people between the ages of 22 and 24 to the out-of-school work experience program in order to improve the employability of those with severe unemployment problems.	
(d) Facilitating the use of MDTA training to prepare Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates for employment.	
6. Experiment with Job Corps Programs in urban settings, realistically geared to the employment and social environment that participants are likely to face upon graduation from the Job Corps.	Federal administrative action
7. Revise the hiring practices of Federal, State, and local governments to permit the probationary employment of juveniles with police records involving only minor crimes.	
F. <u>Undertake a massive attack on adult illiteracy</u>.	Federal and state legislative action; action by educational authorities and cooperating community agencies.

Recommendations	Action Needed
I ~~A~~. Develop and implement a large scale program to facilitate the economic and social assimilation of rural Negroes migrating to the city, including: 1. Provision of centers in rural surplus labor areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for job and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling. 2. Arranging reception facilities in urban labor demand areas, equipped to help the in-migrants to solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period. 3. Provision of relocation allowances under adequate safeguards, to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs without imposing burdens on the target communities.	Federal legislative action, in cooperation with action by state and local government and community agencies
~~B~~. ~~H~~. Strengthen Recruitment and job development programs for minority groups, including the Federal-State Employment Service System. ~~D~~ E 1. 2. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, prevention of discrimination, intensified work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that State personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members. ~~(Possible~~ Federalization of the E.S. system ~~has also been suggested)~~	Federal and state legislative and administrative action including implementation of recent Task Force report prepared for the Secretary of Labor

Recommendation	Action Needed
3. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include experimental Human Resource Centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance such as diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision. (These centers would be somewhat similar to Youth Opportunity Centers but they would deal with adults.)	Federal and State administrative and legislative action
4. Develop strong anti-discr practices in empl. services	
E, D I. Expand the authority and basic conceptual framework of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to relate anti-discrimination efforts to a comprehensive manpower development program. This would include giving EEOC authority to refer workers to training programs, to provide funds for manpower development programs, and to take other positive measures.	Federal legislative action

Recommendation	Action Needed

V. ~~FILLING THE GAPS IN~~ Developing a Comprehensive Program for ECONOMIC SECURITY, welfare, AND LABOR STANDARDS

I ~~A~~. Utilize new approaches to assure a minimum level of income, including consideration of: — Federal legislative and administrative action.

1. ~~A "negative income tax" or other~~ Means of guaranteeing a minimum income to the poor through the tax system.

2. A system of family allowances, based on number of dependents.

B. Improve the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system by: — Federal legislative action

1. Extending coverage to small employers, farm and agricultural processing workers, employees of non-profit institutions, and other currently excluded groups.

2. Raising the level of benefits to at least 50% of the average weekly wage, with a target of 66 2/3% in future years.

3. Extending the duration of unemployment insurance benefits to a minimum of 26 weeks.

4. Providing additional federal assistance for benefit payments to the long-term unemployed and to help States meet unusually severe unemployment situations.

Recommendation	Action Needed
C. Improve the effectiveness of public assistance programs in providing a minimum income for the poor by:	Federal legislative and administrative action.

1. Eliminating the separate categories of public assistance and substituting a single category: need. ~~If this is not feasible, provide Federal grants for an expanded category of General Assistance to cover cases that are not now protected.~~ Be a second choice

Under Existing Programs

3. Require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.

2. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.

4. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents.

5. Adjust public assistance rules to encourage recipients to seek employment:

   (a) By increasing the amount of earnings which can be retained without reducing the level of benefits;

   (b) By insuring that recipients who go to work will not endanger their subsequent access to benefits in times of future need;

   (c) By continuing non-monetary services to recipients who have found jobs, where such services are needed to help with long-range adjustments;

   (d) By permitting teenagers to keep a substantial proportion of job earnings or MDTA or NYC allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.

Recommendation	Action Needed
Simplify the determination of need by.	
D. ~~Improve "means tests" operations by:~~	State administrative action
1. Accepting certifications of need made by community agencies other than the Public Welfare Agency.	
2. Experimenting with the substitution of affidavits from applicants for intensive means test investigations.	
3. ~~Using average, rather than individual figures in estimating family needs.~~ Standardizing budget allowances rather than making detailed computations. Simplifying budget procedures by eliminating	
E. Permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in States which cannot or will not meet Federal standards.	Federal legislative action
F. Expand non-cash welfare services to solve the basic causes of poverty among needy people:	Federal & State legislative & administrative action
1. Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities.	
2. Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients.	
3. Separate the administration of welfare services from the more mechanical extension of cash assistance.	

Recommendation	Action Needed
4. Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children, occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs.	
Alleviate the acute staffing problem ~~of staffing~~	
G. ~~Solve the staffing crisis~~ in public assistance agencies:	Federal, State, & Local administrative action
1. Employ non-professional "expediters" to locate, identify, and inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services.	
2. Develop case work and related activities which can be conducted by supplemental subprofessional personnel and develop large scale programs to recruit and train such aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.	
3. Provide resources for a substantial expansion in the number of case workers and for a reduction of clients per case worker.	
4. Improve and expand programs to recruit and train professional case workers.	
5. Provide higher salaries for case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.	

Recommendation	Action Needed
H. ~~Equalize and~~ Facilitate availability of ~~access by all areas and individuals to those~~ Federally subsidized programs for disadvantaged people which are ~~conducted~~ administered largely on the basis of local development, ~~proposal, and operation~~ of projects to all areas ~~individuals~~ of comparable needs.	Federal administrative action
1. Allocate available resources to insure the best geographic coverage, including both rural and urban areas.	
2. A greatly expanded technical assistance to communities, both rural and urban, which lack the leadership, experience, or sophistication to develop, process, or conduct projects for their disadvantaged people.	
A I. Protect and improve labor standards, including:	Federal and State legislative action
1. Expanding coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated.	
2. Increase the minimum wage under the FLSA, permitting adjustments to help workers of very low productivity obtain gainful employment.	
3. Extend the protection of the Labor Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries.	
4. Extend workmen's compensation to farm workers and other other excluded groups.	
5. Prohibit child labor on farms outside of school hours.	

Recommendation	Action Needed

Hold
Insert where appropriate

Expand Research for Strengthening Policies & Programs

~~VI.~~ ~~VII~~ RESEARCH AND ANALYSES

Ways & means of insuring adequate nat. aid standards

A. Conduct a study of the advantages and disadvantages of converting the ~~Federal-State~~ Public Assistance Program to a Federally operated program which would include: — including a study of Country — (Federal administrative action.)

1. Planning at the national level;
2. A Federalized welfare system with States and local agencies providing only emergency or temporary personal assistance;
3. Abolition of the present public assistance categories and the substitution of a single category based on need;
4. A Federal scale of welfare benefit levels;
5. Federal standards of eligibility.

B. Conduct an intensive study of the use of nonprofessionals in the welfare program, including ways in which nonprofessionals can assist professional case workers; the training of nonprofessional aides (including use of Negro colleges and the Job Corps); and examination of ways to gain acceptance of subprofessionals by professional case workers. — Federal administrative action.

Recommendation	Action Needed
C. Conduct an intensive study of a panel of migrants from rural to urban areas, tracing their experience, problems, motivations, and adjustments over a substantial time period.	Federal administrative action
D. Encourage identification by race in relevant records of employers, labor unions, the Employment Service, the Department of Agriculture, and other agencies in order to provide a basis for evaluating the employment and training status of nonwhites, and their participation in federal programs.	Federal administrative action
E. Devise a uniform core of required information for the records and reports used in compliance review under the Equal Employment Opportunity, Federal Contract Compliance, Plans for Progress, and related programs to collect uniform information about hiring, upgrading, personnel, and other employment practices.	Federal administrative action

Recommendation	Action Needed
F. Develop and test new methods of meeting the employment and training needs of disadvantaged groups in experimental and demonstration projects under the MDTA, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Economic Opportunity Act, and others.	Federal administrative action
G. Encourage the establishment of, and provide funds for university research centers to explore problems and solutions in the economic security and welfare fields for minority groups.	Federal administrative action
H. Expand research on the effects of housing discrimination and inadequate transportation facilities on the job opportunities of minority groups, and analyze potential solutions.	Federal administrative action
I. Introduce a solidly based statistical system for evaluating, regularly and continuously the extent to which Negro men and women are penetrating the job market, by a selection of neighborhoods, cities, metropolitan areas, and by region, and urban and rural location.	Federal, State, & Local administrative action

Recommendation	Action Needed
This may include a refined and comprehensive statistical program on a sound sampling basis for deriving current information about neighborhood employment, unemployment, and other characteristics, as well as job vacancy data related to the needs of minority group workers. Such a system could be coordinated with information collected regularly by the Office of Economic Opportunity on the characteristics of poverty areas, which could be compared with nonpoverty areas.	
J. Improve the coordination of existing programs concerned with human resource development and utilization; e.g., the OEO program, the MDTA program, programs of DHEW, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Agriculture. (The President's Committee on Manpower has established teams to coordinate services in 30 selected cities. It has been given responsibility for coordination of key OEO, Department of Labor, and Department of Health, Education and Welfare programs by Executive Order.) Provide adequate coordination on a regional or metropolitan area basis where necessary, and coordinate multi-source services in unified neighborhood centers, in poor areas.	Federal, State, & local administrative action

Memo

University of Wisconsin Extension Division

FROM Jim Stern **DATE** April 8, 1964

TO School for Workers Staff

Attached is a copy of a recent article by Edward Chase entitled "The Comong Economic Revolution." It summarizes the argument between Walter Heller and Charles Killingsworth concerning the causes of unemployment. I thought it might be of interest.

Jim

Roswell

THE COMING ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

by

Edward T. Chase

An important argument on national economic policy, smoldering for months now in academic corridors, in Congressional hearings, in foundation symposia, and in ignored position papers, has begun to break out into public view.

The argument is about unemployment and automation. It pits the President's Council of Economic Advisers against some of our leading university economists. The argument is addressed to the question of whether American economic malaise is structural in some new sense. And most particularly, it is about the nature and extent of measures required to reduce unemployment to a four per cent rate or less.

What is being argued is whether or not a radically different approach is needed to overcome the poverty afflicting the fifth of all American families with annual incomes of under $3,000, and to scotch the threat of such poverty spreading and deepening. Press discussion of President Johnson's new "poverty package", a comprehensive plan to combat poverty (the rediscovery of poverty is sweeping the country in faddist proportions), has lately stimulated widespread lay interest in the argument over the most effective cures for joblessness and privation.

One is tempted to say that the argument has not been equaled since the Keynesian revolution of the Thirties. In common with that revolution, which reversed classical doctrine by asserting the priority of mass consumer demand and the admissibility of government spending to stimulate it, the consummation of this one, in the sense of official acceptance of a position, may be achieved haltingly. A censensus in the current controversy may come agonizingly just too late. The impetus for today's argument is the spectacle of long-term unemployment--or, more precisely, the spectacle of conventional wisdom, now Keynesian, failing to adjust to the facts about such unemployment.

The argument ultimately touches upon everything from the gold drain and the growth rate to administered prices, cost-push inflation, and civil rights. But one can best enter into it by focusing on unemployment. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the controversy has to do with the fresh evidence of the importance of capital investment in people in contrast to industrial plant.

Who are the antagonists? Well, we have, on what is now the right, Walter Heller and his Council of Economic Advisers, stigmatized as the cyclicalists and the devotees of aggregate demand. And, over here, we have the structuralists, a mixture of thinkers-about-cybernation, the younger bloods in the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and an array of academicians. The most formidable of them is Professor Charles C. Killingsworth, the manpower expert from Michigan State University. Killingsworth has starred in the discussions before Congressional hearings and at recent symposia on unemployment and labor market policy. There is reason to believe he has Heller and company on the defensive as they also begin to acknowledge the significance, if not quite the primacy, of the structuralists' case.

Hardcore unemployment up 60% of whole 1953-1963

But an old-timer in the Labor Department, Ewan Clague, the U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, has put forth, in a brutally simple demonstration, some of the key data that go to the heart of the matter. Clague raises questions about the ability of the $11 billion tax cut to invigorate the economy in the light of the following: In the past decade, both in prosperous years and in slump years alike, the percentage of the unemployed defined as the "very long term unemployed," six

months or more, has increased steadily. At midyear in 1953, they numbered 58,000, or 3.7 per cent of all unemployed; in 1957, they numbered 260,000, or 9.6 per cent; in 1960, 411,000, or 11.9 per cent; and in 1963, 643,000, or 15.8 per cent.

Half the rise in enemployment over the past decade, Clague demonstrates, is attributable to the longer duration of joblessness of those out of work, rather than any incidence of new unemployment deriving from cyclical slumps. This is an entirely new experience for the United States, with confounding implications for those whose faith rests upon fiscal and monetary manipulations. Meanwhile, corporate profits are at an all-time high, while about thirteen per cent of our industrial capacity goes unused, casting further doubt on the need or the likely efficacy of a tax cut as an incentive for business investment.

The conventional assumption has been that the labor market in a market economy has a self-regulating nature akin to the self-regulating character of the market itself. If this assumption is valid, then a tax cut, successfully stimulating the economy generally and nourishing demand and the requisite purchasing power, would melt away hard core, "structural" unemployment. But what has become increasingly evident, claim the structuralists, is that rapid and pervasive technological and demographic changes have decisively altered the character of the labor market so that it is much less responsive to overall market forces.

* * * * *

New Jobs/yr 1948-1956 902T

464T/yr 1957-62

To begin with, in the decade after World War II, the U.S. economy produced an average of 902,000 new jobs annually. From 1957 until 1962, however, it produced an average of only about 464,000 new jobs annually, a calamitous drop unmatched elsewhere among the industrialized nations save for Canada. Meanwhile, over this postwar period, the U. S. labor force substantially increased, at an average rate of 1.6 per cent yearly, or almost one million persons annually from 1957 on. In consequence, unemployment hit a peak of seven per cent in 1961. The economic pickup of 1962 and the boom of 1963 temporarily halted this disastrous trend, with the economy producing something more than a million new jobs yearly, or a bit more than the net addition of new matriculants into the labor force. This is only a partial and brief respite because we are on the verge of a spectacular increase in the number of young entrants into the labor force.

Furthermore, productivity per worker increased by about 2.4 per cent yearly before 1961, and since then by more than three per cent annually. We now must create 10,000 new jobs daily, or about ten million in the next two and a half years, just to keep from slipping behind. Another way to say this is to point out that we require 158 new jobs created today for every 100 we needed in the 1950's, simply to stay even.

What is more, and this is at least equally important, the kinds of job opportunities that are being created today (as well as their location) are radically different from what they were only a few years ago, and they are more difficult to anticipate. Notoriously, the unskilled, the young, the old, the immobile poor, and the disadvantaged minorities are not finding job openings. Their plight deepens as the simple tasks they traditionally performed are taken over by machines.

The structuralist argument is pressed further by additional evidence of various types. For example, according to the Labor Department's manpower expert, Seymour Wolfbein, although unemployment hovers at about six per cent the existence of available job openings can be documented. Such evidence, a prerequisite under the Manpower Development and Training Act for establishing training programs for the unemployed in any given area, has not been a limiting factor in setting up training projects. A job survey in Philadelphia, as a typical instance, revealed 15,000 job openings in thirty-two categories for which there were no locally avail-

able qualified applicants. Labor bottlenecks of this nature are being reported in various industries and cities across the country.

To date, the structuralists' case has not notably altered the basic position adopted by the Council of Economic Advisers, though there is occasional wavering, or perhaps ambiguity is the better word, in their public utterances. (The Washington scuttlebutt is that, in private, Council members express grave doubts that their policies will reduce unemployment to four per cent.) C.E.A. member Gardner Ackley, in a widely reported speech before the Vermont-New Hampshire School of Banking in Hanover, New Hampshire, recently gave the Council's position as one of still doubting that the pace of new technology was making today's unemployment problem any different from what it had been, and of being convinced that the proposed $11 billion tax cut would suffice to bring unemployment down to four per cent in 1966. As his chief, Walter Heller, has done so often, Ackley went out of his way to spurn the notion that modern automation is significantly new in its impact on the labor market. Once again he made explicit the C.E.A. view that monetary and fiscal manipulations were adequate to the task of controlling unemployment.

The main point at which the structuralists attack the Council of Economic Advisers' position is the latter's implicit assumption of the homogeneity of the labor force. It is a crucial element in the structuralists' argument. They cite, to begin with--and our Swedish uncle Gunnar Myrdal also comes down heavily on this note in his new book, Challenge to Affluence--the high figures for overtime worked by the highly skilled and the managerial elite. Accordingly, a tax-cut stimulated rise in business activity would not absorb any significant portion of the unemployed, they claim, but would produce further bottlenecks by aggravating the shortage of the highly skilled. Indeed, assert the structuralists, should a tax cut create the desired greater investment in new and more productive plant and equipment, it would be certain to enlarge the surplus of underdeveloped (i.e. inadequately educated and trained) manpower, those not equipped for the tasks of designing, installing, and running modern labor-saving machines.

The unreality of the cyclicalists' traditional notion of the homogeneity of labor was pungently emphasized at a recent Washington conference on poverty--they are almost daily affairs now--by John Kenneth Gallbraith. While welcoming efforts to stimulate economic growth, he went on to say: "But on one point there must be no doubt. If the head of a family is stranded deep on the Cumberland plateau, or if he never went to school, or if he has no useful skill, or if his health is broken, or if he succumbed as a youngster to a slum environment, or if opportunity is denied to him because he is a Negro, then he will be poor and his family will be poor and that will be true no matter how opulent everyone else becomes."

Another structuralist, University of Chicago economist Theodore W. Schultz, in his presidential address, "Investment In Human Capital," at the recent annual meeting of the American Economic Association, traced the faulty concept of labor's homogeneity back to the early industrial period. It is a concept that has persisted in the face of more and more conflict with reality. "The failure to treat human resources explicitly as a form of capital, as a produced means of production, as the product of investment, has fostered the retention of the classical notion of labor is a capacity to do manual work requiring little knowledge and skill, a capacity with which, according to this notion, laborers are endowed about equally." "This notion of labor," said Schultz, "was wrong in the classical period and it is patently wrong now. Counting individuals who can and want to work, and treating such a count as a measure of the quantity of an economic factor, is no more meaningful than it would be to count the number of all manner of machines to determine their economic importance either as a stock of capital or as a flow of productive services."

Is the growth in employment in service activities, as employment in production jobs declines, absorbing the hard-core unemployed as hoped? No, say the structuralists. For as Professor Killingsworth testified recently before Senator Joseph D. Clark's Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, "The fundamental effect of automation on the labor market is to 'twist' the pattern of (the) demand (for labor)"--that is, it pushes down the demand for workers with large amounts of training. The shift from goods to services is a second major factor which twists the labor market in the same way. There are some low-skilled, blue collar jobs in service-producing industries, but the most rapidly growing parts of the service sector are health care and education, both of which require a heavy preponderance of highly-trained people.

Killingsworth is especially critical of the Council of Economic Advisers for its repeated assertion that technological changes today have no worse an influence on employment than in earlier periods. He demonstrates, for example, that automation is in fact creating a new kind of havoc because, quite apart from whatever intrinsic characteristics automation has that differentiate it from earlier technological change, it is occurring in a new economic environment, our highly developed mass consumption society.

When Henry Ford introduced the moving assembly line in 1913, thereby reducing direct labor requirements for each automobile by ninety per cent, the impact on employment was more than compensated for by the fact that there was, in 1913, only one automobile registered for every 100 people in the country. The potential market was tremendous. By the 1950's, however, when a technological change roughly comparable in its labor saving to the assembly line hit Detroit--I refer to the transfer machine which automatically advances the car's engine block and other parts from unfinished to finished form, without employing machine operators--there was one car registered for every four Americans. In short, while the market was not saturated, its growth potential by then was vastly more limited than it was in 1913. By 1960, with one car for every three persons, saturation no longer seemed remote.

The point Killingsworth makes is the simple but ignored one of the increasing inelasticity of demand in the private consumer sector of our advanced economy; that "when an industry has reached maturity--for example, when there is already one car for each three people--it just is not possible to achieve further dramatic increases in sales, even with the largest price cuts within the realm of reason. The improved productivity made possible by labor saving machines simply enables the industry to keep up with the normal growth of the market while employing fewer production workers. This is what happened in a number of our major industries in the 1950's." Items: 99.5 per cent of homes now have electric refrigerators; 93 per cent have TV sets; 83 per cent, electric washing machines.

Sales of electric toothbrushes and electric hairbrushes may be starting to grow rapidly. But the growth of employment in such typical new "industries" will not offset the decline in the older, basic, larger consumer goods industries.

"The doctrine that 'machines make jobs,' to the extent that it rests on research rather than faith," testified Killingsworth before Senator Clark's subcommittee, "is drawn primarily from studies of the periods 1899-1937 and 1899-1953. These were mainly years when the growth potential of most markets for goods was still very great." A "major source of error" is the assumption that our great massproduction industries will grow at the same prodigious rate in the second half of the Twentieth Century as in the first half.

Training Relocation Voc. Ed.

At least three basic policy conclusions are being drawn from all this by manpower experts in Washington. For one, while a tax cut, and especially tax reform, are deemed desirable, they cannot prevail as the answer to hard core unemployment without concomitant "structural" interventions. The latter must include largescale and intensive retraining of the unemployed and underemployed, government underwriting of the costs of their training and relocation, and a vast acceleration and up-dating of vocational education. (Interestingly, 1963 ended with remarkable progress on this front: Congressional passage of an extraordinarily ambitious education bill carrying increased funds for vocational education, as well as substantial expansion and improvement of the Manpower Development and Training Act program, with the latter to include not only money for relocation but also stepped-up programs to combat illiteracy.)

Expansion of Pub. Sector

Secondly, because inelasticity of demand characterizes so much of our private consumer economy, there must be recognition that America's predominant unmet needs are found in the public sector. At present these needs cannot be expressed as "market demand" since the requisite purchasing power is lacking. Among the beneficiaries of housing programs, of more and better schools, better mass transportation, health care, and recreational facilities, are the thirty million poor whose needs can be converted to demand only by direct Federal subsidy. What will be involved in changing the poor into paying customers is a program of public works on a much larger scale, especially in such areas of sustained economic torpor as Appalachia, the upper Great Lakes Region, and parts of the Ohio Valley region.

Construction

The argument also is being pressed that the single expedient promising the speediest result would be a massive national urban redevelopment program, desirable both in coping with the deteriorated areas of our largest cities and because construction, and especially housing, uses a higher ratio of labor to materials than our other big industries.

The third conclusion is that there must be a revolution in our labor market policies, resulting in what Charles Killingsworth, Gunnar Myrdal, Professor C. W. Bakke of Yale, and other structuralists call a "positive" labor market policy. Besides the retraining, vocational education, and relocation allowances, there must be a vastly improved national employment service to assist labor mobility at all levels. Today, the U.S. Employment Service is Federally financed but run by the states. Its operations are locally oriented and its offices stigmatized as "unemployment offices" rather than centers for employment.

A reformed U.S.E.S. would provide up-to-the-minute regional and national employment trends information in all its 1,900 offices; expert interviewing, testing, counseling, and placement services for all skill levels; and a real source of information on job openings. The latter could be achieved by making it compulsory for larger firms to list openings with the U.S.E.S. (but with no compulsion that firms have to hire only applicants referred by the U.S.E.S.). If the current cutbacks in armament programs increase, the likelihood of such reforms will be enhanced because only a first rate, national employment service can deal effectively with sudden major manpower dislocations.

In sum, then, such American economic malaise as prevails will not be cured by the Council of Economic Advisers' monetary or fiscal measures unless accompanied by significantly substantial government intervention of a structural nature. That means vastly stepped-up retraining and relocation of the unemployed; public works in the area of such unmet needs as housing, education, health care, urban mass transportation, and recreation; and an expanded, reformed national employment service dedicated to a positive labor market policy. Nothing less will suffice.

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

AGENDA PAPER #I
JOBS, JOB TRAINING AND ECONOMIC SECURITY
Dr. V. W. Henderson

Proposed Agenda

I. Questions and Issues on National Economic Policies

Inquiry into national economic policies -- fiscal, monetary, manpower, employment, and area development -- should permeate the discussion session on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security. Policies in these areas are of special significance to Negro workers and income recipients. Policy implies more than the existence of programs and practices which have some impact on the problem at hand. A policy requires the explicit recognition of goals and the formulation of a coherent program for realization of those goals. Important implications for the employment and economic situation of Negroes are associated with alternative economic policies and program approaches. Some of the questions and issues to which the two-day discussions should be addressed follow:

A. Would achievement of full employment be sufficient to alleviate significantly the range of employment problems which currently handicap Negroes?

1. What gains in employment and economic opportunities can Negroes expect if we achieve the "interim goal" of 4 per cent unemployment?

2. What structural deficiencies in the Negro labor force can be attacked through national economic policies? What policies and programs should be pursued to get at these deficiencies?

3. What is the role of job creation programs, both in and outside the Negro ghetto, in meeting the employment and income problems of Negroes?

4. What are the alternative approaches to job creation programs that will reach Negro members of the working-age population and utilize present skills while providing for the development of new ones?

B. What role should tax policies play in accelerating achievement of racial equality in economic outcomes and results?

C. Will national economic policy, oriented toward stimulating aggregate demand, get to the root problems of low per capita incomes among Negroes?

D. How may social needs be converted into jobs, and what are the alternative approaches?

1. What can be done through public policy and private action to marshal idle Negro manpower in an attack on accumulating unmet public needs?

2. About 8 million Negroes, 40 per cent of the nation's Negro population, live in 70 cities. What policies and programs should be concentrated on these cities to reach Negro workers with comprehensive programs to improve their economic situation?

3. What priority should be given to public works program and work projects in an attack on Negro employment problems and in developing Negro human resources?

4. Should a special program of direct employment be undertaken in the more distressed Negro communities that will permit the unemployed as well as those not in the labor force to work on projects which will alleviate physical deficiencies in their own environments?

E. How can private enterprise be more effective in generating human resources development and use among Negroes?

1. What incentives can be provided through public policy to encourage private employers to increase programs in Negro human resource development?

2. What incentives can be provided through job policy to encourage employers to apply some of the gains from increased productivity to measures aimed at easing human resource adjustments in the labor market?

II. Profile of the Negro Labor Force

The exploration of the profile of the Negro labor force should focus on an inventory of present and future skill resources and their allocation in the economy. The discussion of these questions should form the basis for prescribing future action.

A. The Employed Worker

1. In what significant ways do the characteristics of employed Negroes differ from the characteristics of employed whites with respect to wages and salaries, occupations, industry attachment, educational attainment, minimum wage coverage, unemployment insurance coverage, union membership, etc.

2. To what extent are already existing skills in the Negro community not being utilized in the job market? What job categories, if expanded, could be readily filled by qualified Negroes?

3. What skills are available in the Negro community for new kinds of jobs which the Government could stimulate, e.g., nonprofessional jobs in the human services (health, education, welfare, recreation, community organization, etc.)?

4. To what extent are workers in low status jobs screened from promotable skills?

5. To what extent is the reservoir of existing skills affected by technological change?

6. To what extent are Negroes in the labor force outside the structure of laws designed to protect the working man?

7. What incentives and subsidy programs would best encourage industries to locate in the vicinity of the Negro labor force?

B. The Underemployed Worker

1. What barriers in the traditional corporate setting restrain the Negro worker from full realization of his potential?

2. How can underemployed Negroes be identified, and the degree of their underemployment ascertained in terms of actual and potential qualifications? What should be done to reduce underemployment among Negroes?

3. To what extent are Negroes economically underemployed in comparison to whites when both groups are standardized with respect to age, educational attainment, participation in the labor force, and sex?

C. The Unemployed Worker

1. In what significant ways do the characteristics of the Negro unemployed differ from the characteristics of the white unemployed with respect to labor force experience, age, educational attainment and skills, previous occupation, industry attachment?

2. To what extent is unemployment among Negro workers connected with technological change and shifts in manpower requirements, seasonal factors, inadequate growth, frictional factors, geographic and occupational immobility, racial discrimination in employment as such, other forms of racial discrimination?

3. How can we best improve assistance to the long-term unemployed?

D. Those Not in the Labor Force

1. Why have many of the long-term unemployed withdrawn from labor force participation and are reluctant to enter again?

2. What programs are needed to reach the prime-age Negro males with low labor force participation?

3. What special efforts are required to extend and improve the public employment services?

E. The Rural Worker

Panelists may want to consider and evaluate --

1. The current loan programs that are administered by the Farmers Home Administration, with special reference to the E O Loans, Title III.

2. The new farm program as it applies to non-commercial agriculture, which includes 99 per cent of the Negro farm operators.

3. The lack of a national farm labor policy, with special reference to hired farm labor, including migrants.

4. The organization and institutional services and programs provided by Federal, state, and local governments to the rural workers.

5. The extension of minimum wage and other provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and collective bargaining rights under the Taft-Hartley Bill to hired farm workers.

III. New Programs and Attitudes

A. Since employability in our economy, particularly in recent years, is related to skills and work-experience, what are the training and re-training programs, existing or proposed, that are relevant for employed and unemployed Negro workers and youth?

1. Apprenticeship programs

a) What are the current practices of unions, construction contractors and their association and industry with regard to Negro workers and youth?

b) What is the role of public vocational schools and government agencies such as Employment Service and Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in this area? What, if any, modifications and improvements are needed?

c) What is the relationship of city, state and Federal government to apprenticeship training, especially in regard to public construction and licensing activities?

d) To what extent should policy move from reliance on qualifications alone to facilitate integration in the apprenticeable trades?

2. On-the-Job Training

a) To what extent is training emphasized as opposed to hiring workers with skills previously acquired?

b) Can on-the-job training be utilized effectively in public and private institutions such as schools, hospitals, recreation facilities and welfare agencies to:

1) Provide needed additional manpower?

2) Free professionals to concentrate on professional tasks by greater utilization of non-professionals from group to be served?

3. Other Programs

a) How effective are the present government-supported training programs?

b) To what extent should institutions concentrate on training Negro applicants to hurdle existing qualification barriers (testing, etc.) and to what extent should there be emphasis on the changing of those qualifications (FSEE, AFQT, employment tests, apprenticeship examinations)?

4. The Overall Role of the United States Employment Service

a) Should its mandate be updated in view of increased emphasis on skills in labor market and growing labor force?

b) What is its relationship to other channels of employment and other institutions which implement manpower and education policy?

c) How can its operation be made more efficient?

d) Are its services adequate for older workers, members of minority groups and workers with limited education and low-level and obsolete skills, especially in service occupations?

B. How can greater economic stability be developed among under-employed and unemployed Negro workers by changing the social definition of jobs, the requirements for entrance into them, particularly in the service-producing industries and occupations such as health, education, recreation and welfare?

1. Can and should "non-professionals" be introduced as paid workers into public and private institutions in this area as teacher aides, psychiatric aides, research aides, block workers and community organizers with realistic training programs to encourage effective participation and promotion?

2. Should coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act be broadened, and the minimum wage be raised? If so, in what industries in particular?

3. Should collective bargaining rights be extended to these occupations and industries?

C. The Negro Entrepreneur

1. To what extent should government resources be devoted to the encouragement of a class of small businessmen in the Negro community?

2. How can Negro businessmen be drawn into the mainstream of American commerce?

3. What new institutional arrangements, banking, etc., are necessary to provide the proper climate for increased entry into the entrepreneurial class?

IV. <u>Enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunities</u>

A. Title VII

1. What has been the experience since the July 2, 1965 effective date?

2. How can the most effective cooperation be achieved between the Federal, state, and local fair employment commissions in fulfilling the objectives of Title VII?

3. Should the Commission be supplied with firmer adjudicatory powers in addition to mediation and conciliation functions?

4. What other improvements might assist the Commission in achieving the statutory objectives?

B. Federal Contract Compliance Program

1. How can the use of the Federal spending power through Federal contracts be more adequately used to further equal employment practices in many industries?

2. Has the "affirmative action" provision of the Executive Order and the Plans for Progress program made a substantial impact on minority employment?

C. Government as the Employer, Federal, State and Local

1. What changes have occurred regarding the equal employment opportunities of minority group employees on the Federal level?

2. Is the Federal government doing all that it requires of private enterprise in terms of affirmative action, such as in-service training, etc?

3. What improvements can be suggested in order to further the program of fair employment practices among the state and local governments?

D. In achieving equal opportunity, would the resources of the government be better harnessed by a different allocation of responsibilities among the agencies?

V. Barriers to Upward Mobility and Equal Employment

A. What new techniques should be developed to deal with tokenism, concentration of minority groups in low wage jobs and lack of in-service training for upward mobility?

B. How can the techniques used by some unions to perpetuate discriminatory employment practices be broken down?

1. Revision of labor-management agreements employing segregated lines of progression and discriminatory uses of seniority provisions?

2. Consolidation of segregated locals without further disadvantage to members of the minority local?

C. What new laws or techniques are needed to cope with private groups and individuals who perpetuate discriminatory practices in employment through economic and political influence?

D. What "Affirmative Action Programs" should industry, unions and private organizations develop in order to create greater opportunities for Negroes?

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

JOBS, JOB TRAINING, AND ECONOMIC SECURITY - PRELIMINARY REPORT

December 3, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO LEE C. WHITE

From: Carl Holman
Berl Bernhard
Harold Fleming

Following is a preliminary report on proposals by the panel on Jobs, Job Training, and Economic Security of the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." It is based on a report by the director of the committee for the panel, Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President of Clark College. A final report, based on a thorough study of the transcripts of the two days of meetings, will be submitted to the President by the end of the year. However, because of the seriousness of the problems which the Planning Session discussed, and the sense of urgency of the conferees, we are bringing these preliminary findings to your attention now. They are not all-inclusive; only after a more intensive study of the transcripts can we guarantee that every single suggestion made during the course of the two days comes to the President's attention. Such a study is now underway, and will be embodied in our final report.

This report is in two parts. First is a summary statement of consensus on a comprehensive approach to Negro worker problems. The second part sets forth specific approaches to components of the problem; all of these specific suggestions were strongly supported by the majority of the panelists.

I

General agreement was reached that job problems encountered by Negroes are beyond the point that continued piecemeal approaches will be effective in alleviating them. While a full employment economy is essential to furthering job opportunities, even a full employment economy -- i.e., 3 percent unemployment -- will have, at best, very limited effect on the unemployed and underemployed Negro workers.

To reach the large numbers of Negroes who need jobs and job training, politics and programs beyond those directed toward achievement of full employment, as well as beyond present training and retraining programs, are needed.

A comprehensive program directed to specific targets in urban centers, the Negro ghettos, and rural areas where the Negro population is heavily concentrated, is needed. It cannot be assumed that aggregate programs will reach the masses of Negroes who need to benefit from such programs. Several concepts and names were given to the comprehensive approach: the development of a "freedom budget";"a national economic development budget for equal rights": "a job budget," "a capital and manpower budget." Regardless of nomenclature, there was general consensus that a structured program to reach in a highly systematic fashion the unreached masses of Negroes with new opportunities for jobs and training is essential to the mission of "fulfilling these rights."

1. To this end the panel called for a large-scale structuring of employment opportunities, and simultaneously a large-scale structuring of job training for Negro workers.
2. The panel strongly suggested the implementation of public programs to create jobs to absorb Negro workers utilizing present skills while affording opportunity for the development of new skills. The thrust of discussion on this point was that social and human needs presently existing in this society can be converted into jobs and thereby create new opportunities for jobs and job training for Negro workers. In attacking the problem social as well as physical reforms can be achieved. Occupations can be upgraded, re-defined and re-engineered.

a) Specific goals and targets should be established and aimed at the areas in which the bulk of unemployed and underemployed Negro workers are concentrated -- the 70-odd cities where urban Negroes are concentrated and specific rural areas in the 5 or 6 Southern states where Negro rural populations are concentrated.

b) A time-table should be developed. Mr. Randolph suggested 10 years. It should involve no more than 10 years. Goals with supporting policies and programs should be set. Accomplishments should be measurable and identified according to census tracts, neighborhoods and specific areas.

c) Data on Negro unemployment and underemployment must be systematically related directly to blocks, census tracts, neighborhoods and to sub-groups of the Negro working age population. Skill inventories must be developed and related to programs to structure new opportunities. This is necessary in order for targets and goals to be established.

d) Targets, goals and plans should include private businesses:

1) Private efforts should be directed toward fuller use of Negro workers at their present skill levels while implementing training programs and plant and business location schemes to reach Negroes in target areas.

2) Gains from increases in productivity should be re-invested in structured job expansion programs and structured job training programs.

3) Incentives for private business to encourage fuller use and development of Negro manpower should be developed. Direct subsidies to create jobs for Negroes, and tax policy, can be effective in this respect. Many jobs could be re-tailored for effective absorption of Negro workers at present skill levels.

e) Government contracts with private business should play a large role in the development of targets and goals, and the implementation of job expansion programs and job training programs for Negro workers.

II

Job Expansion

1. The panel concluded that in order to reduce Negro unemployment and underemployment to a socially tolerable level, the total number

of jobs in our economy will have to be expanded, and that in order to accomplish such an expansion, federal action will be required.

2. This consensus was reached because of the following developments which will militate against a reduction of Negro unemployment and underemployment to a tolerable level without government intervention:

a) The inflationary pressures likely to arise if reliance is placed on financial and monetary policies alone to drive the unemployment rate below 4 percent.

b) The continuing rapid rate of technological change with its consequent diminution in the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, the usual portals of entry for many non-college trained youth.

c) The differentially high rate of unemployment among Negroes, particularly for Negro youth and the heavy influx of Negro youth into the labor force which can be expected in the years immediately ahead.

3. The tightening of the labor market by direct employment expansion was considered a necessary prerequisite for many of the recommendations that follow. Full employment for whites and Negroes -- including the substantial elimination of underemployment -- was held to be the primary target of governmental effort.

4. To accomplish this end: since there are a great many unfilled human and social needs -- including, as Mr. Randolph stressed, the desirability of destroying the ghettos in our cities -- government should establish priority goals and put idle labor to work.

5. Reference was made to the desirability of the U. S. Government's developing a capital and manpower budget, with sufficient forward planning to facilitate the full utilization of the human resources potential in socially useful employment.

6. In this, as in other governmental programs outlined below, it is essential that special care be taken to assure that those who need jobs are the ones who receive them.

Income

7. Secondary only to the need for an adequate total number of jobs is the necessity of assuring that all citizens engaged in useful work earn a livelihood that will enable them to keep themselves and their dependents at least above the poverty level. To this end, it was recommended that:

a) Millions of workers in agriculture and non-agricultural blue-collar employment now excluded from coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act be brought under coverage forthwith.

b) The minimum wage be raised in a series of steps, but as rapidly as possible, until the minimum hourly wage becomes $2.

c) The legislation governing trade unions be amended to facilitate their organizing the unorganized.

d) The exclusion of employees of government and nonprofit institutions from minimum wage protection and from the right to unionize be removed.

Elimination of Discrimination

8. In addition to increasing the total number of jobs it is essential that the opportunities of Negroes to share in the jobs that are available be widened through the following actions:

a) More effective enforcement of legislative and administrative regulations currently in force by the provision of adequate budgets and personnel for the appropriate agencies.

1) The present thrust of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is largely oriented toward individual complaints. An attack through public policy and legislation upon patterns of racial discrimination in employment was suggested.

2) Voluntary compliance and efforts are accomplishing very little insofar as the masses of Negroes are concerned. Tokenism involving the Negro elite is insufficient. Sanctions need to be strengthened.

b) Amendment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to enable the Commission to issue cease and desist orders, and to take more initiating and affirmative action rather than to be largely confined to acting on complaints.

c) Assessment of whether under Executive Order 11114, covering non-discrimination in public construction, contractors' agreements with the government not to discriminate should have priority over contractors' collective bargaining agreements with labor.

d) Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is insufficient to deal with employment discrimination in local and state governments. An attack upon racial discrimination in employment in local and state governments through Federal policy is needed.

e) Closer coordination of federal agencies engaged in the various aspects of civil rights.

f) The establishment of performance criteria so that the extent of compliance can be measured and tokenism avoided.

Private Efforts

9. In addition to the foregoing recommendations aimed at strengthening the Federal Government machinery, it is highly desirable that non-governmental efforts also be strengthened so that discriminatory practices in employment can be reduced and eliminated as quickly as possible. Among the steps to be taken by non-governmental groups are:

a) Strong commitments by employer groups and individual employers to encourage them to take a wide range of affirmative action, such as the realistic adjustment of testing and hiring standards; special efforts to upgrade employees with limited skills and background; re-engineering of jobs, including the breakdown of complex jobs to facilitate the hiring of workers with limited skills, etc.

b) Continuing efforts on the part of trade union organizations to remove barriers to apprenticeships, employment, upgrading of members of minority groups.

c) Action by community leaders to establish, strengthen and make more effective local and state equal employment opportunity councils.

d) Adoption and expansion by nonprofit organizations of equal employment opportunity practices in all of their economic activities.

10. It is essential that the community understands the relation between the reduction and elimination of discrimination in employment and in housing and education. In this connection we must consider the multiple ways in which intra- and interurban transportation can be strengthened to assure that minority workers have easier access, through reasonable transportation charges, to jobs.

Education and Training

11. With respect to education and training the following steps should be taken while major efforts are made to speed desegregation:

a) To improve the quality of schools in de facto segregated areas.

b) To assure access of minority group members to the full range of all publicly supported facilities.

c) To rapidly expand the number and quality of junior or community colleges which should provide a wide range of courses, including those to assist members of minority groups to improve their occupational mobility.

12. To encourage management and labor through the use of new incentives, including possibly the use of tax credits, to broaden and deepen in-plant and plant-associated education and training.

The Federal Government should give special consideration to making use of its contracting power to insure improved training opportunities.

13. With respect to current federal training programs, particularly the Manpower Development and Training Act, the following is recommended:

a) A large-scale expansion of MDTA and a conscious effort to bring Negroes in large numbers into such programs.

b) To disseminate information about the availability of training opportunities so that those most in need of these opportunities can learn about them.

c) To place additional stress on on-the-job training, thereby linking training more closely with employment.

d) Many programs rely in the first instance on local initiative, and it is to the advantage of certain local leaders to prevent low-wage employees in their community from securing training. The Federal Government must be alert to the necessity of filling the gaps by establishing programs on its own initiative.

U. S. Employment Service

14. Significant gains for minority group members in training and employment depend on a major strengthening of the U. S. Employment Service. To this end it is recommended that:

a) Early action be taken to establish a much higher degree of federal leadership of the Employment Service, including the setting of national standards as a second-best answer to the federalization of the system.

b) The system be upgraded through better staffing, training, etc.

c) The Federal Government act more aggressively to assure that the Service acts in a non-discriminatory manner.

d) The scale and scope of the Service be broadened to assure that all people, including minority groups in rural areas, have access to it.

e) These recommendations can be facilitated by placing personnel under state merit systems, by re-allocating federal funds in order to make special efforts to help minority group members, and by placing additional funds at the disposal of employment officers so that they can help defray the transportation costs of workers in search of jobs in other cities.

Unemployment Insurance

15. With respect to unemployment insurance, the Panel emphasized the importance of extending coverage, but it also advocated the establishment of a higher average minimum payment as well as federal action aimed at preventing employers with seasonal workers from following hiring and firing patterns which deprive their workers of much needed benefits.

Entrepreneurship

16. With regard to encouraging more Negroes to become entrepreneurs, the Panel took the following positions:

a) An enlarged Negro entrepreneur group is desirable because, among other reasons, its disproportionately small participation in such an important occupation in our economy helps perpetuate its tangential relation to the economy.

b) To open up opportunities for increased participation on a significant scale would require substantial federal financial assistance in the form of loans, guarantees, etc., as well as technical assistance. On the latter score, private and nonprofit organizations also have a significant contribution to make.

c) It would be particularly desirable for large and small franchise companies and others operating on an agency basis to intensify their efforts to find suitable Negro personnel to staff their outlets.

d) As far as possible, Negro businesses and businessmen should be helped to locate not only in the heart of the ghetto but on the periphery or outside so that Negro businessmen can more speedily be integrated into the mainstream of American commerce.

e) It is not necessary to think of Negro entrepreneurship as an exclusively Negro activity; joint ventures involving Negroes and whites should be encouraged.

Rural Negroes

17. Despite the heavy migration of Negroes from the rural areas of the South it was noted that:

a) Many are still living in these areas, and a high proportion remain in conditions of poverty or abject poverty.

b) The plight of these people has been increased by the many policies pursued by the Federal Government to assist agriculture without giving due consideration for the special needs and difficulties of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and small farm owners.

c) There are a great many ways in which federal policy could and should be reshaped to give the Negro farm family a better chance of surviving on the land if it desires to remain there, and to help others to a better opportunity to shift to the city if that is their preference or becomes their only alternative.

d) While many white farm families have been able to raise their income substantially by securing additional employment in the new manufacturing plants locating in rural areas in the South, the continuing discrimination against Negroes in industrial employment have kept them at or below poverty levels.

e) In addition to moving aggressively to eliminate discrimination in the rural South, the Federal Government should explore whether it can stimulate employment of Negroes who live on rural, Southern farms so that more of them can continue to live where they are rather than flooding the cities which are ill prepared to receive them.

f) However, since many will continue to move to the cities, it is essential that more efforts be made by governmental and non-governmental agencies to provide a range of services which will speed their integration into the urban economy. Among the most important steps is to assure that they have an opportunity to acquire basic literacy and marketable skill.

18. While the problem of the full absorption of the Negro into American life has assumed national proportions, there remain important regional aspects to the problem:

a) Half of the Negro population continues to live in the South, where discrimination continues to be most intense.

b) The South continues to be an area characterized by an unskilled labor surplus which intensifies the difficulties that Negroes face in being absorbed into the economy.

c) Negro farm laborers in the South are in the most deprived sector of the entire American population.

d) Because of these regional aspects, the fashioning of constructive programs must always be tested against the needs of Negroes living in rural areas, small Southern communities, or large urban centers in the South, as well as those in the large ghettos of Northern and Western cities.

Representation Data

19. Because of the increasingly important role that government policy plays in determining the economic status of the Negro minority and because of the long-term exclusion of the Negro from most decision-making apparatus, it is important that every effort be made to secure Negro representation on all programs involving access to jobs, income, or other types of assistance.

20. In order to keep a closer check on results, consideration should be given by the civil rights organizations to their long-term position against the collection of data by race. It may well be that the risks of collecting such data today are less serious than the costs of not having such data available.

21. Further, it is essential that the Government establish sound bases for data collection to assess the extent to which the Negro minority is benefiting from federal programs, and to make such information available.

Taxes

22. Since many of the actions advocated above involve large expenditures of federal funds, it is important in the drafting of such legislation that special care be taken not to rely on taxes that have a regressive quality. Otherwise, workers just above the poverty line will be paying for many of the programs established for those just below the poverty line.

Goals

23. The inherently complex nature of the recommendations outlined above which are aimed at providing an adequate number of satisfactory jobs for all Americans, including Negro Americans, makes it essential that targets be set against which to measure progress. The urgency of the situation is such that much must be accomplished in the immediate future position, and more shortly thereafter. The American economy and democracy will forfeit security and progress if a substantial proportion of Negroes remain unemployed or underemployed.

Program Proposals for Manpower Policy

THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS in national manpower policy have been marked by a commendable willingness to experiment with techniques to aid those workers who are not well served by normal market processes. Nevertheless, in demonstrating this capacity to innovate, the Government programs generally have failed to develop substantial links between training activities and employer requirements in the dominant sectors of the labor market.

The answer seems to lie in the expansion of on-the-job training. There is persuasive evidence that under appropriate economic conditions both employers and jobseekers are willing to make considerable investment in such training. In fact, most workers have acquired their skills through this route. Even many of the glamour jobs, from programer to instrument man, have been filled by training within the firm rather than long periods spent dissecting a computer.

Clearly, the most powerful stimulus for such training is continued full employment. Thus far, political factors arising from a fear of inflation have prevented a concerted attack on unemployment through an increase in aggregate demand.

Existing Deficiencies

The problem resolves itself into one of establishing a set of incentives for the employer. Several options are available, including direct subsidies to employers, a tax credit on "investment" in training, a tax rebate system for firms who set up their own training programs, and an exemption from increases in the minimum wage as applied to employees under 21 years of age. Each of these proposals has its shortcomings and pitfalls. The most general objection is that employers would reap a windfall by doing what they would do anyway in the absence of a special inducement. Even this objection may be satisfied, however, if a quid pro quo is exacted in the form of standards governing the kinds of programs and, most important, the characteristics of the persons who are encompassed by the training effort.

The second major deficiency of current manpower policies relates to labor market information. Various Government agencies have taken measures to improve this information, but it is still inadequate to the needs of an effective manpower policy.

A distinction can be made between "extensive" and "intensive" labor market information. "Extensive" information deals with knowledge concerning availability and general attributes of employment opportunities and jobseekers. The "intensive" information will provide to the jobseeker some assessment of working conditions, quality of supervision, and related matters; the employer will be interested in the sobriety of the applicants, their specific work experience, and a variety of factors that go into an assessment of quality. Undoubtedly, there are great economies of scale to be realized in the collection of "extensive" information. However, if there are any economies to be reaped in the collection of "intensive" information they probably arise from specialization with respect to particular occupations or industries.

The public employment service has been effective as a placement agency in those labor markets where "extensive" information is most important, such as the market for farm workers and day laborers. On the other hand, many specialty agencies have emerged to collect "intensive" information for particular markets involving executives, engineers, and other professionals for which screening is a vital part of the preemployment process. Another source of "intensive" information would be friends and other employees.

Suggested Improvements

Under these circumstances, it is appropriate that Government agencies, like the employment service, should concentrate on the comprehensive collection of "extensive" labor market information, focusing on both current conditions and long-range trends. The public agency should incorporate this information in its own placement activities and insure its widest possible dissemination among potential users. The distribution of "extensive" information is especially important among those jobseekers who interact with other unemployed persons and thus are denied the benefits of effective informal channels.

A gap still remains in this assignment of functions. Some jobseekers, particularly new entrants

to the labor market and displaced workers, require systematic information about their own aptitudes and interests and the characteristics of the markets which they might enter. Intensive counseling as a source of "personal" information should be a major component of Government manpower policies. Some steps already have been taken in this direction, but within the employment service at least, it is difficult to expect that quality services will be provided by a counselor who receives $6,000 per year and who occupies just another desk in the local office.

The policy suggestions forwarded here are based on the tentative judgment that Government manpower programs to date have not had a significant impact on the unemployed or the labor market. Although it is desirable to preserve a responsiveness to immediate circumstances, greater progress may be made in the long run through the judicious use of economic incentives and the development of effective systems of labor market information. The main challenge to manpower policies is to devise programs that will improve and supplement existing institutions, rather than to create arrangements that will make manpower policies an end in their own right.

—Arnold R. Weber
University of Chicago
Graduate School of Business

A rational economist must finally be concerned with how well people live, not with what things cost. In measuring the wealth of society, it is absurd to rely entirely on the Gross National Product, for much of it may be worse than useless. It is important to notice how much the various expensive products and services of corporations and government make people subject to repairmen, fees, commuting, queues, unnecessary work, dressing just for the job; and these things prevent satisfaction altogether.

—Paul Goodman, *People or Personnel.*

T-R to Mr. Law — 57 to Col McKenzie

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March 25, 1966

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March 28, 1966

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WHC

April 8, 1966

Memorandum on Policy and Program to End Poverty in Rural America

NOTE: The Board of Directors of the National Sharecroppers Fund at its February, 1966, meeting heard a presentation of the needs and potentialities of rural areas by a government agricultural expert. After discussion by Board members about the relative public and private investment required; how to avoid poverty-scale living; how areas could be developed without the entrance of industry; and problems of uneconomic farming; the following statement of problems and policies was evolved.

In twentieth century America, rural and urban society are rapidly becoming one in people, economy, and development.

In rural America, with a population of 55.4 million, 600,000 young people annually are seeking work both on and off the farms. But at present no new job opportunities are being created in the rural areas. Adding to these young people the others who are displaced by continuing advances in agricultural technology, the result is a forced migration of about a million people annually out of the rural areas.

The current Mississippi crisis, with evicted families sleeping-in in government facilities in Mississippi and camping-in in Washington to dramatize their plea for aid, is only one indication of a continuing dilemma. For every 1,000 acres of cotton that is mechanized and weeded with chemicals, a "surplus" of 50 rural families is created. Cotton in the southeastern states is presently 60 per cent modernized and may reach 90 per cent this year. Furthermore, the old South is expected to lose one-third of its cotton acreage base because of market conditions and competition from Arizona, Texas and California. Within 10 years, the by-product will be more than 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 Southern states. When the whole rural economy is considered, this process will send 45 million displaced "surplus" people to the cities in the next few decades. An additional three million families may be forced out of farming and other rural employment because of the deterioration of the rural economy over the same period.

Most of the migrating people are poor. In fact, almost half of the nation's people who live below the poverty level are in rural areas, yet they are receiving less assistance from the anti-poverty program than other parts of the country; only about 10 per cent of OEO funds are thus far spent in rural areas. Thus, without help to climb out of poverty where they are, the rural poor move to the cities and, unskilled and ill-educated, swell the ranks of the urban poor. They move into already crowded ghettos, increasing existing tension, raising social and financial costs, and bringing civil disorder nearer.

Urban poverty cannot be ended until poverty is ended at its source, the blighted countryside.

This is not essentially a race problem. More than two-thirds of the displaced families will be white, the rest Negro. But the Negroes are usually forced out first because centuries of deprivation and discrimination have made their hold on land, jobs and homes so marginal.

Meanwhile, the over-all national population increase in the next 35 years will be about 150 million people. Our 210 cities cannot hold them. An expansion of the rural economy to support rural population increase, plus a merging of the urban society into the rural sector, is necessary for accommodation of the expected new millions. There is at present no evidence of adequate long- or short-range planning for the social and economic adjustments necessitated by this population expansion and migration.

The rural problem, most crucially evident in the destitution of rural people, is actually a problem of all American society because an inability to revitalize the rural economy will paralyze necessary expansion of the entire economy. A policy of drift that assumes, for instance, a doubling of New York's population from 10 to 20 million without any plans for meeting the situation is incompatible with American social and political objectives and aspirations and, indeed, with the survival of democracy itself.

An important political aspect of the population shift is an expected attrition of farm voting base to only one per cent in 1980. It has already dropped from 18 per cent in 1945 to six per cent in 1966. This means a comparable shift of political and legislative responsibility to urban people who must now understand and write both farm and rural legislation. Considering the potential saving of excessive welfare costs, urban redevelopment costs, and tax losses from people with no income, urban people have a vital interest in developing an expanding economic base for people in rural areas.

The search for realistic public policies to meet the crisis depends first on rejection of the ideas that (a) drifting will solve the problem; (b) the problem cannot be solved; or (c) that 1930-65 policies and public programs may suffice. Whoever offers programs adequate for expansion of the total economy, rural and urban, and to serve the basic needs of the people, should win the elections from 1968 to 2000. The effective political force behind these ideas must be city-based, but supplemented by creative rural leadership and the dynamics of the civil rights movement in America.

Significant components of such a program for American rural development should include:

1. Construction of one million new rural houses and the major repair of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million dilapidated ones during the next ten years. This should create 250,000 new jobs annually, plus employment of vocational and craft teachers who will be needed to help create a skilled labor force.

2. Creation of medical, hospital, nursing and dental services for rural people up to the urban standard. This should create another 10,000 new jobs a year. Training and scholarships for education in medical and dental service fields are needed.

3. Improvement of the rural education service by building 50,000 new class-rooms and investing 40 per cent more in rural education. This should create 10,000 additional new jobs a year. The new occupational capacity, with new employment, will create a new tax base to recover the costs.

4. Planning, engineering and construction of 30,000 rural town water and sewer systems. This should create 18,000 new jobs annually. It will fulfill the nation's commitment to raise the rural living environment up to the existing urban level.

5. The vocational training and remedial education services needed to prepare people for work on these construction and development projects will employ about 20,000 skilled personnel annually.

The entire project is financially solvent, since new incomes will create both a loan repayment base and an adequate new tax base to recover public costs. A tax-paying man will exist for every $50,000 of new trade, and ample new trade is in sight. The public investment needed is $6 billion a year, all recoverable, with Congress and the Treasury Department acting as the banker.

Private investment of $10 billion directed to rural areas, out of $80 billion invested annually in total national capital expansion, will be needed to expand the rural economy sufficiently, including construction of about 200 new medium-sized rural cities to accommodate population increases.

A re-direction of 2½ per cent of urban-consumer spending toward purchase of rural commodities, instead of city-manufactured commodities, will be required to restore American agriculture to a solvent basis. This investment will be recovered in national tax income and avoidance of excessive welfare, crime, delinquency, and urban service costs.

The alternative to such a program is a growing rate of institutional poverty whose total social cost would be about $40,000 per dependent family in a large city.

New rural city development without an industrial base is a creative possibility in this program. The existing policy of rural-city development around transplanted industries or so-called "industrial nodes" requires re-examination. Work force needs are declining in basic manufacturing, and the national employment expansion is in the field of occupations in which people serve each other. This phenomenon makes it possible to locate a planned rural city any where with a sound economy based on service occupations, such as trade, recreation, property maintenance, medical service, education, baby sitting, construction to serve expanding population, transport, and cultural activities.

If an industry is needed and feasible, mobile power units can be available to locate the industry anywhere that it is desired. For example, if a new rural city is desired in Southern Alabama, technological trade and employment resources make this possible. Relatives may visit relatives in any 100-mile radius. Jobs may exist nearby the residences of working people who will commute to their jobs.

Only such a development program can lay the basis for eliminating poverty permanently in the United States. The minimum annual saving will be the $2 billion which poverty is estimated to cost the nation.

The fear that an adequate program for rural development cannot be financed due to competition for funds for military purposes is unjustified. The war in Viet Nam, costing $18 billion annually, is still only a subordinate expenditure in a $700 billion national economy. The financing of such a war should not impair the steady development of the American economy or the rendering of ever-greater services to an expanding population. The only really wrong policy would be to stop expansion and curtail services. A vigorous America requires healthy, well-educated, and usefully-employed citizens.

National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York 10003

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS IN 1965

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
by Fay Bennett, Executive Director

"There still lies ahead the establishment for migrant farm labor of the standards of both decency and efficiency which are characteristic of other employment in this country."

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in Year of Transition: Seasonal Farm Labor, 1965

"I used to wonder how all my white neighbors got such fine cows and fine pastures and fine tractors. I kept snooping around and I found out my white neighbors were getting loans from the government. My [county] agent hadn't told me that!"

Participant in Alabama Conference on Governmental Anti-Poverty and Other Programs to Aid Low-Income Rural People, co-sponsored by NSF

"I think I've been on strike all my days 'cause I've been suffering all my days. I don't mind suffering . . . Let me suffer till I get to the good . . . . For God's sake stop grumbling and see the thing right."

Mrs. Adkins of Shaw, Mississippi, in statewide Mississippi Freedom Labor Union Meeting, Sept. 4, 1965

The Year in Brief

1965 was a year of transition and hope for hired farm workers, of dispossession and struggle for marginal farmers. The end of dependence on foreign contract workers and the proof that domestic workers were available if jobs met minimum standards characterized the transition. Strike action and union organization marked a new militancy among farm workers. Continued mechanization made thousands of sharecroppers "expendable" and day laborers idle, as economic change was brutally speeded by evictions following voter registration and other civil rights activities. The war on poverty moved into southern rural areas but its pace lagged far behind the national effort.

Fewer and Richer Farms; Fewer and Poorer People

Between 1939 and 1964, 2.4 million farms disappeared; 95 per cent of them were small farms with less than $2,500 in annual gross sales, and about a fourth of them were worked by sharecroppers. Only about 1.5 million small farms are left now. In the same period, the number of farms with gross sales of $10,000 and more rose two and one-half times. In the South, three million people have left the land since 1940. Most of those forced off southern farms have been Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers who have migrated to northern and western ghetto communities. (At one point they were flocking to the Watts area in Los Angeles at the rate of 1,000 a month.)

The displacement of people from southern farms may be accounted for by many factors. Chief among these is continued mechanization. Mechanical cotton pickers and grain harvesters are eliminating sharecropping in the deep South, leaving only half a million day laborers. In the Delta area, 95 per cent of the cotton will be machine-picked in 1966--in contrast with 69 per cent in 1965--and 20,000 more farm laborers will be made idle. The coming mechanization of tobacco will have a similar effect in states just to the north of the cotton belt. Across the continent in California, about a third of the 1965 tomato crop--116,000 acres--was reaped by 262 machines; in 1966, a major portion of the tomatoes will be planted for machine harvesting.

Hundreds of farmers are being dispossessed in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for participating in civil rights activities. The dispossession of others will be speeded by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965; in the Mississippi Delta alone, one-third of the 925,000 cotton acres will be taken out of production.

Productivity continues to rise. The labor of one farm worker supplied the farm product needs of 11 people in 1940, 15 in 1950, 26 in 1960, and 33 in 1964.

Hired Farm Workers

There are about 2.5 million households with one or more members who do some hired farm work during the year. More than half of these live below the poverty level (defined as less than $3,000 income from all sources); in this group are more than 80 per cent of the non-white families, and more than 70 per cent of the families headed by a migrant.

In 1964, the last year for which full figures are available, there were approximately 664,000 full-time farm workers in the United States and about 2.5 million seasonal workers. Of these, about 386,000 were migratory workers and 272,000 of them did 25 or more days' work during the year. In 1964, migrants worked an average of 131 days at farm and nonfarm work and earned an average of $1,240. Nearly half (44 per cent) of them did both farm and nonfarm work with average earnings of $585 at farm work and $1,049 at nonfarm work. Those who did only farm work averaged $935 in annual earnings. A special wage survey made by the Department of Labor in May, 1965, covered 1.5 million farm wage workers. Seventy per cent of them were paid less than $1.25 an hour. More than one-third (in the South, 54 per cent) were paid less than 75 cents an hour.

Safety. The National Safety Council has again branded agriculture as one of the most hazardous of all industries. In 1965, agriculture ranked below only the mining and construction industries in death rate. It had the largest total number of deaths, 3,200, and 270,000 disabling injuries.

Children. More than one-fourth of the entire hired farm working force are young people less than 17 years of age. (In 1962, farm wage worker households with less than $3,000 income included 3 million members not yet 18, about 27 per cent of all children and youth in the poverty sector.) There is as yet no national legislation to prevent child labor in agriculture outside of school hours, as there is in other industries. "Crop vacations" are common from Maine to Louisiana, nullifying the school-hour protection. In the year ending June 30, 1965, Department of Labor inspectors found 2,300 farms violating child labor laws and a total of 7,076 children under 16 working during school hours. More than half of these were in the 10-13 age bracket.

Housing and Health. Despite the existence of new government programs providing financial aid for farm labor housing, too many farm worker families still live in miserable conditions. Investigation into an alleged labor shortage in Florida last spring uncovered these conditions:

> ". . . There are no camps in Dade County with indoor plumbing for each cabin. The electrical outlet provides a bare bulb for light. . . . Sometimes burlap is the only privacy between rooms. The floors and walls are generally bare, unpainted planks. Families with 10 and 12 children can live in one two-room shack for $8 to $10 a week. . . . 'A new camp would have to live up to the letter of the law,' says [one] Sanitation Inspector. . . . 'That's why there are so few new camps.' "

Small wonder that migrant families are more prone to illness than others; that diarrhea is chronic among children; parasitic and fungal diseases common; neglect of teeth, eye, and ear ailments prevalent.

Foreign Workers. 1965 was the year of transition for farm labor, domestic and foreign. Mexican braceros, always the bulk of foreign contract workers, were no longer available under Public Law 78, which had expired. The challenge of attracting a sufficient number of domestic workers to replace them had to be met and, for the most part, was met. Use of foreign labor was reduced 83 per cent, from 634,000 man-months (equivalent to 52,800 full-time jobs) in 1964, to 110,000 man-months (9,200 jobs) in 1965; Mexican labor was reduced 95 per cent. In 1964, there had been

178,000 Mexican contract workers in 17 states; in 1965, there were 20,300, all in California. The use of British West Indians did not decrease proportionately. In 1964, there were 14,000; in 1965, although there were 14,100 in Florida alone, man-months dropped from 81,000 to 64,000; but there were also 1,340 BWI's working in apples and 800 in tobacco. The number of Canadians imported to New England states dropped from 8,000 in 1964 to 4,484 in 1965--3,627 in potatoes and 857 in apples. Of the 1,080 Japanese and 110 Filipinos in the United States at the end of 1964, 200 Japanese remained by the end of 1965. All of the temporary workers imported in 1965 came in under P.L. 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Average hourly wages for farm workers rose from $1.08 to $1.14, the largest one-year increase since the Korean War. Crop values were up even in the three crops--asparagus, strawberries, and pickle cucumbers--where crop losses may have been attributable in part to labor shortages. The price of fresh fruits and vegetables went down in 1965 (by 4.5 per cent, comparing November, 1964, to November, 1965), while the Consumer Price Index rose 1.7 per cent.

Farm Worker Organization

Large-scale militant union activity among farm workers developed in 1965 in widely separated parts of the country.

Cotton choppers and pickers, paid $2.50 or $3.00 for a 10-hour day, formed 90 per cent of the membership of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union; but they were joined by tractor drivers, haulers, domestic servants, part-time carpenters, mechanics, handymen, former sharecroppers, and renters. The MFLU demands were for a $1.25 an hour minimum wage, an 8½-hour day with time-and-a-half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance, and equal employment practices. Evicted strikers and croppers set up a tent city. If MFLU cannot bring the huge plantation owners to the bargaining table, it may at least focus national attention on the need for alternatives for the poor people of the cotton country.

The grape strike broke out after Filipino workers returned from Coachella Valley, California, where they had received $1.40 an hour plus an incentive piece rate, to Delano where wages were $1.25 and the incentive smaller. They called for help from the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. When employers refused to discuss wages, working conditions, and a union contract, between six and eight hundred workers struck. Within two weeks, 1,200 Mexican-Americans, organized in the National Farm Workers Association, joined them. Harrassment and arrests by employers and local authorities were constant. The strike continued from the picking season into pruning, the beginning of the next crop year. (In 1966, Schenley Industries has recognized the union and the Di Giorgio Corporation has suggested an election.)

Other areas were affected. At Lantana, on the East Coast of Florida, 14 farm workers struck, demanding a wage increase, but lost; just south of Lantana a strike was averted when demands were met. A wage increase was secured in the Pompano Beach area by a strike threat coupled with a labor shortage. A five-day strike of 800 British West Indian cane cutters at the Okeelanta Sugar Refinery was lost. The Steelworkers union organized Cypress Gardens Citrus Products, Inc., of Eloise, Florida's largest multi-purpose citrus plant, as the beginning of an organizing drive. In Louisiana, the Fish, Seafood, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300 secured for Gulf Coast pogy boatmen their first over-all pay increase in 25 years. Local 300, affiliated with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, includes dairy, sugar, and rice workers in addition to the fishermen.

Legislation

Congress moved slowly in 1965 on bills which proposed coverage for farm workers under minimum wage requirements, child labor regulations, collective bargaining guarantees, and unemployment compensation. Although both Senate and House worked on separate, similar bills, only one piece of legislation--a House proposal to include

farm laborers under minimum wage coverage--was reported favorably out of Committee, but it did not come up for a vote before the session ended. (In March, 1966, a new minimum wage bill was reported favorably out of Committee.) In September, 1965, a proposal to transfer the authority to import foreign workers in times of domestic labor shortage from the Labor Secretary to the Agriculture Secretary was narrowly defeated.

More action was seen in state legislatures than in some years. Five states strengthened regulations governing housing and sanitary conditions. California enacted the first law requiring employers to provide sanitary facilities in the fields. Texas now requires a tuberculosis examination for persons seeking migratory work. Florida and Michigan set safety standards for motor vehicles used to transport migratory workers, and California improved its vehicle code. North Dakota deleted the exemption for agricultural workers from its minimum wage law, but Michigan suspended coverage of certain agricultural operations. New Jersey broadened its wage payment and collection law to include agricultural workers. Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Oregon amended workmen's compensation laws to provide some coverage for agricultural workers.

Federal Programs

Farmers Home Administration. In 1965 FHA loaned more than $798 million to help 12,186 farm families buy, enlarge, or develop farms; gave short-term operating credit to 118,000; assisted more than 12,000 with antipoverty loans; loaned $13 million which provided new or improved housing for more than 5,500 rural persons aged 62 and older; and gave credit assistance to 388 rural communities to construct water systems. Unfortunately, however, generations of discrimination have produced such inequalities that many Negro farmers cannot now meet qualifications for loans. In several Southern states, little change is yet visible. The number of farmers who have applied but not received loans is not known, and others have not even applied either because they do not know how or because they are sure they will be rejected.

ASCS. According to Department of Agriculture reports as of December 30, 1965, in the 1965 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections 12,471 Negroes were on the ballot for various offices in 14 southern states. None was elected either member or first alternate to a County Committee but five were elected second alternates. On the Community Committees, 85 were elected regular members, 131 first alternates, and 303 second alternates. Without members on County Committees, Negro farmers still lack the effective representation needed to change traditional discriminatory policies. Reports from Deep South states indicate that in some areas elected Negro members are not being notified of Community Committee meetings or allowed to participate in their activities.

Office of Economic Opportunity. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 made possible, under Title III-B, programs for farm workers in education, sanitation, day care, and self-help housing. In 1965, OEO granted some $26 million in Title III-B funds to 65 public and private nonprofit organizations in 20 states. Around 350 VISTA volunteers are working with migrants. Under EOA's rural loan programs, nearly 25,000 rural families received $36.5 million in 13 months (including January, 1966), and in southern states, nearly 40 per cent of the family loans have been made to Negro borrowers. OEO has financed small machinery cooperatives, and more than half of these are made up partly or entirely of Negro farmers. EOA made possible additional projects under Community Action Program auspices, but the most impoverished communities--mainly in the rural South--have received the least antipoverty funds, because they lack the organization and technical help needed to initiate projects.

Training Programs. Since 1962, more than 20,000 persons have been trained in agricultural skills under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Area Redevelopment Act. Training is also given in basic literacy skills and for nonfarm occupations in areas where workers are needed. Hundreds of thousands are in need of such training as their old agricultural occupations are disappearing.

A Program for Rural America

The crises of American cities and farms, so different on the surface, are inextricably bound together. Dramatic evidence is the annual migration of a million people from rural to urban areas.

Remedial programs are needed to raise the living standards of rural people: inclusion of farm workers in all the protections of social legislation that benefit industrial workers; increased programs of loans and technical assistance to enable small farmers to remain on the land and to raise their income levels.

But beyond that, a program is needed large enough to meet the human needs of the rural areas:

* A million new rural homes are needed in the next ten years, and two and one-half million homes need major repairs.
* Rural medical, hospital, nursing, and dental services must be brought up to urban standards.
* Educational facilities must be increased at least to urban levels, requiring a 40 per cent greater investment in education, including construction of approximately 50,000 new classrooms.
* 30,000 rural town water and sewage systems are needed.

Vocational training and remedial education are needed to equip people for employment in these construction and development projects. The training of professionals to staff increased facilities will call for a steadily expanding number of educators and educational institutions. Following the basic medical and educational services should come a host of other social, cultural, and recreational facilities and personnel.

From a quarter to a half million new jobs could be created to meet the basic and expanding needs of the rural areas. On the basis of the new job-created incomes, the disappearing small towns of stagnating rural economies will become thriving small cities with new needs, new construction, new business, in a spiraling cycle of activity.

National Sharecroppers Fund

*has field representatives in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, helping poverty-stricken people to help themselves, bringing knowledge of federal assistance programs available, and working to end discrimination in their implementation. (Four representatives work under the Rural Advancement Project, NSF's cooperative program with the Southern Regional Council and the State Councils on Human Relations.)

*set up the Southern Rural Training Project under contract with the Department of Labor to stimulate and develop training programs for the hard-core rural poor.

*carried on a crash five-month Farm Labor Counseling Program to advise unemployed rural poor about criteria farm jobs, training opportunities, and other means of increasing their employability and income.

*works to end the exclusion of agricultural workers from the protections and benefits of social legislation that other workers enjoy, and to protect them from the unfair competition of foreign contract labor.

*supports the efforts of farm workers in organizing unions and low-income farmers in organizing cooperatives.

*works with government and other private agencies to help low-income rural people secure a better life.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND -- 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

Copy for Thos

Shifting Concepts of Worker Security

THE CONCEPT of a job territory, of a jurisdiction to be guarded against intruders and to be parceled out equitably among the territorial occupants, has been substantially weakened over the decades as the heart of worker concern with job security. The drift has been from focusing on property rights in the job to guaranteed rights to a job, from holding the job to getting and keeping a job.

This is an essential difference. Restriction of numbers and work-spreading devices are still possible recourses against economic or technical change. But we have seen the proliferation of many others: adequate advance notice of displacement; attrition, early retirement, retraining, transfer, and relocation allowances developed as methods of avoiding layoffs; severance pay, supplemental unemployment benefits, and vesting of pension rights as methods of easing the burden of unemployment; development and improvement of placement and referral services, training for jobs outside the plant, union-sponsored and other training programs, apprenticeship, and antidiscrimination policies as methods of facilitating new employment. There are, in short, new and varied methods of adjusting to and accommodating change.

There are no intrinsic limits any longer to bind a new or a renewed leadership from pushing toward Neil Chamberlain's goal for the trade union where the ultimate concern is with the individual worker's personal assets inventory, with its development, upgrading, and ongoing maintenance.

There has also been a major shift along the self-reliance vector from the earlier voluntarist limited group self-help of the Gompers-style union to a greater recognition and acceptance of the broadened role of government in the society. The Gompers-era "job conscious" union barely tolerated the very limited government efforts to regulate a few minimal work standards for the inherently weaker groups of the labor force such as women or children. The modal American union today appreciates the interdependence of worker organization and government action.

Pressures from many sources have played upon the unions to extend the scope of substantive worker interests. The result is that unions today are vitally concerned with levels and rates of growth, medicare, education, housing, area redevelopment, general poverty elimination programs, tax programs, trade expansion programs, international trade and aid programs, the development of poor countries, aid to labor movements abroad, and so on. These other directed, public, national, and international conscious interests may still take a back seat in relation to the more self-centered interests in wages, hours, and terms and conditions of work. That they exist at all, however, is ample reflection of a dramatic shift over time in the scope of worker organizational interests.

There is also the related pressure imposed upon the labor scene in recent years which seems to make an occasional dent in shifting labor's traditional short-term here-and-now job gains time horizon to a somewhat broader span. The really remarkable (if ultimately ineffective) joint declaration of intent signed last year by employer and trade union leaders in the United Kingdom may be (whether we approve of such drift or not) the harbinger of comparable things to come in this country.

We are still a far cry from a solidarism of all mankind, but the recent civil rights and poverty programs have both received private and public support from the labor movement. The tempo or the vigor of this support may be criticized by spokesmen for the affected groups or by the articulate prodders of labor, but warranted or not, such carping tends only to distract our view from what is relevant for this point, i.e., that the labor movement of 1965 has come a long way from Mr. Strasser's characterization of his own relations to the men and women outside his Cigarmakers local.

There remains a far distance to travel yet to reach the extremes at the opposite pole of the "job conscious" union's cluster of vector values, but a cross-sectional comparison of the vector fields of the 1965 and the 1925 American labor movement will reveal to any viewer a series of remarkable interim changes. And none of these reinforces the current validity or meaningfulness of a "job conscious" unionism cover label for the behavioral mix we see now or can project for the near future for the American labor movement.

—ABRAHAM J. SIEGEL
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Va – 16th 30 mins (4/17/64)

The Changing South

Introductory tie-in to changing labor movement

Strait job consciousness to awareness of what protects jobs + ideals + awareness of how to express group interest –

Economic development

indices

Political developments –

Reapp. – Negro vote – Negro-Labor coalition

2-party

Urbanization

Desegr & civil rts. – a big change But its right

Union growth & opportunity –

New allies –

Training & ed. – benefitting an expanding econ.

New industries

Service organizations

We've had talk of New South – we can have a better one than ever before – 1st Expanded Ag. – of hats, insecurity on jobs, explosions for our children's safety & future – for our all

2nd No slavery (the forced N.S.), 3rd Industry, 4th Dem. society – new freedom (greatest is freedom from fear

in our South it's still fair to emphasize fun Negro & whites alike – & together – unions can be a part of it – we can be ...

Final DRAFT

Jerry T. Verner

File

31

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Farmers
Income
occupational structure
What kinds of jobs do Negroes hold

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

TO THE

CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 14, 1966

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 14, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: Frank G. Armstrong
Woodrow Ginsburg
Eli Ginzberg
Dr. Hylan Lewis
Mahlon Tasker Puryear
Ramon S. Scruggs
Dr. Harold L. Sheppard
Dr. Emory Via
Dr. Thomas T. Williams

The enclosed draft of the Economic Security and Welfare Task Force Paper is forwarded for your information.

cc: Albert L. Shostack

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Members
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

DATE: May 16, 1966

FROM : Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman *Vivian W. Henderson / gmb*
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare

SUBJECT: May 12 Draft of Paper on Economic Security and Welfare

We have been working diligently in our attempt to bring to a head the task force paper on economic security and welfare. Under separate cover you will receive a copy of the report in its next-to-final draft. We hope to put the final draft in the hands of the printer on May 19. With this deadline, you will appreciate the need for your immediate response to the document and your suggestions for its improvement.

What we have done is to try to select priority items from the extensive set of recommendations, and to expand on them in text form. I would appreciate it if you would communicate to us as quickly as possible whatever recommendations and suggestions you have with regard to the document. Thanks for your cooperation. You will be hearing further from us.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

Recognize Nat'l Problems — nature of
But Secs need for
advantages in encouraging
local action —

List of recs —
agency specified
Page on which found
Special program labels

INTRODUCTION

Nat'l —
Technical Service
Students
Programs
Legal
& policy
Planning

Local
Planning
Program

Therefore, I want to announce tonight that I intend to call a White House conference of scholars, and experts, and outstanding Negro leaders -- men of both races -- and officials of government at every level.

This White House conference's theme and title will be "To Fulfill These Rights."

Its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure.

To move beyond opportunity to achievement.

To shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin.

To dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong -- great wrong -- to the Children of God.

--From Remarks of the President at
Howard University, June 4, 1965

In convening this White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," the President has summoned a broadly representative cross section of America to a momentous undertaking. He has asked us to exercise all the collective wisdom we possess to devise and set in motion an action program for citizens and communities across the country. The objective, as simple to define as it is difficult to achieve, is to translate the promise of equality into reality for millions of Negro Americans.

Fortunately, we have the benefit of much sound preparatory work. In anticipation of this Conference, the President last fall called a Planning Session to explore the widest possible range of ideas in this field. The

session was held on November 17 and 18, 1965. Some 200 scholars and practitioners in the areas of civil rights, labor, business, education, religion, and social welfare met for intensive working sessions on eight subjects of major concern. The result was a comprehensive set of recommendations reflecting a rich variety of viewpoints and experience.

In February the President appointed a 30-member Council, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ben Heineman and the honorary chairmanship of Mr. A. Philip Randolph, to set the policies and oversee the detailed planning for the White House Conference. An able staff and a number of consultants reviewed and refined the recommendations at the Planning Session and conducted the other preparatory work for the Conference. At every stage of the planning, they were guided by the Council's determinations.

The Council met on evenings and weekends for extended review and discussion of plans and proposals submitted by the staff. The format of the Conference, the subjects to be considered, this Report and the recommendations it embodies -- all are the results of this thoughtful process. Thus what you are asked to consider here, and the way in which your deliberations are organized, represent the considered judgments of the Council as the policy-making body of the Conference.

Some of the judgments were difficult to make. The President has accurately described the problems confronting Negro Americans as "a seamless web." The strands of this web reach into every area of American life, and none of these interrelated aspects of the problem is without its urgent and anguishing features. Yet no single conference could productively trace the thread of Negro disadvantage through the whole fabric of society. In order

to achieve a common focus on specific action efforts, it was necessary to select a manageable number of areas of concentration.

There will be many other meetings and conferences, private and governmental, national and local, at which problems of racial injustice and inequality and alternative approaches to them will be considered. Therefore, it was not judged necessary that this Conference diffuse and dilute its efforts by trying to deal with the entire range of problems and possible solutions that are worthy of discussion. Rather, the objective was to focus on a few vital areas in which something specific and immediate can be done and in which the results can be far-reaching. This was a major task confronting the Council, and it received fullest consideration.

The resulting conclusion was that the Conference should direct its primary attention to four critical subject-matter areas -- economic security and welfare, education, housing, and administration of justice. It was also decided that there should be developed in each of these areas a limited number of specific proposals for local action to which the conferees could address themselves. With whatever revisions and alternative proposals they might devise, the participants could then commit their efforts in their own communities to actions which will achieve early and important effects.

The Council's Report is designed to serve these purposes. It seeks to summarize, succinctly but thoroughly, the chief problems in each subject area that deny Negroes their full share of participation in the life of the nation. It defines the broad goals that must be attained if we are to realize "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result." It details major actions that need to be taken by various elements

of our society -- by government at all levels; by private groups, such as business, labor, religious, and voluntary organizations; and, in some instances, by private citizens themselves, acting individually.

Finally, the Council proposes several specific local activities in each area on which Conference participants and other public-spirited citizens may concentrate their efforts.

As the Report clearly indicates, there is no intention to slight the importance of governmental action, whether federal, state, or local. The need for additional legislation, administrative changes, and executive leadership at all three levels of government has been extensively treated; the proposals in this category and the Conference reactions to them will be transmitted to the President and will be made available to state and local public officials.

But the Conference would fail in its main purpose if it did no more than that. Governmental action, however forceful and creative, cannot succeed unless it is accompanied by a mobilization of effort by private citizens and the organizations and institutions through which they express their will. Indeed, the role of government itself is in large part determined by the presence or absence of such citizen efforts.

That is why the major emphasis of this Conference must be on immediate, practical steps to enlist in this cause the great mass of uncommitted, uninvolved Americans.

That is why we must not end these discussions without a common resolve to return to our communities and undertake those specific actions for which our varied interests and positions best fit us.

It was the Council's judgment that in a conference of this kind the participants should not be asked to take formal action on the various recommendations or to formulate and vote on resolutions. Instead, all reactions, comments, and suggestions of the participants will be recorded verbatim and transcribed immediately after each session. Thus all of the views expressed will be available for careful study and faithful reflection in the report to the President which will be prepared and submitted after the Conference.

Fortunately, we do not have to spend a great amount of time defining the problems with which we must deal; they have been described, analyzed, and discussed at length in many forums and in the preparatory stages of this Conference. Nor do we need to expend our energies convincing one another that the conditions suffered by most Negro Americans are intolerable; the President has presented that case in the most eloquent, moving, and urgent of terms. That is why we are here.

The challenge before us now is to chart a course of action to which every thoughtful American can subscribe.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

There is no more ugly and urgent crisis facing this nation today than the economic insecurity of Negro Americans. An unending cycle of human devastation and national loss is at the core of this crucial problem.

The employment and income problems of the Negro population are complex, long-standing, and rooted deeply in economic, social, and political disabilities. More than anything else, they are the consequence of cumulative disabilities imposed by racial discrimination in employment, education, training, and housing. To solve these problems, creative and large-scale action must be taken to achieve full and fair employment for the Negro working-age population, and equal opportunity, decent living standards, and security for all of the nation'a Negro citizens. The need for action is urgent.

The Unemployment Crisis

Negro unemployment is of disaster proportions. Even in today's booming economy, the unemployment rate for Negroes is about eight percent--more than twice the national average and about three times that of whites. Unemployment has not fallen below eight percent since 1953. The gap between whites and nonwhites is even greater for married people and heads of households (particularly women) who are most in need of a job to support their families.

Negroes only comprise eleven percent of the nation's labor force, but make up more than twenty percent of the nation's unemployed. In some areas such as Watts in Los Angeles, the rate of unemployment among Negroes is as high as forty percent.

Not only is unemployment higher among Negroes, but they tend to be out-of-work for longer periods than whites. They also suffer heavily from underemployment, including part-time work, substandard pay, and the necessity of accepting jobs below their skill or educational potentials.

The most serious unemployment problem is the shocking incidence of joblessness among Negro youths. Although this problem has been decreasing in recent months, fully 18 percent of out-of-school Negro youths aged 16 to 21 were unemployed in February 1966. This is twice the rate for white youths and it means that thousands of young Negro people who are actively looking for jobs cannot find a productive place in our society. In addition, it is estimated that many thousands of youths have withdrawn from the labor force, or refrained from entering it, because they have given up hope of finding decent employment.

The unemployment rate for Negro youths ages 16-19 is nothing less than catastropic, averaging more than 30 percent for girls and almost 25 percent for male teenagers in 1965. Female Negro teenagers have a higher rate of unemployment than all other sub-groups in the labor force.

The unemployment statistics do not tell the full story of wasted human resources. Many Negroes who are counted among the employed are actually involuntarily working only part-time, and lack full measure of economic security. Another problem is that even under conditions of relatively full employment a significant proportion of teenagers and adults in the Negro working age population leave the labor force because they have given up hope of locating decent jobs. Despite their idleness, this group is also not counted as unemployed in the offical statistics.

Given these dimensions alone--the statistically defined unemployment rate, involuntary part-time employment, and idle members of the working age population--indications are that the actual total unemployment rate among Negroes approximates 12 percent of the working age population. This rate of unemployment is of crisis proportions, particularly in the urban centers.

Corrective action is urgent. Social unrest and tension continue to mount in Negro communities.

The economic loss to the entire nation, although a secondary consideration, cannot be ignored. If Negro unemployment were lowered to the current unemployment level of whites, the resulting gain in the Gross National Product would be $5 billion. If the average productivity of the Negro labor force equaled that of whites, the resulting gain in the GNP would be $22 billion. These gains, totaling $27 billion, do not include the further increment that would result if Negroes obtained jobs commensurate with their abilities and training. However, some investment is necessary to achieve these gains.

This annual economic loss is the result of discrimination--past and present. The losses translate themselves at the community level into depressed purchasing power for goods and services and the high costs of welfare assistance, delinquency and idleness.

Occupational Structure of the Negro Labor Force

The Negro's disadvantages do not end when he finds a job. Even when he is employed, he tends to work in low-skill, low-wage occupations and industries with the lowest growth rates and the most limited opportunities for advancement and mobility. And Negro working women are poorest of the working poor.

In recent years, technological change and other job market conditions have led to a rising demand for skilled craftsmen, white collar workers, and service workers, while reducing opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. In particular, the technical, professional, clerical, sales, and related white collar occupations have shown rapid growth. Yet, it is precisely in the skilled and white collar occupations that the Negroes are heavily under-represented, while they are concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled labor categories in which job opportunities are most restricted.

Only one-fifth of all nonwhite workers hold white collar jobs, compared with almost one-half of all white workers. Only seven percent of all Negro workers are in the professional and technical category--half the proportion among whites. Only three percent of the nonwhite are managers, officials, or proprietors, compared with eleven percent of the whites. The figures for clerical workers are nine percent versus seventeen percent; for sales workers, two percent versus seven percent; for skilled craftsmen, seven percent versus thirteen percent.

How defined laborers

By contrast, twelve percent of all Negro workers are nonfarm laborers--three times the proportion of whites. And nonwhites are heavily represented among migratory and other seasonal farm workers and small tenant farmers who face severe underemployment, substandard earnings, and eventual replacement by new agricultural technology on large farms.

Negroes, especially Negro women, are heavily concentrated in the service occupations, which have shown rising manpower needs. However, they tend to be employed at household service, custodial, and other low-paid work rather than in the higher-paid service occupations.

To keep abreast of new technological demands and changes in occupational requirements, a fundamental alteration in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force is necessary. Otherwise, even in a full employment economy severe problems of economic insecurity are likely to continue.

Educational Attainment

A major problem in improving the occupational status of the Negro labor force is its relatively low average educational attainment. In 1962, for example, less than one-third of the nonwhite members of the labor force had completed high school, compared with a majority of the whites.

The school "drop-out" rate is a particularly severe problem among today's youth. Some three-fifths of out-of-school nonwhite youths aged 16 to 21 lack high school diplomas. In this era of technological advance and complex job requirements, "drop-outs" have twice the unemployment rates of high school graduates. When they are employed, they work for less pay and are more subject to layoffs and displacement by machines.

Although educational attainment has shown continuous improvement in successive generations, achievements in occupational status and earnings by Negro workers have not kept pace. The average Negro male with 16 or more years of school earns an annual income less than that earned by a white male with ten years of school.

Income Levels

The income of the average Negro family is little more than half of the white family income. It is true that the Negro income level is rising, with greatest progress in Northern and Western urban areas. However, the rapid rise of incomes among whites has prevented a narrowing of the income gap

between the races. Even when whites and Negroes are employed in the same occupation, and have had the same number of years of schooling, the average incomes of the two groups show this disparity.

Population and Labor Force Characteristics

Today there are more than 20 million Negro Americans. They comprise more than one-tenth of the nation's total population.

There are some 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force; i.e., employed or looking for jobs. They include about 3.5 million women. By 1970, the total is expected to reach ten million.

The figure of 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force, however, presents an incomplete picture. Many members of the working age populations are not in the labor force but could be if jobs and incentives in the form of decent earnings were consistently available to them. Thus, eight percent of all Negro men aged 25 to 64 were not in the labor force in 1963, compared with only five percent of comparable whites. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro women who work or seek jobs is considerably higher than the proportion of whites, since more of the former are primary family wage earners or must supplement the wages of their husbands.

The Negro population is now a predominantly urban one. About three-fourths of all Negroes live in urban areas, mainly in larger cities with populations of more than 50,000. The six cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles alone account for one-fifth of all Negro people. There are 18 cities in which 100,000 or more Negroes live--these cities account for almost one-third of the total Negro population.

The concentration of Negroes in largely segregated areas of central cities, while white residents, industrial establishments, and offices move toward the suburbs, constitutes an important factor in framing proposals to improve economic and welfare conditions.

The heavy out-movement of Negroes from the South in search of better economic, educational, social, and political status (3.3 million left the South between 1940 and 1965) is an important factor in planning action programs. However, over one-half of all Negroes still live in the Southern States, and there are recent indications that the rate of out-migration is decreasing.

Most of the Negroes who still live in rural areas are in the South. Even in that region, however, almost three-fifths of all Negro people are urban residents. In 1960, two out of every five residents of Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans were Negroes.

While urban problems must command an increasing proportion of our attention, we cannot overlook two facts. First, many of the hard-core economic security and welfare problems Negroes face are in rural areas. Second, those rural migrants who find their way into the stream of urban life bring with them problems which impede significantly their ability to adjust to present and future urban labor markets. The adjustment problems of the migrants is due, in part, to the failure of most urban areas to prepare for the influx of new residents and to take steps to ease their transition to urban life.

Basic Considerations

There is no single, simple, or quick solution for the economic problems of Negroes but nothing less than a broadly based "crash" program can

significantly improve the life-chances of hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans now trapped in joblessness and poverty. The range of action needed to achieve an adequate level of employment and income security must cover the multi-faceted problems of many different sub-groups. Assistance to jobless Negro youths would not be adequate to meet the needs of under-employed Negro adults. Action to help farmers and farm workers would not necessarily improve the lot of people seeking work in metropolitan areas. Lowering bars against Negro women in professional employment must be paralleled by upgrading pay and status of the nearly one million Negro women in household employment. Programs to aid the unemployed mother who depends on public assistance for a livelihood need a different approach from those to enhance opportunities for the Negro professional or business-man. Lasting solutions must be tailored, therefore, to the particular needs of specific components of the Negro population.

Moreover, it must be re-emphasized that the economic problems Negroes share with other disadvantaged workers are compounded for Negroes by the continuing widespread presence of racial segregation and racial discrimination. Because of the effects of discrimination and ghetto life, solutions must go beyond strictly economic measures and be related to social, political, and psychological needs.

There is mounting awareness--reflected, for example, in the nation's "War on Poverty," that conventional programs to solve the employment needs of Negroes must be accompanied by a wide range of supportive services designed to instill favorable work attitudes and fill gaps in basic education, solve health and family problems, and overcome other barriers to the individual's labor force adjustments.

Recommendations to improve the economic security and welfare of the Negro people must take into account the magnitude of the Negro's disadvantages in the job market, the wide gap between the income and employment status of whites and nonwhites, and the changing characteristics and geographic distribution of the Negro population and labor force. They must take into account sharp and decisive advances in technology and other such forces which generate abundant benefits to some and disproportionate burdens to others.

In preparing the recommendations in the following pages, consideration has been given to all the fundamental factors underlying the Negro's economic disadvantages. A wide-ranging battery of specific and realistic actions is proposed, calculated to achieve sharp progress on a variety of fronts--jobs, training, nondiscrimination, supportive services, labor standards, income maintenance, public assistance, and others. The document presented here, however, makes no attempt to set forth a detailed rationale for every recommendation. Supporting statements containing more complete explanations are appended for some of the recommendations.

Attention is called to one fundamental point which underlies the various specific proposals in this report. This point, which must be stressed, is that measures to improve the economic security and welfare of Negroes take effect most rapidly in a healthy, growing, full employment economy. The availability of jobs at fair wages to all who need them eases the task of eliminating discrimination, upgrading the Negro work force, raising labor standards, and providing income security. Consequently, the attainment and maintenance of a full employment economy is an item of continuing high priority.

Action recommended in this report involves all sectors of the American community--business enterprises and organized labor; Federal as well as state and local governments; educational bodies; private foundations; community organizations such as churches and health and welfare groups; and the spectrum of national associations as well as Negro organizations and groups themselves. The intention is to mobilize the nation's brainpower and material resources for a systematic and many-sided effort to eliminate the barriers that prevent the full participation of Negro men and women in the economic and social process.

I. ESTABLISH METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCILS IN ALL MAJOR URBAN AREAS TO PLAN, COORDINATE, AND IMPLEMENT LOCAL PROGRAMS TO INCREASE JOBS

Why the Recommendation Is Needed

No longer can access to a job or the acquisition of a job by Negroes be left to chance. Large scale and systematic efforts by employers, labor unions, and other community groups to provide and sustain a climate within which Negroes can get more and better jobs is necessary. To make these efforts effective, and to coordinate them with training, welfare, and other services, it is necessary to develop a new approach whereby local leadership can be mobilized for planning and action.

What Should Be Done

Metropolitan Jobs Councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro population. With urgent support from the highest levels of the national government, the initiative in establishing such councils should be taken promptly in all major cities of the U.S.

Membership of the Councils should include representatives of business, organized labor, metropolitan governments, education and training institutions, and other appropriate community organizations. Each Council should be free to develop its own organization and sources of funds, including foundations, business and labor contributions, and government grants. Technical assistance should be made available to the Councils by the U.S. Department of Labor.

The Councils should be concerned with developing accurate information on the Negro labor force and its job opportunities in the area, helping to coordinate and improve existing government and private programs to meet the

economic needs of the community's Negro population, and planning programs and resources to provide additional services. The Councils should complement and assist the efforts of the Employment Service and private groups such as the Urban League, while its assumption of key functions should make it possible to reduce the number of overlapping local agencies.

The Councils should develop and keep up-to-date a Metropolitan Human Resources Action Program for the community. This Program, based on accurate information on the characteristics and needs of Negro workers, should include:

Note name & page after listed

a. Review and coordination of existing manpower and economic security programs in the area;

b. Identification of gaps in existing program services;

c. Definite goals on the number and types of Negro workers for whom employment, training, and other services are to be obtained over specified periods;

d. A listing of the specific actions and resources needed to meet these goals;

e. Assignments of definite responsibilities to participating groups for taking the necessary actions;

f. Definite priorities and timetables for actions to improve the employment opportunities and economic conditions of Negroes in the community.

The following illustrate the urgent and important activities that should be included in the Program.

1. The Councils should take positive steps to ensure that the business community, labor organizations, and government agencies assume maximum

responsibility for expanding job opportunities for Negro workers. This should involve the acceptance by each employer of definite targets for employing and upgrading Negro workers. Technical assistance should be provided by the Councils to help employers make positive efforts to recruit Negro workers, review the potentials for promotion of Negro workers who are already employed, restructure vacant jobs to help Negro workers meet job requirements, expand employer training activities, and eliminate unnecessarily rigid hiring specifications such as artificial test criteria. Close cooperation between employers and Human Resource Development Centers should be arranged, with employers participating in efforts to adapt job opportunities to the particular needs and characteristics of the hard-core workers referred to them by the Center.

2. The Councils should establish or arrange for Human Resources Development Centers in areas of substantial Negro unemployment. In addition to programs aimed at large groups of workers, these Centers should take an individualized approach to the job, training, and related needs of workers with especially severe job market problems. The Centers should develop means of reaching disadvantaged Negro workers and encouraging them to utilize their services. Services should include diagnosis of the problems and needs that interfere with job seeking and adjustment of individual workers; intensive counseling; referral to health, welfare, or other services; referral to appropriate remedial education or training facilities; specialized job development services and placement of unemployed workers on jobs under continuing supervision by Center personnel. The stress should be on long-term continuous contact between counselors and disadvantaged workers, following-up closely on each worker's employment status and progress on the

job, and consulting regularly with the employers involved to solve human relations problems.

3. The Councils should assume leadership in the local implementation of a national year-round youth job placement program, recommended in section V, below. It should also assume leadership or participate actively in other manpower, economic security, or related programs affecting Negroes, such as those directed at meeting manpower shortages and surpluses, and community economic development programs.

4. The Councils should arrange for surveys in Negro high-unemployment areas to study worker characteristics, potentials, and employment and training needs. The surveys should also identify special problems in such areas as health, housing, child care, transportation, and illiteracy. In areas where disadvantaged workers are concentrated, a door-to-door survey approach may be advisable.

5. The Councils should develop a system of periodic reports from local employers to identify jobs and occupations in which unemployed Negroes may find employment, to provide data on the hiring, employment levels, and occupational status of Negro workers, and assist in developing occupational training programs to help Negro applicants qualify for employment or upgrading.

6. The Councils should provide leadership in efforts to improve the processes and institutions of the job market, including:

a. Analyzing transportation facilities and fares to identify improvements needed to make all jobs in the community accessible to Negro residential areas.

b. Analyzing the kind of information on employment opportunities which is available to Negro workers, and developing improved means of communication in this area, adapted to the special needs of disadvantaged ghetto residents.

c. Working with local educational authorities to improve the quality and availability of vocational education in the area's public schools.

7. The Councils should conduct an extensive program of public education to combat prejudice and discrimination affecting the economic status of the Negro.

Rural poverty — relation to manpower force

II. CREATE A RURAL JOBS TASK FORCE TO DEVELOP AND COORDINATE A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR RURAL NEGROES

Why the Recommendation Is Needed

For several decades the economic position of the southern Negro farmer and other rural residents has grown steadily worse. A substantial proportion of the more than four million Negroes still living in southern rural areas have incomes at the poverty level. Approximately 25,000 Negro farmers, some 10 percent of all Negro farmers in the South, have crops of sufficient commercial value to support their families above the subsistence level; the proportion among Southern white farmers is three times as great. At the same time thousands of less fortunate rural Negro families eke out an existence as marginal farmers, casual laborers, or welfare recipients on nonproductive farmland or in the fringes of small towns and cities. Still others are subjected to the harsh and ill-rewarded life which is still the lot of most of America's migrant workers. Poorly educated; poorly housed; victims of mechanization, shrinking acreage allotments, and racial prejudice; many impoverished Negro rural families move into the cities where they are least equipped to become self-supporting and well-adjusted members of the urban community.

What Should Be Done

Because the problems involved are approaching crisis proportions, and because of the special nature of the problems themselves, the Conference urgently recommends the appointment of an emergency Rural Jobs Task Force whose first report, with action recommendations, should be due no later than September 1.

This Task Force should include representatives of private groups, state and local governments, and appropriate Federal officials concerned with rural problems, with full representation from the geographic regions in which the problems are most severe.

The Task Force should focus on developing programs to provide jobs and other economic assistance for rural Negroes, to eliminate job handicaps caused by discriminatory denials of opportunity, to increase the effectiveness of existing government agricultural programs in meeting the needs of disadvantaged rural people, and to facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural families moving to urban areas.

Specifically, the Task Force should recommend prompt and practical steps by which private and public resources can be used to:

1. Provide Negroes who are engaged in or who wish to engage in the operation of commercial or subsistence farms with means and incentives for achieving successful farm ownership and management. Such a program should include combinations of loans, grants, training, counseling, and technical assistance. It should be closely coordinated with programs to provide off-farm part-time job opportunities to rural people, to assist farm cooperatives, and with other related activities indicated below.

2. Provide technical and financial assistance for farm operators' marketing and housing cooperatives in rural farm and nonfarm areas. Financial assistance should include long-term low-cost loans.

3. Improve and accelerate action to remove all racially discriminatory practices in the administering of Federal programs and other publicly and privately supported programs affecting the lives of rural residents. Among other steps, this should include employment of Negroes in responsible positions--

for example, as county agents, as well as on state and local advisory, planning, or action bodies established under Federal programs.

4. Provide intensive job training programs, directly tied to the new job opportunities stimulated by local and regional economic planning--such training to be accompanied by provision of adequate living income for trainees and their families.

5. Ensure that jobs created by local economic development programs are open to Negroes on an equal opportunity basis.

6. Provide part-time or off-season work opportunities in rural areas for farmers and hired farm workers, to supplement their incomes from agriculture. Such jobs, financed mainly by Federal, state, or local government funds, should provide socially useful work in such fields as area beautification, conservation, and public services.

7. Sharply upgrade the substandard conditions under which migratory workers and their families are employed, housed and educated by (a) improving government education, vocational training, health, and housing programs for migrants, such as those conducted under the Economic Opportunity Act; (b) strengthening labor standards legislation; (c) developing new institutions and practices to rationalize the job market and to provide year-round employment opportunities for seasonal farm workers; and (d) continuing the progress made in reducing the use of foreign farm workers on U.S. farms.

8. Facilitate the Economic and Social Adjustment of Rural Negroes Migrating to the City by (a) establishment of centers in rural surplus labor areas, with technical and financial assistance provided by the Federal Government and private institutions, to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling

for would-be migrants; (b) expanded county agent and home demonstration agent programs, in both rural and city areas, designed to help rural Negroes secure employment in cities and to cope with the transition from rural to urban life; and (c) development of reception facilities by local governments and community organizations in urban labor demand areas. These facilities should be equipped to help the rural in-migrant solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period.

Conflict with Metro Job Councils?

9. For the aged or physically disabled low-income farmer who cannot advantageously move to the city or take other steps to improve his economic security, provide a system of supplemental income payments which, combined with farm earnings, will yield a decent standard of family living.

10. Provide "Domestic Peace Corps" programs for rural residents in economically depressed areas, including expansion of the VISTA program, utilization of the proposed Teacher Corps, and other private and government approaches.

11. Provide for the establishment of permanent local or regional Rural Jobs Councils which will assist in implementing and reviewing programs initiated under the Rural Jobs Task Force.

III. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAM TO SET GOALS, TO MEASURE PROGRESS, AND TO STRUCTURE THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Why the Recommendation is Needed

Effective action programs must be based on systematic planning which mobilizes all available resources, selects specific goals, and schedules the necessary activities in accordance with definite timetables and priorities. Moreover, the component parts of overall programs must be effectively coordinated to attain maximum impact. The recommendation for a Comprehensive Human Resources Program is intended to meet these requirements. It will provide a flexible basis for creative action; serve as a guide in developing new manpower, economic, or related legislation; help to alert local and national planners to emerging problems or trends; and provide guidelines for manpower program actions by business, organized labor, local and state governments, and other agencies.

The Program also is intended to insure that all relevant data on the characteristics, needs, employment, unemployment, training, and job opportunities of Negro workers are considered, that the experience of existing private and government manpower and economic programs is reviewed, and that the available information is translated into proposals for specific program activities. The intention is to develop carefully planned and coordinated steps, to structure training and job opportunities for Negroes, rather than adopt scattered, unrelated programs which have only limited, temporary impact.

The need for a Comprehensive Human Resources Plan is pointed up by recent experience in the Watts section of Los Angeles. After the riots, private and public groups went to Watts for the purpose of determining what programs were

needed to eliminate Negro social and economic problems which, it was generally assumed, were causal factors underlying the riots. One of the immediate problems which confronted the groups was the absence of basic information on the Watts population, on factors influencing its labor status, on its access to jobs and training, and on the impact of private, local and state government, and Federal manpower and economic programs in the area. This information would have been more readily available if a Comprehensive Human Resources Program had been in existence.

Major thrust for implementation of the recommendation must come from the Federal Government, particularly the United States Department of Labor. However, a Comprehensive Human Resources Program in the final analysis strongly involves action in local areas. This includes the provision of basic planning information by local employers, labor unions, other community groups and governments; the proposal of new action and approaches; and the development and adjustment of local activities to take into account the guidelines of the national Program. In particular, Metropolitan Jobs Councils and Rural Jobs Councils should relate their plans and programs closely to the national-level Comprehensive Human Resource Program. (See Recommendations I and II above.)

What Should Be Done

1. The U.S. Department of Labor should assume leadership in developing and conducting an effective program for collecting and analyzing information on the number, characteristics, employment, unemployment, and job opportunities of Negro workers. This program should focus most heavily on the working age population of the 70-odd cities in which most urban Negroes are concentrated and on the 5 or 6 southern states in which most rural Negroes live. Data should

Rec.

Burden of data gathering — some limits

be obtained for both urban and rural areas, and on a neighborhood basis in areas of heavy unemployment and underemployment. The current gap in employment and unemployment statistics by race on an area basis should be promptly filled, and this information made available to help local agencies plan to meet their manpower needs.

2. The Department of Labor should develop and keep up-to-date a Human Resource Budget:

a. Identifying the number, types, and problems of Negro youths, unskilled workers, older workers, women, and other specific groups of the working age population in need of intensive manpower services;

b. Establishing specific goals and timetables for providing these services;

c. Determining the extent to which existing government and non-government programs can help meet the goals;

d. Indicating the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals;

e. Assigning definite priorities and targets for action by specific agencies.

3. The Human Resource Budget should include short and long run estimates of expected employment and unemployment by race, major industry, area, and occupation; estimates of the need for government action to supplement expected employment opportunities; and definite program plans for Federally financed public work or service employment opportunities in advance of serious manpower dislocations at the local or national level.

4. The Department of Labor should prepare periodic reports systematically evaluating the progress of Negroes in the job market and the effectiveness of government and nongovernment services in meeting the needs of the Negro working age population.

IV. DEVELOP GOVERNMENT FINANCED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ON PUBLIC WORKS AND SERVICES TO GUARANTEE THE AVAILABILITY OF JOBS TO ABLE WORKERS WHO CANNOT BE PLACED IN, OR PROMPTLY TRAINED FOR, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT

Why the Recommendation is Needed

Massive unemployment and underemployment in the Negro working age population requires the most urgent attention to prevent a worsening of social tensions, to eliminate the waste of human potential, and to lighten the heavy welfare burdens imposed on the community. We must not expect this problem to be eliminated automatically by the long-run competitive forces of the job market. Even in an economy approaching full employment, joblessness among Negroes will remain a persistent problem. The relatively low educational attainment and occupational skill levels of many Negro workers reduce their job opportunities in our increasingly complex and rapidly changing economy. Discriminatory employment practices also result in a persistent hard-core of joblessness in the Negro labor force.

Jobs must be provided without delay to solve the Negro unemployment crisis. And these jobs must be made available for Negroes at their existing level of skill attainment.

To meet this need, the Federal Government must assume responsibility for providing employment to workers who have been unable to find a productive place in the regular job market on their own. This employment must include the kinds of training and experience which are likely to increase the employability of the worker for regular jobs. The work experience, coupled with supportive services such as counseling, must be aimed at breaking the vicious cycle of poverty and dependence, and at upgrading the occupational structure of the Negro work force in line with current and expected future

manpower requirements.

The tasks assigned to workers on a proposed government employment program, far from being "make work," are essential to fill the very real and pressing needs for public works and services that have accompanied population growth, urbanization, and increasing demands on the nation's physical resources. Workers employed on the proposed programs can make major contributions toward meeting the need for better housing, schools, hospitals, and parks in burgeoning urban communities. They can contribute to important conservation projects and to improvements in the appearance and safety of both towns and countryside. They can fill the large-scale shortage of subprofessional personnel in the fields of education, welfare, health, child care, and many other services.

What Should Be Done

1. The Federal government should develop and finance a program of guaranteed employment for able workers who cannot be placed in, or promptly trained for, regular employment. The work experience provided should help upgrade the worker's job skills and prepare him for regular employment.

To guide this program, an annual job budget should be developed in which short-run and long-run estimates of labor force, employment, and underemployment should be considered in relation to the whole range of the Nation's economic and social resources and needs, in order to develop goals and priorities on the numbers and location of workers and projects to be served. This job budget should be tied closely to the Comprehensive Human Resource Program (See Recommendation III).

2. A large-scale Federal financed public works program to provide jobs through the private sector should be undertaken immediately. Immediate

targets should be in the major urban centers where Negro unemployment is most severe and in the southern states where most of the rural farm and nonfarm Negro population live. In addition, long-range blue prints for public works should be developed for emergency use to prevent national or local manpower dislocations such as sharp dips in employment. Priority should be given to public works which produce the greatest manpower requirements for the industries, types of workers, and areas most in need of jobs.

3. The Federal government, in cooperation with local and state governments, should undertake a large-scale program of employment in public services.

4. The President's Council of Economic Advisors should give leadership in developing these programs.

V. MOUNT COMPREHENSIVE YEAR-ROUND EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR NEGRO YOUTH

Why the Recommendation is Needed

The shockingly high rate of unemployment among Negro youths--male and female, their unduly high rate of school drop-outs, and symptoms of social disorganization among some young residents of impoverished Negro ghettos are problems of paramount urgency. Most unemployed Negro teenagers and older youth lack the kind of work experience and work skills needed for successful adaptation to the job market. At the same time, jobs for unskilled young people are increasingly limited.

Because of their disadvantages in the job market, young Negroes need especially intensive vocational counseling to determine their best occupational prospects, and to plan the most effective educational and training programs tailored to their individual needs. Large numbers of them have yet to be convinced that employment opportunities are increasing and job restrictions are diminishing, particularly in skilled, technical, and white collar work. Those who have little reason to believe they will be successful in the job market need encouragement and counseling in seeking and applying for regular employment. Yet, programs to provide intensive counseling services for Negro youth are grossly inadequate.

What Should Be Done

1. A year-round youth job placement program comparable to the special summer program formalized in 1965 should be developed. Jobs must be generated for male and female Negro teenagers which utilize their present skills while preparing them with new and better skills for occupational

advancement. The Metropolitan Jobs Councils and Rural Jobs Councils should play important roles in coordinating this program at local levels. (See Recommendations I and II). The Comprehensive Human Resource Program provides a vehicle for estimating annual job needs and for planning the implementation of the youth program. (See Recommendation III).

2. Counseling services for in-school youths should be vastly improved and expanded, making available skilled vocational advisers who are acquainted with the requirements of industry. A target of at least one counselor for every 100 youths should be set for schools in poverty areas. Public employment offices should expand their vocational counseling services in the schools.

3. Community organizations should supplement the counseling services of government with emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youth with especially severe employment and training problems.

4. The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation should be greatly expanded and utilized by community organizations to reach and motivate Negro youth. This program can be implemented in high schools and colleges most effectively. Initiative may be taken by local clubs, churches, and Parent Teachers Associations. College students should form their own task forces to initiate and implement the program in local high schools.*

5. High school vocational education programs should be expanded and strengthened in both urban and rural areas to train youths effectively

*The intention of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation is to provide a means whereby the unconvinced Negro youth may be convinced of the changes in job opportunities by witnessing and counseling with Negroes who have "succeeded" in jobs and occupations previously closed to the Negroes. The program is in its second year and has already proved to be a success.

for occupations in which employment opportunities are available. School systems should work closely with industry and labor unions to gear the training realistically to job requirements.

6. The Neighborhood Youth Corps, which provides paid work experience for needy in-school youth and for jobless out-of-school youth, should be made more effective by legislative action to (a) provide additional funds, (b) increase the eligible age limits from 16-21 to 14-24, and (c) assist the preparation of NYC "graduates" for jobs by facilitating their movement into occupational training courses under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

7. The Job Corps program for both young men and women should be expanded and continuously improved in the light of program experience.

Ending discrimination

VI. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, AND GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER JOBS

Specialized efforts is a part of a general push for expanded jobs & suitable jobs

Why the Recommendation Is Needed

Affirmative action by both private and government employers, labor organizations and community groups is essential and urgent to generate more and better jobs for Negroes, insure access to existing jobs by Negro men and women, and to eliminate discrimination in employment and occupational advancement.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies; Executive Order 11246, which requires affirmative action to insure equal employment opportunity by government contractors; state and local fair employment practice laws; recent rulings by the National Labor Relations Board; and the Plans for Progress program are all contributing to the achievement of more and better jobs not by merely penalizing discriminatory activity, but through positive action leading to equality of opportunity.

affirmative

Employers need to look, think, and act beyond simple nondiscrimination and pro forma or passive equal employment opportunity programs. Active and deliberate efforts to increase and improve jobs for Negroes are necessary. The Government itself needs to become a model employer in every respect and set the example for affirmative action. State and local governments should also become model employers. In addition, they should establish programs of contract compliance comparable to the Federal Government's Executive Order 11246.

all Civil Serv. Com.

Affirmative Action by Private Employers and Labor Unions

There is no affirmative action plan which will apply to all companies in all situations. Overcoming past traditions of discrimination and insuring

the acceptance of equal employment opportunity will require great initiative and creative thinking. Management must devote as much thought and effort to this as it does to other major functions of administration.

Among things that need to be done are:

1. Positive communication to Negroes that barriers of exclusion have been removed. This should be done through both regular and Negro-oriented media, civic meetings, mass meetings, radio and television.

2. Encouraging Negroes to apply for all levels of employment.

3. Review of all qualifications standards and tests to insure that Negroes are not victims of unconscious bias and that standards are fair and objective.

4. Re-evaluation of all Negro employees and progression opportunities to guarantee access to jobs commensurate with ability. In some cases collective bargaining agreements will have to be revised to overcome discriminatory placement practices maintained by transfer and seniority stipulations.

5. Job opportunities in the skilled crafts for Negroes should be increased without delay by (a) actively recruiting Negroes into craft unions and (b) helping Negro youths to qualify for apprenticeship programs by establishing pre-apprenticeship training and by revising selection criteria to eliminate unnecessary barriers.

6. Policy statements on equal employment opportunities should be followed-up with (a) specific directions involving all levels of supervision; (b) a precise system of feedback and reporting covering recruiting, hiring, training, and upgrading in each department, division and field office; and (c) personal involvement by top management when progress is slow.

7. Lower levels of supervision should be evaluated on the results of equal employment opportunity activities in the same way they are evaluated on other areas of supervisory ability.

8. Particular effort should be exerted to locate Negroes in responsible management and policy positions as a visible example of policy; e.g., as supervisors and personnel officers.

9. Private companies should utilize suppliers and contractors who follow nondiscrimination policies.

10. Management should increase the use of institutional and on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers find employment and advance to more skilled jobs. Effective use of Metropolitan Human Resource Action Programs, referred to under Recommendation I, will help to identify and channel Negroes into MDTA and other government institutional and on-the-job training programs.

11. Firms with well-established management and operating know-how can cooperate with Negro-owned and operated businesses to provide training for management and others employed in Negro firms.

12. Job opportunities for Negroes should be expanded through the franchise system. Every major firm should have Negro-owned franchises in all major cities as well as in small cities and towns.

13. Local business leaders should assist in forming and work with local Metropolitan Jobs Councils (See Rcommendation I) and with other community organizations giving leadership to anti-discrimination and "Fair and full employment" programs.

Affirmative Action by Labor Unions

Organized labor, especially at the national level, has made significant contributions to the furthering of equal job opportunities. However, there

are many localities in which some labor organizations have failed to take affirmative action commensurate with the problems faced by Negro job seekers. It is recommended, therefore, that national, regional, and local unions review and revise union regulations, programs, and practices which have the effect of hampering access of Negroes to jobs and job training.

Affirmative Action by Community Organizations

Churches, educational institutions, health and welfare groups, and associations can undertake affirmative action through technical assistance and through the example of their own practices. These institutions have already proved to be effective instruments to bring about change in employment patterns. However, much of the work is confined to the national level. We recommend that churches, educational institutions and health and welfare groups undertake programs to:

1. Provide technical assistance to persuade and help local institutions and affiliates to eliminate discriminatory patterns.

2. Utilize only suppliers and contractors who adhere to nondiscrimination policies. An example in this respect is "Project Equality," sponsored by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. (This project is described in Appendix A).

Action Required by Federal Government

1. Title VII (Prohibition of Discrimination by Employers, Unions, and Employment Agencies) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, should be strengthened by amending it to:

Rec legis.

a. Expand coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with eight or more employees or members.

b. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue "cease and desist" orders.

c. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to order back pay to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.

2. Government contracting authority should be utilized to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with Government contracts.

3. Technical assistance and educational programs should be greatly expanded to help employers, labor unions, and others develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities and to reduce employment prejudice and discrimination.

4. Training of Federal, state and local staffs, and present and potential staff members of local and national community organizations should be expanded to inform them of Federal requirements and to provide guidelines and methods for eliminating discrimination and implementing affirmative action programs.

5. An effective means for employers and labor unions to exchange information on their experience in attacking discriminatory practices should be provided.

VII. INITIATE AND REINFORCE SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES INTO JOBS

Why the Recommendation Is Needed

Discrimination, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, relegation to low-skill jobs, and poverty have left their mark on the Negro labor force. A relatively high proportion of Negro workers lack the educational attainment and occupational skills needed to compete for many of the jobs in today's increasingly complex economy. This is especially true of white collar and technical jobs. The problem is made more severe by the migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from rural to urban areas, often without the kinds of vocational skills demanded for nonfarm work, and often lacking adequate knowledge of city life and services. Many of these people were persuaded to move to cities by employers and city officials during periods of labor shortage, such as World War II, and they have suffered substantial unemployment and underemployment in subsequent periods of reduced manpower requirements.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials. In many cases, existing training or educational programs are of inadequate size, inconveniently located, and not geared to the needs of disadvantaged groups. On-the-job training by employers has also been relatively limited for Negroes.

Formal training is not enough to assist Negroes at the lower end of the economic scale. They often require a variety of supportive services to ease their adjustment to the demands of the job market. They need supportive community services such as child care centers for working mothers and specialized

help involving health, family, housing, and welfare problems which interfere with their success at seeking and holding jobs. Those who migrate from the countryside to the city often need help in adjusting to their new environment. Many disadvantaged people require counseling and related services to develop effective work, job seeking, and human relations attitudes and behavior patterns. It is very important, also, to facilitate access to jobs by Negroes, introducing new concepts of urban transportation for this purpose.

This set of recommendations covers training programs and supportive services to meet such urgent needs. It includes steps to strengthen government services, as well as to utilize the facilities and experience of nongovernment organizations. Special attention is given to the public employment service, which should be a key agency in this field.

What Should Be Done

1. There is a need to Federalize the public employment service, which currently is operated by state agencies, although financed entirely by Federal funds. The reasons for this recommendation include:

Rec Legislation

a. A national system to bring together jobs and job applicants without regard to local boundaries is needed to keep pace with today's complex job market. This system must be available to handle rapid shifts in manpower requirements, such as those caused by technological change and changes in defense needs. It is needed to give maximum mobility to the work force, to utilize unemployed workers in depressed areas, and to meet manpower shortages which are currently on the increase. A Federalized employment service is in a position to effectively deal with the continuing large-scale movement of rural people to urban areas, and other inter-regional migration patterns which have received little

or no government services in the past. Furthermore, for an increasing number of occupations, such as engineering and other professional and technical jobs, the labor market is actually a national one.

b. Federalization is needed to strengthen program standards, to eliminate discrimination in referral of applicants to jobs, and to raise the quality of services, such as intensive counseling, furnished to applicants.

c. To an increasing extent, public employment service offices have been called upon to administer Federal manpower programs. As they assume functions such as the selection of enrollees for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, and the MDTA, the need for Federal coordination to insure high standards, nondiscrimination, and uniformity has increased.

d. A Federal system would greatly improve employment service personnel standards. It would create a career ladder at an adequate and unified salary scale, promoting the interchange of staff members among local, state, and Federal levels. It would guard against discrimination in the selection of employment service staff members.

2. Access of Negro workers to all available jobs in the community must be improved. The location of most Negro workers in segregated ghettos sharply reduces not only their physical access to jobs in the community but often prevents them from knowing of the range of existing jobs, as is typical of most urban areas--North and South--investigations revealed that many workers in the Watts area had to travel for two hours, transfer to several bus lines, and pay a half-dollar each way to commute to jobs or to visit employment offices in

search of a job. Relatively few can afford to own private cars. These transportation difficulties discourage job seekers and impose unfair costs on workers least able to meet them. Lack of child care services impedes the employment of women at a distance from their homes. The problem is aggravated by the growing trend of locating new business and government establishments in distant suburban areas. It is recommended that:

a. The Federal Government should locate new Federal facilities in places readily accessible to residental areas where Negroes live.

b. In awarding government contracts, the Federal Government should require, to the maximum practicable extent, that the work be performed in establishments accessible to areas with substantial Negro unemployment problems.

c. Unless there are compelling business reasons to the contrary, new business establishments should be located by private employers in areas accessible to places where Negroes live, such as downtown areas, rather than in distant suburban or other out-of-the-way sites.

d. Local and state governments should evaluate and modify local transportation routes, fares, and facilities to improve the access of Negroes to available jobs.

3. An individualized approach to disadvantaged workers should be adopted to meet the especially difficult employment and training needs of the hard-core unemployed. This should include establishment of Human Resource Development Centers in major cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance such as diagnosis of needs; intensive and prolonged counseling; referral to health, welfare, or other services; referral to training; specialized job placement assistance; and

continuing contact with counselors to solve human relations and other problems which may interfere with performance on the job. (See Recommendation I.)

4. The effectiveness of programs for training unemployed and underemployed workers under the Manpower Development and Training Act should be increased by (a) liberalizing the recruitment, testing, and selection process to include more Negro trainees, (b) expanding remedial education, counseling, and other supportive services to improve the employability and training qualifications of disadvantaged workers, (c) increased participation by employers, labor unions, and local governments in establishing MDTA on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers qualify for employment and advancement, (d) liberalizing the weekly living allowances paid to trainees, and (e) "streamlining" administrative procedures.

VIII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

Why the Recommendation Is Needed

The strengthening of income maintenance and labor standards programs is of special importance for Negroes, who are heavily concentrated in occupations and industries which pay low wages, provide only intermittent employment, and are excluded from protective labor standards legislation. For example, extension of minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and laws protecting the right to join labor unions to currently excluded agricultural and service workers would greatly contribute to the economic security of large numbers of Negro workers. Such protection would help to raise incomes to adequate levels and would reduce the dependence of impoverished Negroes on public assistance. Improved labor standards and income safeguards would also help to provide the Negro work force with the security needed to motivate workers to develop their skills, actively seek employment, and make their maximum contribution in the job market.

What Should Be Done

1. Federal minimum wage and child labor standards should be improved by:

a. Expanding coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated, e.g., service and agricultural jobs.

b. Increasing the minimum wage. Provide for adjustment programs to help disemployed workers obtain gainful employment.

c. Prohibiting child labor outside of school hours on farms other than those operated by the child's own family.

2. The protection and benefits of collective bargaining should be extended to occupations and industries in which Negroes are concentrated by:

a. Extending the protection of the Labor-Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries; e.g., agriculture.

b. Insuring, through state laws and programs, protection of collective bargaining rights for workers excluded from the Labor-Management Relations Act.

c. Intensifying efforts to organize workers in service, agricultural, and other occupations in which Negroes are heavily concentrated.

3. The low-paid, low-status occupations in which large numbers of Negroes are employed, e.g., household service, should be upgraded by developing occupational standards, providing training programs, and developing new job market practices to provide steady employment, economic security, and decent "fringe benefits."

attempts to break down idea that
poor are so because of moral flaw — a
that situation requires special negative
incentives — accepts that many struggling
folks — attempting to perform — or desirous of
by regulations — residual, earnings, pressure of relatives
in family, etc

IX. RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

Why the Recommendation is Needed

Welfare programs as they are presently operated fall far short of providing an adequate living to the poor. Even when the resources and facilities of the "War on Poverty" authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act are included, the Nation's welfare programs fail to provide welfare recipients and other impoverished people with maximum opportunity to move from dependency to self-sustaining employment.

The annual income available to families under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program only averages about $1.15 per day per person for all of the costs of living. Aged and disabled recipients of public assistance have only between $900 and $1,000 a year and blind recipients have slightly over $1,100 a year.

In addition to low cash payments, the provision of services by public assistance agencies to help poor people overcome the barriers to self-sufficiency is also limited. The "War on Poverty" has introduced imaginative approaches aimed at eradicating basic causes of poverty, but these programs require further experience, testing, and expansion before they can achieve major breakthroughs in eliminating the large-scale, deep-rooted problems of the Negro urban and rural ghetto. Widespread shortages of trained staff members add to this problem.

Both Federal and state public assistance laws impose eligibility conditions that deny help to some needy people. The most important group excluded from coverage under Federal law are families with children in which the parent or parents are employed but whose earnings do not provide

even a meager living. More than half of the children among the poor are thus excluded from eligibility for Federally aided public assistance. Also excluded are persons nearly but not yet 65 and young and middle-aged couples or individuals who are not blind or disabled and who have no minor children. Requirements for a specified length of residence and special requirements that exclude some families with children that are headed by women also result in many needy persons not receiving aid.

The limitations of existing programs bear particularly heavily on Negroes. More heads of households in the nonwhite than the white population work part-time or for only part of the year. Negro earnings are lower than whites. The proportion of nonwhite families headed by women is almost two and one-half times the corresponding proportion of white families. The risk of poverty among children in nonwhite families headed by employed women is about two and one-half times that of white children in such families. Finally, the southern states have conspicuous difficulty in financing adequate assistance programs, even with a relatively high tax effort for public services. Since half of the total number of nonwhite poor people and only about one-third of all white poor people live in the South, this situation adversely affects Negro families.

What Should Be Done

1. The Federal Government should establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the states, raising benefits to furnish a standard of living compatible with health and decency.

2. High priority in setting national standards should be given to eliminating the separate categories of public assistance and substituting

a single category based exclusively on need, to insure the availability of public assistance to all impoverished people.

3. Legislation should be enacted to permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in states which cannot or will not meet Federal standards.

4. Under existing programs, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children should be strengthened to grant assistance to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.

5. Residence requirements for public assistance should be reduced or eliminated or the states should be reimbursed for payments to non-residents.

6. Public assistance recipients should be given every opportunity and encouraged to seek and take jobs and training. The amount of earnings or training allowances which can be retained by public assistance recipients without impairing their benefits should be substantially increased.

Teenagers should be permitted to keep a substantial proportion of their earnings from jobs or their MDTA or NYC training allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.

7. Standards and additional resources should be provided for state and local governments and community organizations to make available supplemental non-monetary services to needy people, to strike at the basic causes of poverty. These services should include: consumer education, legal assistance, vocational and personal counseling, health information,

home management services, free family planning services, day care centers for working mothers, and expanded school lunch programs. Services provided by public assistance agencies should be closely coordinated with those available under "War on Poverty" programs, to avoid duplication and achieve maximum coverage and impact.

8. The acute staffing problem of public assistance agencies must be relieved by such measures as (a) developing and providing resources for a greatly expanded program of recruitment and training of professional case workers. There should be a sharp reduction of the number of clients served by each case worker--a target of no more than 60 clients per worker should be achieved; (b) development of large-scale programs to train subprofessional aides to reduce the burden on the professional staff by handling routine tasks, serving as "expediters" to locate and inform poor people about available programs, and following-up the progress of public assistance recipients in utilizing available services and self-improvement programs.

9. Federal agencies administering programs of Federal assistance that depend upon development, proposal, and operation of projects by local agencies (e.g., the Community Action Program of the Economic Opportunity Act and economic development programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965) should review administrative controls and intensify technical assistance activities to insure that their benefits reach even the least sophisticated and poorest rural and urban communities.

10. The resources of "War on Poverty" programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act should be expanded and creative new programs

should continue to be developed and tested. Prompt attention should be given to strengthening the administrative procedures of these programs. This should include careful program controls, expanded technical assistance and supervision for local projects by the Office of Economic Opportunity and other administering agencies, and longer-range planning to maximize program effectiveness.

11. There should be explicit acceptance of the government's responsibility for guaranteeing a minimum income to all Americans. This involves (a) making available "last-resort employment" to those willing and able to work but who cannot find jobs, and (b) utilizing an improved public assistance system to provide income to needy persons who are unable to seek employment because of age, physical or mental disability, family responsibilities or other reasons; and who are not adequately protected by social insurance programs.

Appendix A

DESCRIPTION OF "PROJECT EQUALITY"

"Project Equality" is a national program in which participating religious institutions (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and Protestant denominations) use their hiring and purchasing power to promote affirmative action for equal employment opportunity. The program is similar to government action under Executive Order 11246. Employment practices within the institutions, their schools and hospitals, as well as that of suppliers and contractors are covered.

The principal elements are:

1. Each participating religious institution agrees to adopt and implement nondiscriminatory and affirmative action programs to insure that applicants are hired and that employees are placed, trained, promoted and otherwise treated during employment without regard to race.

2. Each employer who wishes to become eligible for contracts or purchase orders forwards to the Project Equality staff in his location a standard "employment analysis" form containing three kinds of information.

   a. A breakdown of work force by race and job category.

   b. A list of affirmative actions taken to eliminate discrimination and insure equal employment opportunity.

   c. A statement as to the problems encountered in recruiting minority persons for employment.

3. The contract staff within the Project Equality area compiles a list of eligible firms.

4. Project Equality members within the area pledge to do business only with eligible firms on the list.

5. On the basis of work force and problem information contained in the completed "employment analysis" reports, Project Equality staff members conduct compliance reviews of firms on the eligible list to insure that nondiscriminatory and affirmative actions are being implemented and are achieving successful results.

The program began in May 1965, and now operates in several major cities (Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Hartford, San Antonio). Total purchasing power committed to the program is well over a half billion dollars annually. The goal is to establish programs by 1967 in each major city in which there are significant numbers of nonwhites.

Another organization exploring this type of program is the national board of the YWCA. Others could include:

1. Educational institutions
2. Hospitals
3. Mass media industries
4. The advertising industry
5. Civic organizations
6. Financial institutions

CONCLUSION

> No amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the national government, can by itself bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the States and local government, of industry, and of all citizens, white and Negro.
>
> --From the President's Message to Congress, April 28, 1966

No single document can anticipate the views of as large a cross section of American life as is represented at this White House Conference.

In submitting this Report to the Conference, the Council has identified problem areas which deserve priority attention. It has concentrated its action recommendations on programs offering the greatest promise of success in eliminating barriers that prevent the Negro's full participation in our society.

As you discuss these subjects, we look to you for more ideas and new approaches, for firsthand reports on constructive programs which have worked in your community, business, or agency.

This Conference should mark the beginning of a more meaningful dialog in every home, neighborhood, union hall, place of business, organization meeting, state house, and city hall -- as well as here in Washington.

The time has passed when we can afford the luxury of limiting ourselves to studying and discussing "the problem."

The business of these meetings is to chart a course of action, to stimulate the massive national effort called for by the President.

We will not ask you to issue findings, pass resolutions, or make a final judgment on proposals or priorities. Every idea discussed will be studied with care by the Council before it makes its Report to the President.

At the same time, we ask that you also listen. Many of the proposals made, the experiences shared, will demonstrate what you can do in your own community. There is no reason for delay before you translate the best of these approaches into action.

In our diverse society it is the citizen who leads. It is to this mobilization of spirit, commitment, and resources that we must address ourselves.

That is why we are here.

In convening this Conference, the President said that "its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

We will need new Federal legislation and more executive action. Every section of this Report deals with these needs as well as the necessity for better enforcement of present laws and more realistic funding.

There is no question that much remains to be accomplished by our national government.

But these recommendations should not blind us to a central issue. It is that the national government's response to the compelling cry of the Negro American for justice and true equality has not been matched by state and local government, by business and labor, the housing industry, educational institutions, and the wide spectrum of voluntary organizations who, through united effort, have the power to improve our society.

In the struggle for equality, we must now move to new and different battlefields in every city and its suburbs, in rural areas, and in every state.

Only you and your organizations and institutions can make this come to pass. Each of us has a role to play.

State and local governments should recognize the need to recapture the initiative and leadership they have lost by inaction. It is not enough to wait for Federal action and Federal funds, although these are essential and are becoming increasingly available. They must be stimulated to act on the many roadblocks which only they can clear in housing, education, health, welfare, the administration of justice, and economic security.

Legislators and administrators in every branch of state and local government must recognize the crisis they face in the nation's drive for equality. They should proceed to implement the recommendations in this Report.

In the private sector, more affirmative action is needed from businessmen, industrialists, and financiers. Though many of the larger corporations are working to develop local merit employment councils, vocational and counseling services, and motivational programs, most local business has not yet seen the stake it has in racial progress.

The business community must improve its communication with Negro Americans. Affirmative action programs should be agenda item number one for every employer, every trade association, and every local chamber of commerce.

Organized labor has a responsibility to translate its national support for civil rights into more decisive action by international and local unions. There is a need to make seniority more flexible, widen the doors of apprenticeship training, and renegotiate discriminatory contracts. Many unions can best demonstrate their commitment to equality by promoting qualified Negro members to responsible positions.

Every segment of the housing industry needs to join in a serious reappraisal of the role housing now plays in impeding racial progress. Builders, investors, union officials, economists, and public officials must join hands in closing the gap between incomes and housing costs. Their support is imperative in the fight for open, racially unrestricted housing in suburban areas as well as the central city.

Similarly, quality education for all will never become a fact without a greater commitment by teachers and administrators, school boards, and state and local officials. Innovation is essential in eliminating racial concentrations, improving teacher training and textbooks, and bringing about a greater interdependence among the educational units within our metropolitan areas.

Every one of us has a job to do in providing support for greater educational opportunity for all children and in improving the dialog between the schools and the community.

In the area of individual citizen and organization action, those identified with civil rights, religious, and labor organizations have played the major role thus far in awakening the nation's conscience and in supporting positive action.

But to accomplish our goal new allies must be found. Leadership must now include the representatives of local business, labor unions, civic and veterans associations, neighborhood groups, and other components of our diverse society in villages as well as cities, including organizations of men, women and youth.

Negroes and other minorities have a crucial role to play in this battle for true equality. As the gates of opportunity are opened, all who have been denied must seek to improve their education, housing and employment. Opportunities for leadership must be sought in elective and appointive office; in trade, professional and civic organizations; in business firms and labor unions. The Negro American needs to recognize his responsibility for affirmative action by becoming totally involved in every level of our society.

The target for citizen action should be to support and stimulate meaningful advancement on all of the fronts covered in these recommendations.

To the battles in the courts and in Congress a new dimension should be added -- state legislatures, city councils, and the executive agencies of both.

But more than lip service is needed today. Every organization, institution, and agency can make a contribution by using its hiring and purchasing power to promote affirmative action. This direct involvement could produce immediate and beneficial results in every community.

In this civic mobilization, the need for a better informed public is imperative. It is not enough to talk about civil rights. Commitment to

change can only be secured through a massive public education program. In this effort, we call upon the nation's press and broadcasters for advice and support.

The Council believes that the massive effort required to bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans will require the active partnership of every segment of our nation. Only by coordinated planning and direction can we hope to achieve the maximum effort which will be required by existing institutions and organizations.

We must find a better way for the varied interests represented here to pool their knowledge, energy, and influence. Without this catalyst, we may find that everyone's business has become no one's business.

Existing Federal agencies could make a valuable contribution to this dialog between and among all private and public groups across the country. There is need for better Federal interagency planning and coordination of programs as they affect local communities and organizations.

Among the Federal agencies which should be more directly involved in this follow up are the Civil Rights Commission, with its network of state advisory councils and clearing house responsibilities; the Community Relations Service, which works at the community level; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; the Departments of Labor; Commerce; Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education and Welfare; and others.

America has demonstrated many times the ability of its citizens to respond to challenge, to join forces in a common cause.

What is needed is a full understanding of the issues, a sense of commitment, a determination to find solutions.

There will be disagreement on methods some of us use to accomplish our common goal. But dissent, and the variety of approaches we use, can provide strength to the massive public and private effort that will be required if we, as a nation, are to "Fulfill These Rights."

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 27, 1966

MEMORANDUM TO CHAIRMEN AND RESOURCE PEOPLE

In many ways the main business of the Conference will center in the discussions of the twelve committees. Each committee will consist of approximately 200 participants and will meet for four three-hour sessions. Each participant will be assigned to a specific committee upon registration. He will be expected to meet with that group for all four of its sessions, in the course of which he will be exposed to each of the major agenda subjects -- Economic Security and Welfare, Education, Housing, Administration of Justice, and other concerns.

Each committee will have a permanent chairman; teams of resource people in each subject area will circulate among the committees, so that each group will discuss each subject.

Following are some observations on the conduct of these sessions for the guidance of the permanent chairman of each committee and the resource persons who will present and discuss the several sections of the Council's Report.

Chairman's Opening Remarks (Outline attached)

At the beginning of the first discussion session, the committee chairman should review the schedule and procedures of the committee. Among the points to be made are:

1. The format and rules of the Conference were planned by the Council in order to permit maximum participation by the more than 2,000 conferees. Within the limitations of time and numbers, every participant and every viewpoint will be given a full hearing. The chairman should inform the conferees at the outset that no person should speak until he has been recognized and stated his name and city, that all statements must be pertinent to the subject under discussion and should be kept brief, and that the chair's rulings on these points must be strictly observed.

2. Each discussion will be recorded verbatim and transcribed immediately after each session. Thus all of the views expressed will be available for careful review and reflection in the subsequent report to the President.

3. There will be no voting on proposals, no resolutions, no formal action of any kind in the committees or the general sessions. There may be objections to this policy; if so, the reasons for it should be fully explained. Basically these are that the time is too short, the Conference too large, and the proposals too many for parliamentary procedures to be practicable. If every recommendation in the Council's Report, to say nothing of others introduced from the floor, were formally acted upon, the Conference could hardly begin to deal with the issues and proposals placed before it. The participants must accept the assurance of the Council and Conference staff that the views of the conferees, as recorded and transcribed, will be accurately and fully represented in the Conference report.

4. The resource persons were selected for their knowledge of the subject matter, but the material they were asked to present represents the views of the Council and may not in every case coincide with their personal views. In short, the resource persons should not be looked upon as originating, or even necessarily subscribing to the recommendations they present and discuss.

5. No posters, signs, or other non-conference materials are to be displayed in the committee rooms. (If such material should be displayed, the ushers should first request the person responsible to remove it and then, if necessary, remove it themselves.)

6. Time does not permit the reading of papers or prepared statements. Conferees may give a brief oral summary of such papers and submit the full text to the stenotypist for inclusion in the record.

Chairing the Sessions

1. The Council's recommendations are of two broadly differing types: (a) actions to be taken by the Federal, state, and local governments, large institutions, organizations, and business corporations; and (b) actions of an essentially local nature, in which private individuals and their community groups can take the initiative in meaningful efforts. While large-scale programs of the first type are essential and are fully dealt with in the Report, it would defeat a major purpose of the Conference if the participants dwelt on them to the exclusion of voluntary and local efforts. The chairmen should use all of their tact and skill to see that both types of recommendation are seriously discussed.

2. If everyone who wishes to be heard on a given subject is to have that opportunity, it will likely be necessary to put some limitation on the length of individual statements from the floor, discussion of a given issue or recommendation, and the number of times any one person may speak. Since the success of such limitations will depend wholly on the tact and firmness of the chairmen, these matters will be

left generally to their judgment. It is suggested, however, that lengthy statements or overlong discussion of a topic be cut short with the promise that they can be completed later in the session if time permits. In the interest of fairness to all participants, the chairman should not hesitate to interrupt garrulous speakers.

3. Attached is a copy of the guidelines that will be distributed to representatives of the press at the Conference. The chairmen should familiarize themselves with these rules, especially those pertaining to press coverage of the committee sessions, and see that they are observed in the committee room.

4. In the unlikely event of any serious threat to good order in the committee sessions, arrangements have been made for assistance to be available promptly on call of the chairman. The details of these arrangements will be explained to the chairmen in person.

Role of Resource Persons

1. Resource persons will be organized by subject matter into teams of approximately five. The teams will rotate among the committees in the order prescribed. Each team will be responsible for four three-hour discussion periods over the two days of the Conference.

2. Only one presentation will be made in each committee session. The team member designated to do so will give a summary of the main points and recommendations in the appropriate section of the Council's Report. His presentation should be as concise as possible, preferably no longer than 15 to 20 minutes.

5-7 minutes or 15-20

3. The supporting resource persons will not make presentations or opening remarks. They will assist the principal discussant as necessary in answering questions about the recommendations, explaining the background of them, giving the reasons for them, and so on. Since time for reactions from the conferees is at a premium, all such comments should be kept as brief as possible.

4. The chairmen and resource persons should bear in mind that their primary job is to present and explain the Council's Report and recommendations, as a basis for eliciting the reactions and views of the conferees. While the conferees' discussion is not to be limited to the contents of the Report -- they are free to make additional proposals -- the resource persons are reminded that their responsibility is to see that there is full presentation, understanding, and discussion of the Council's recommendations to the Conference. Obviously, all resource persons should thoroughly study the Report and its recommendations in their field in advance of the Conference.

Attachment

Outline of Points to be Covered in Committee Chairman's Opening Remarks

1. Schedule and procedures of committee:

   a. Each conferee to meet with his assigned committee, in same room, for all four discussion sessions. (Refer to Program.)

   b. Each committee to discuss every agenda subject, aided by circulating teams of resource persons.

   c. Conferees to consider and discuss Council's recommendations, but may also suggest revised or additional proposals on each subject as it is discussed.

2. Maximum participation requires that each conferee:

   a. be recognized by chairman;

   b. state his name and home city;

   c. be brief (e.g., 2 or 3 minutes);

   d. be relevant to subject under discussion;

   e. give others a chance to be heard before seeking recognition again;

   f. observe all rulings of the chair.

3. Discussions to be transcribed verbatim and fully reviewed for report to the President.

4. <u>No resolutions or voting because of number of conferees to be heard and proposals to be covered in limited time</u>.

5. Resource persons will present the Council's report, not their personal views.

6. No display of non-conference materials in committee rooms.

7. Papers and reports may not be read, but may be briefly summarized and submitted for the record.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

126A EST MAY 29 66 AA033 PA038
P WWY807 WWZ9 WWZ9 PD WASHINGTON DC 28 NFT
EMORY F VIA 5 FORSYTH ST NW 5 Floor FIFTH FLOOR
~~[illegible]~~ ATLA (T)
THERE WILL BE A MEETING OF RESOURCE PEOPLE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS" ON TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1:00 P.M., ASSEMBLY ROOM, SHERATON PARK HOTEL. LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU
EDWARD C SYLVESTER JR VICE CHAIRMAN.

ADD
LW-904A ~~[illegible]~~ Amd
DELIVER AM 636-5829

SF1201(R2-65) LW Dec 3 Bu

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

412A EST MAY 30 66 AA051 PA049
P WWY167 WWZ2 WWZ2 GOVT NL PD WASHINGTON DC 29
EMORY F VIA, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
ACCOMMODATIONS REQUESTED CONFIRMED AT SHERATON PARK HOTEL PRESENT THIS TELEGRAM AT HOTEL UPON ARRIVAL
JULIA T CELLINI DIRECTOR CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS".

SF1201(R2-65)

D- 87213

D- 87933

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 31, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR CONFEREES

We hope that the following will provide you with all the information you need. If you need any further information or assistance, members of the staff will be on hand to assist you.

TICKETS FOR THE CONFERENCE

At the time you registered for the Conference you were given a book of tickets. The tickets assigned to you are numbered and have a line for your signature. Please sign all tickets immediately. These tickets are not transferrable and must be presented at the door of each meeting room and other function.

If a book of tickets -- or a ticket -- is lost, please report the loss immediately to the Conference Registration Desk.

BADGES

Every conferee was issued a badge at the time of registration. It is requested that your badge be worn throughout the Conference. Persons without badges will not be admitted to the meetings or functions.

INFORMATION DESK

An Information Desk is located in the Concourse of States, Sheraton Park Hotel, and in the Main Lobby of the Shoreham Hotel. Staff is assigned there to answer questions. The Information Desk will also serve as a point for leaving and receiving messages. Conferees should check at these locations for messages during the Conference.

BUS SERVICE

Bus service will be provided from the Sheraton Park Hotel to the Shoreham Hotel for conferees of Committees meeting in the Shoreham Hotel immediately after the opening session. It is requested that those holding Committee assignments at the Shoreham Hotel go promptly to the front entrance of the Sheraton Park Hotel where the buses will be waiting so that the first Committee meeting may start on time. Your registration kit includes a schedule of bus transportation between hotels.

RECEPTION

An informal reception will be held in Sheraton Hall, Sheraton Park Hotel, May 31st, from 6:30 to 8:00 p.m. This will afford conferees an opportunity to get acquainted before the Conference meetings begin.

OPENING MEETING

The Conference will open promptly at 9:00 a.m., Wednesday morning, June 1st, in Sheraton Hall, Sheraton Park Hotel. The Vice President will speak at this meeting and everyone must be seated by 9:00 a.m.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Each conferee has been assigned to a working committee and should remain with that Committee throughout the Conference. Each Committee will discuss the full agenda and have an opportunity to bring up other matters. You are urged to attend each Committee session. See your Program for the schedule of Committee sessions.

LUNCHEONS

Luncheons have been arranged for all participants on June 1st and June 2nd. Conferees of Committees I, II, III, IV, V, and VI will lunch in Sheraton Hall, the Sheraton Park Hotel. Conferees of Committees VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII will lunch in the Regency Room of the Shoreham Hotel. There will be no formal program. Tickets for these functions are included in your book of tickets and must be presented at the door.

DINNER MEETINGS

A dinner meeting will be held in Sheraton Hall, Sheraton Park Hotel, June 1st at 8:00 p.m. The speaker will be the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Solicitor General of the United States.

A dinner meeting will also be held in Sheraton Hall, Sheraton Park Hotel, June 2nd at 7:30 p.m., and will close the Conference.

LITERATURE ROOMS

A broad variety of literature related to the subject areas of the Conference has been assembled from government and private sources and is on display in the Potomac Lounge, Sheraton Park Hotel (just off main registration area) and the Heritage Room, Shoreham Hotel (off Lower Lobby).

A considerable amount of this literature is available for distribution. Information staff in the literature room will assist you to order other materials which could not be provided in quantity, and will endeavor to answer questions about specific programs discussed at the Conference.

EXHIBIT

A photo exhibit is on display in the Esplanade entrance to Sheraton Hall, the Sheraton Park Hotel, which dramatically portrays the conditions which this Conference is attempting to overcome.

REFRESHMENTS

Coffee will be available in each Committee room throughout the meetings through the courtesy of the National Coffee Association and the Pan American Coffee Bureau; Coca-Cola and other soft drinks will be available through the courtesy of the Coca-Cola Company.

HOTEL EXPENSES AND CHECK OUT TIME

For those wishing to leave Washington immediately after the final dinner session, arrangements have been made with the Hotels for a late check-out time of 7:00 p.m. Central storage for your luggage has been arranged and upon checking out the Hotel will assist you in placing your luggage in this area.

All hotel charges are to be paid by each Conferee. No expenses for hotel accommodations, room services, telephone calls, etc. are to be charged to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

ADVANCE INFORMATION FOR THE CONFERENCE

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS

The SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, 2660 Woodley Road, N.W., at Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., will be the Official Headquarters for The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on Wednesday and Thursday, June 1 and 2, 1966.

INVITATIONS

The invitation from the President requested that a response be made within five days. It is important that the replies are returned within that time. The invitations are *not* transferrable. Please return the completed reply card to The White House immediately.

RECEPTION

A reception for the Conference participants will be held at Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel at 6:30 p.m., Tuesday, May 31, 1966.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Accommodations for participants of the Conference have been arranged and reservations will be made by the Conference staff. Hotels will *not* accept reservations directly.

A hotel reservation card indicating types and prices of accommodations is enclosed. Reservations will be made on a first-come, first-served basis. It is, therefore, requested that you select the type of accommodations you desire, indicate time of arrival and departure, and return the self-addressed card to us immediately. (Note: If a double or twin bedroom is requested and will be shared with another, please give name of person sharing room with you.) Participants will be responsible for all hotel charges.

Arrangements have been made with the hotels to permit the participants who desire to leave Washington immediately after the dinner to check out of their hotels as late as 7:00 p.m. on June 2. Unless check out is accomplished by this time, participants will be required to pay for an additional day.

MEALS

Arrangements have been made for two luncheons and two dinners—June 1 and 2. Cost of meals will be $25.00 per person. It is requested that you send your check or money order (do not send cash)—made out to The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"—to us with your acceptance. A receipt will be mailed you immediately.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

It is requested that all participants register at Conference Headquarters Registration Desk—Concourse of States Area—Sheraton-Park Hotel as soon as they arrive. Registration Desks will be open:

Tuesday, May 31st	10:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.
Wednesday, June 1st	7:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.
Thursday, June 2nd	7:30 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

At time of registration, all participants will receive:

Identification badge to be worn throughout Conference
Book of tickets for all functions
Program, discussion papers, etc.

OTHER INFORMATION

Request for additional information regarding Conference may be sent to:

The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Room 1121
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

WHC

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

PROGRAM

Registration — 10 AM

Tuesday, May 31

6:30 p.m.	RECEPTION Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Wednesday, June 1

9:00 a.m.	OPENING MEETING Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel
10:45 a.m.	FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING - First Half
12:15 p.m.	LUNCHEON
1:45 p.m.	FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING - Second Half
3:30 p.m.	SECOND COMMITTEE MEETING
8:00 p.m.	DINNER MEETING Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Thursday, June 2

9:00 a.m.	THIRD COMMITTEE MEETING
12:00 Noon	LUNCHEON
2:00 p.m.	FOURTH COMMITTEE MEETING
7:30 p.m.	FINAL DINNER MEETING Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR CONFEREES
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

After thoughtful consideration the Council concluded that the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" be conducted so that all participants will have ample opportunity to take part in the discussions of all agenda subjects. Listed below are the procedures set up to ensure maximum participation without losing time or moving around.

Each conferee will be assigned to a committee and should remain with that committee throughout the Conference. Each committee will discuss the full agenda and have a chance to bring up other matters. You are urged to attend all committee sessions.

In order to permit a full and free discussion, resolutions or votes will not be recorded. However, complete word-for-word records will be made of each discussion session.

There will be no formal events during the Conference and regular clothes will be suitable.

The enclosed Report and Recommendations of the Council to the Conference will be discussed.

You are reminded that only those actually invited will be able to attend the Conference activities. Conference registration begins at 10:00 a.m., May 31, 1966. An early registration is requested.

We look forward to a fruitful and constructive meeting.

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Enclosure

Emory F. Via

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

PROGRAM

JUNE 1–2, 1966
WASHINGTON, D. C.

It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American Nation and, in so doing, to find America for ourselves, with the same immense thrill of discovery which gripped those who first began to realize that here, at last, was a home for freedom.

—From Remarks of the President at
Howard University, June 4, 1965

COUNCIL

Honorary Chairman: A. Philip Randolph

Chairman: Ben W. Heineman

Morris B. Abram
Hon. Edward T. Breathitt, Jr.
Dr. Jerome S. Bruner
William T. Coleman, Jr.
Stephen R. Currier
Dr. Allison Davis
John S. Gleason, Jr.
Eli Goldston
Courtlandt S. Gross
Dorothy I. Height
Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh
Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
Rafer Johnson
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Dr. Martin Luther King
John Lewis
James A. Linen, III
Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin
Floyd McKissick
Dr. James G. Maddox
Burke Marshall
George Meany
G. William Miller
J. Irwin Miller
Joseph P. Molony
Dr. Robert W. Spike
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

CONFERENCE OFFICERS

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr. —Vice Chairman
Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy —Vice Chairman
Berl I. Bernhard —Special Counsel
James E. Booker —Director of Information
Craig W. Christensen —Executive Assistant to the Chairman
Norman J. McKenzie —Executive Officer

ASSISTANTS TO CONFERENCE OFFICERS

David Apter —Assistant to Vice Chairman (Fauntroy)
Julia T. Cellini —Director, Conference Arrangements
Arthur B. McCaw —Budget and Administrative Officer
Azie T. Morton —Assistant to Vice Chairman (Sylvester)
Joan T. Thornell —Assistant to Special Counsel

SPECIAL CONSULTANTS

Harold C. Fleming
M. Carl Holman

SENIOR CONFERENCE STAFF ASSISTANTS

Edwin R. Bayley
John Christman
Ofield Dukes
Evelyn Idelson
Ronald B. Natalie
Hal Tufty

CONFERENCE STAFF

Edith M. Allen
Winnie Balmer
Mary Beebe
Joyce Bierman
Marilyn Blackburne
Marshall Bragdon
Hollis Butler
Eddie Campbell
Mary Crampton
Carrie E. Craven
Deanna Dettman
Shirley Foster
Hazel Fry
Marilyn Galvin
Helen M. Gearin
Morris Harris
Charlene Heidler
Joan Holliday
Earl Hunigan
David Kastner
Donna Jean Kelly
Christine Kushner
Harold Masters
Jean R. Oliver
Harriet K. Purvis
Sharon M. Roddy
Estella L. Sachs
Celeste Smallwood
Elizabeth Spencer
Sylvia Strong
Grace V. Teti
Constance Thomas
Cleveland M. Thompson
Ray Tucker
George Upshaw
Effie L. Watters
Melvin S. Yates

PROGRAM

Tuesday, May 31

10:00 a.m.-7:00 p.m. **REGISTRATION**
Concourse of States, Sheraton-Park Hotel

6:30 p.m.-8:00 p.m. **RECEPTION—Informal**
Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Wednesday, June 1

7:30 a.m. **REGISTRATION**
Concourse of States, Sheraton-Park Hotel

9:00 a.m.-10:15 a.m. **OPENING MEETING**
Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Welcome: A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman

Introduction: Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Address: The Vice President

Conference Procedures: Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

*10:45 a.m.-12:00 Noon **WORK SESSION**

12:15 p.m.-1:15 p.m. **LUNCH**
(No formal ceremonies)

Wednesday, June 1 (cont'd)

* 1:45 p.m.-3:00 p.m.	**WORK SESSION**
* 3:30 p.m.-6:30 p.m.	**WORK SESSION**
8:00 p.m	**DINNER MEETING** Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel **Address:** Honorable Thurgood Marshall Solicitor General of the United States

Thursday, June 2

* 9:00 a.m.-12:00 Noon	**WORK SESSION**
12:00 Noon-1:00 p.m.	**LUNCH** (No formal ceremonies)
* 2:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.	**WORK SESSION**
7:30 p.m.	**FINAL DINNER MEETING** Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

*See pages 6, 7, 8 and 9 for subjects to be discussed at each work session.

SCHEDULE OF SUBJECTS
AT THE
SHERATON-PARK HOTEL

COMMITTEE

	I DELAWARE SUITE	II VIRGINIA SUITE	III MARYLAND SUITE
June 1			
10:45-12:00 p.m.	Housing	Education	Economic Security & Welfare
1:45- 3:15 p.m.			
3:30- 6:30 p.m.	Education	Housing	Administration of Justice & Other
June 2			
9:00-12:00 Noon	Economic Security & Welfare	Administration of Justice & Other	Housing
2:00- 5:00 p.m.	Administration of Justice & Other	Economic Security & Welfare	Education

SCHEDULE OF SUBJECTS
AT THE
SHERATON-PARK HOTEL

	COMMITTEE IV CONTINENTAL ROOM	V SOUTH COTILLION ROOM	VI NORTH COTILLION ROOM
June 1			
10:45-12:00 p.m.	Administration of Justice & Other	Education	Housing
1:45- 3:15 p.m.			
3:30- 6:30 p.m.	Economic Security & Welfare	Housing	Education
June 2			
9:00-12:00 Noon	Education	Economic Security & Welfare	Administration of Justice & Other
2:00- 5:00 p.m.		Administration of Justice & Other	Economic Security & Welfare

PERCY SUTTON B

Thur

B

G. William Miller

SCHEDULE OF SUBJECTS

AT THE

SHOREHAM HOTEL

	COMMITTEE		
	VII	VIII	IX
	AMBASSADOR ROOM	EMPIRE ROOM	THE FORUM
June 1			
10:45-12:00 p.m.	Administration of Justice & Other	Economic Security & Welfare	Housing
1:45- 3:15 p.m.			
3:30- 6:30 p.m.	Economic Security & Welfare	Administration of Justice & Other	Education
June 2			
9:00-12:00 Noon	Housing	Education	Economic Security & Welfare
2:00- 5:00 p.m.	Education	Housing	Administration of Justice & Other

SCHEDULE OF SUBJECTS

AT THE

SHOREHAM HOTEL

COMMITTEE

	X BLUE ROOM	XI PALLADIAN ROOM	XII TUDOR ROOM
June 1			
10:45-12:00 p.m. 1:45- 3:15 p.m.	Education	Economic Security & Welfare	Administration of Justice & Other
3:30- 6:30 p.m.	Housing	Administration of Justice & Other	Economic Security & Welfare
June 2			
9:00-12:00 Noon	Administration of Justice & Other	Housing	Education
2:00- 5:00 p.m.	Economic Security & Welfare	Education	Housing

GSA DC 66-18832

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
NEWS

1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506—Tele: 737-9010

FACT SHEET

FOR NEWS MEDIA COVERING WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

NEWS ROOM FACILITIES:

Location: Exhibit Hall #1 - Lower Concourse Level - Sheraton-Park Hotel

Hours: 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. Tuesday, May 31 through ~~Wednesday,~~ THURSDAY June 2

Credentials:

1. Press badges and information kits will be issued to all working newsmen on presentation of official press passes or letters of authorization from a publication or broadcast station, at press registration desk outside News Room.

2. Press badges must be shown for admission to Committee Meetings and other Conference sessions.

Coverage:

1. All meetings will be open to the press, but only one television crew will be allowed to set up equipment in each committee room. These allocations will be made by drawing lots. Cameramen are cautioned against any activity which might deter the normal course of discussions.

2. There will be a limited reserved press section in each committee room. Press tables will be provided at all general sessions and dinner meetings.

3. Notices of briefings by White House Conference officials will be posted in News Room.

4. Advance texts of main addresses will be made available as soon as possible.

5. Press pools are encouraged as a means of covering the concurrent meetings. A staff information officer will cover each committee meeting and short summaries will be available an hour after close of each meeting.

Services:

1. Adequate supply of typewriters and telephones.

2. Western Union machines and direct lines.

3. Press lounge.

4. A book of tickets for the dinner meetings will be provided at the time of registration.

Telephone Service:

Local Calls - No Charge
Long Distance - Credit Card or Reverse Charges Only
Incoming Calls - 737-9010 (Press Room)

BROADCASTING FACILITIES:

Location:

Suite C-240 (Sheraton-Park) will be available for radio and television interviews.

Reservations:

A White House Conference staffer will be in Suite C-240 and will be responsible for booking these facilities on a first come, first serve basis. When calling, ask for "Broadcasting Room."

Security:

A guard will be assigned to protect equipment left in the room. However, the White House Conference will not be responsible for theft or damage.

CONFERENCE STRUCTURE:

Committee Meetings:

Each delegate will be assigned to one of 12 committees, meeting concurrently in the Sheraton-Park and Shoreham Hotels.

One session of each committee meeting will be devoted to each of the four subject areas- Economic Security and Welfare; Education; Housing; and the Administration of Justice.

Each committee will have a permanent chairman and resource persons.

Rotating teams of panelists will make a presentation on the subject under discussion at the opening of each meeting.

Locations:

Sheraton-Park Hotel

I - Delaware Suite

II - Virginia Suite

III - Maryland Suite

IV - Continental Room

V - South Cotillion Room

VI - North Cotillion Room

Locations:

Shoreham Hotel

VII - Ambassador Room

VIII - Empire Room

IX - Forum Room

X - Blue Room

XI - Palladian Room

XII - Tudor Room

General Session and Dinners:

All are scheduled for Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE:

Tuesday, May 31

6:30 p.m.	RECEPTION Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Wednesday, June 1

9:00 a.m.	GENERAL SESSION (Sheraton Hall) Welcome - Honorary Chairman A. Philip Randolph Remarks - Chairman Ben W. Heineman Keynote Speaker - (to be announced) Orientation - Vice Chairman Edward Sylvester
10:45 a.m.	COMMITTEE MEETINGS - FIRST SESSION Delegates go to their assigned committees
12:30 p.m.	LUNCHEON No formal program. Delegates will eat at the hotels where their committees are meeting.
1:45 p.m.	COMMITTEE MEETINGS - FIRST SESSION CONTINUED
3:30 p.m.	COMMITTEE MEETINGS - SECOND SESSION
8:00 p.m.	DINNER MEETING Sheraton Hall (program to be announced)

Thursday, June 2

9:00 a.m.	COMMITTEE MEETINGS - THIRD SESSION
12:00 noon	LUNCHEON - No formal program
2:00 p.m.	COMMITTEE MEETINGS - FOURTH SESSION
7:30 p.m.	FINAL DINNER MEETING Sheraton Hall (program to be announced)

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

TRANSPORTATION SCHEDULE

Bus transportation will be furnished for the convenience of the Conference Conferees, as follows:

	May 31, 1966
8:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.	Sheraton Park Hotel to other hotels
	June 1, 1966
8:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.	Other hotels to Sheraton-Park Hotel
10:15 a.m. to 10:45 a.m.	Sheraton-Park Hotel to Shoreham Hotel (For those conferees assigned to Committee Rooms at Shoreham Hotel)
12:15 p.m. to 1:45 p.m.	Sheraton-Park/Shoreham Hotels,Shuttle Service
6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.	Sheraton Park/Shoreham Hotels to other hotels
7:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.	Other hotels to Sheraton-Park Hotel
9:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.	Sheraton Park Hotel to other hotels
	June 2, 1966
8:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.	Other hotels to Sheraton-Park/Shoreham Hotels
12:00 Noon to 2:00 p.m.	Sheraton-Park/Shoreham Hotels, Shuttle Service
4:45 p.m. to 5:45 p.m.	Sheraton Park/Shoreham Hotels to other hotels
6:30 p.m. to 7:15 p.m.	Other hotels to Sheraton-Park Hotel
9:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.	Sheraton-Park Hotel to other hotels

GSA DC 66-18800

June 1, 1966

A MESSAGE TO THE CONFEREES

In the May 23rd Memorandum for Conferees to the White House Conference "To Fullfill These Rights" the following statement appeared:

"In order to permit a full and free discussion, resolutions or votes will not be recorded."

All conferees favor "full and free discussion." Many, however, question the weight which will be given to the discussion - and hence, the role of the conferees themselves - unless some procedure is adopted allowing the participants to set forth recommendations and resolutions at the Conference itself for presentation to the President of the United States of America.

Accordingly, at a proper time in this morning's agenda a point of order will be raised in an attempt to allow this Conference the freedom of establishing its own procedures with regard to the matter of resolutions and voting.

A fuller rationale for the underlying beliefs which prompt this attempt can be found in the accompanying document. You are asked to read it, and when the point of order is raised to indicate your support, if you are in agreement.

# # #

"WE, OURSELVES"

A PROGRAM TO REMEDY

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

PROBLEMS ENDEMIC TO NEGRO

COMMUNITIES

PRESENTED TO

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE CONVENED

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

WASHINGTON, D.C.

BY

AMBROSE I. LANE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

COMMUNITY ACTION ORGANIZATION

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

June 1, 1966

INTRODUCTION

This convocation presents an awesome challenge to those called together to chart this nation's destiny. For, in truth, as a result of our deliberations Americans in time to come may be blessed with the fruits of internal unity and social harmony, or may reap an abundant harvest of anarchy, chaos and discord.

This much should be clear: past differences between the races have been explored, identified and catalogued; the causes of prejudice and discrimination have been broadcast; the effects of inhuman, unchristian, undemocratic precepts and practices have been tallied and deplored; and the majesty of the law has been invoked in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity".

In one sense, then, the pathfinders have gone before us. Out of the heartbreaking trials endured heroically by some of our ancestors, and sanctioned savagely by others of our ancestors, we have finally distilled some semblance of a common will to live together as brothers. But the ghostly legacy of the shameful master-servant, subject-object relationship between White and Negro haunts even the councils of God-fearing men schooled in the ideals of reason and mercy. For when one examines the fabric of their pronouncements and programs with attention, one is saddened to discover a familiar thread of contradiction.

On the one hand, they argue that recent actions by courts, legislatures, agencies and bureaus betoken the advent of "The Great Society" where "the ideal of true equality is becoming a real and vigorous idea". They point with satisfaction at a host of indices which suggest to them that the American Negro is no longer a second-class citizen. I wish to God that I could find some comfort in their optimism. But witnessing a Negro become Solicitor General of the United States, or discovering that thirty-five Negroes are bona fide millionaires is little cause for cheer. All the prestige within the power of the government to confer and all the dollars in the vaults of Fort Knox will not command for a Negro the respect that is due to a human person.

On the other hand, the enlightened and compassionate politicans and preachers advise us that all is not well within the ranks of the brethern. Accordingly, they recommend either (1) a direct action approach, or (2) a social work approach to the problem.

The direct action approach is best exemplified by those direct action programs that begin and end with direct action and have no substantial relationship to any long-term goals.

The social work approach can be discerned among "professionals" in old line agencies who view inhabitants of the ghetto paternalistically; what they see is a "black blur" composed of psychotics, junkies, whores, cripples, idiots, clowns, beggars and servants, whose needs can be met by psychoanalysis or contraception, a night stick or a handout, a lecture or a pat on the head.

Both approaches have failed. Behind each approach lies a basic lack of faith in the strength, ability and resiliency of Negroes. The direct action approach conceives of the Negro as a pawn to be manipulated for short-term inconsequential gains that advance the few at the expense of the many. The social working approach conceives of the Negro as something less than a person. It views him as a problem, a threat, or a pet. The schoolman studies him; the churchman pities him; the bureaucrat plans for him; the conservative fears him; the liberal admires him - - but who challenges him? Who challenges him to nurture his own God-given strength, and to direct his own human resources towards the consummation of a marriage between ability and achievement?

Well, when one asks this question one does not encounter a void. In his excellent article on "Mutual Aid and the Negro" in the April issue of Commentary, John Slawson succinctly traces the history of this challenge. And he cites current manifestations of the challenge such as the Opportunities Industrialization Center conducted by Rev. Leon Howard Sullivan in Philadelphia. We should all be grateful to Rev. Sullivan for his pioneer work in this area, and we should do all in our power to encourage his project and others such as Dr. Matthew's Interfaith Health Association in New York City. These men have correctly diagnosed the disease and are taking measures designed to restore health to the patient. But unfortunately, the vision of Rev. Sullivan is not shared by the multitude.

The direct action approach and the social working approach are generally viewed as the correct antidotes for the social and economic ills that plague the denizens of our ghettoes. Among white leaders and black leaders alike one finds a common disposition to eschew radical alternatives to the system that has thus far prevailed in this land. Instead they advocate moderate adjustments within the system. Their approach results in a doing-for; not a doing-with. A using; not a sharing. The terrible premise that underlies such a philosophy is that American Negroes are to be regarded as objects. Recognition of the Negro as a subject, as a human person is essential to any program having as its goal the establishment of a genuine community.

We all deplore the general conditions and temper of most Negro communities in the United States. But when it comes to developing a constructive program that would produce lasting, positive changes in these conditions, we are either found lobbying for more effort on the part of the white man, and for more federal funds, or we are mute. I reject the tired half-way measures that imply that my people are selfish, lazy, childish wards of the State. And I reject even more vehemently the apocalyptic counsels of despair, hate, racism, and rebellion. In their stead I offer, with all the earnestness of conviction that a man can muster, a challenge to my people to undertake a program of sacrifice and self-help.

I have entitled this presentation "We, Ourselves" for two reasons: (1) because in translation it recalls the inspiring lesson of those valiant freedom fighters, the Irish Sinn Fein, whose revolutionary struggle was ultimately crowned with success; (2) because it sums up the truth of Father Thomas Merton's radical but valid message to white America. Father Merton says in his "Letters to a White Liberal" that this is the "Kairos", the providential hour of American history. He bluntly declares that our social system requires complete reformation. And further, he stipulates that this work of reorganization must be carried out under the inspiration of the Negro whose providential time has now arrived and who has received from God enough light, ardor and spiritual strength to free the white man in freeing himself from the white man.

The purpose then, gentlemen, of the program I am submitting to you is nothing less than redemptive.

THE PROGRAM

The general program that I advocate has ten constituent parts. It is recommended for urban areas of high population density. It relies on local Negro leadership for its constitution, direction and execution. It does not supplant worthy efforts already being undertaken by governmental and voluntary groups to combat identifiable social problems, but neither does it depend on them. Its reason for being lies in its faith in the American experience, and its authority rests not only in the conclusions arrived at by the behavioral sciences, but also in the teachings of history and in the insights gained from encountering the reality of the American Negro.

The self esteem, self control and stability that has characterized other ethnic groups as they pursued their place in the sun, stemmed largely from their internal control of the conditions that motivate man to recognize, value, and act in accordance with certain standards. This group strength was a necessary antecedent for the political, social and economic evolution that has attended the emancipation and assimilation of every minority group in our culture. Although the hour is late, we may still develop the same type of internal group control of the conditions of daily life among Negroes, if we establish the following program.

1. Long-range planning in the fields of health, employment, politics, education, housing, the arts, commerce and technology.

2. Permanent, financially-stable organization.

3. Broadening and deepening the economic base of the Negro community.

4. Upgrading of educational and marketable skills.

5. Fostering of the values of excellence, achievement, and self-discipline.

6. Pooling of private resources for common goals and the establishment of cooperatives.

7. Public information facilities to disseminate throughout the community the methods necessary to realistically cope with daily conditions of living.

8. Systematic and intensive efforts on all levels to combat the defeatism inherent in the negative self-image of too many Negro persons, groups and communities.

9. A "truth" campaign to combat the historic evils of racism.

10. A national committee to coordinate the local efforts of each urban program.

This is admittedly a radical program. If implemented however, on anything more than a token scale, I have confidence that it will prove to be a lantern that will light the way for all of us towards the gates of the true community envisioned by the framers of the Constitution, but unhappily still hidden in the shadows of tomorrow.

I have outlined at large what I feel we should be doing. On May 5, the Wall Street Journal advised me that those who were planning this conference would entertain "proposals to get foundations and fraternal groups to supply funds for Negro self-help projects".

In his book "Why We Can't Wait", Martin Luther King made the following observation concerning the August 28, 1963 "March on Washington:

> They came from almost every State in the Union; they came in every form of transportation; they gave up from one to three days' pay plus the cost of transportation, which for many was a heavy financial sacrifice.....Many a Negro speaker that day had his respect for his own people deepened as he felt the strength of their dedication."
>
> ....."For whatever demands the Negro justly makes on his fellow citizens are not an effort to lift responsibility from himself. His tasks are still fundamental, involving risks and sacrifices which he has already proved himself prepared to make."

The program I outline today centers on the "risks and sacrifices which (the Negro) has already proved himself prepared to make".

The history of the Negro in America is a history of sacrifice. The millions of Negro men who elected to walk stoop-shouldered through life in order that their children might stand straight and tall, bore in their bodies and their souls mute testimony to this powerful truth. The fortitude of generations of Negro mothers for whom life often meant enduring a series of unspeakable indignities, has been indelibly branded into the consciousness of Negroes by the black woman's ability to love, and serve, and suffer. Thus, we must remark that only a fool could fail to appreciate the Negro people's potential for sacrifice and for what Pope Paul has called "holy risk". The spirit is there; let us identify the needs.

The need is for Negro initiative in the vital areas of pooling of money and thoughtful, intelligent, informed self-direction. Negroes must assume responsibility for keeping our people properly informed, for establishing working planning groups, for pooling our money and talent, and for developing sufficient political muscle to assure acceptance and execution of plans developed by us. Thus, a heavy unavoidable responsibility lies with us. And one does not meet that responsibility by pointing to the legitimate responsibilities of others. It is simply able leadership to direct this kind of sacrifice. It is a failure of leadership not to do it.

Where shall we begin. Well, I come from Buffalo, New York. Everything that I have stated as applying to the American Negro, generally, applies specifically to the Negroes of Buffalo. And the course of action which I have outlined as appropriate to large urban areas, nationally, applies equally to the residents of Buffalo's ghetto. Perhaps Tucumcari, New Mexico or Bogalusa, Louisiana would be ideal targets for testing this program, but I am unfamiliar with these

euphonious municipalities. I am a resident of Buffalo and my acquaintance with its social order has been officially recognized in more than one quarter. Consequently, I hope I will be forgiven if I propose that which I know best as the testing area for this program.

I suggest that a non-profit, membership corporation be formed in Buffalo pursuant to the laws of the State of New York for the purposes of:

1. Providing interest-free loans to existing businesses within the Negro Community for renovation, expansion or improvement thereof.

2. Providing interest-free loans or scholarships to students.

3. Providing educational, vocational, cultural and business training programs to the participants.

4. Providing remedial and pre-school educational training.

5. Conducting psycholigical, psychiatric and social counseling services.

6. Promoting knowledge of and participation in the free enterprise system among the participants.

7. Sponsoring moderate and middle-income housing developments.

8. Providing for the care of destitute, delinquent, abandoned or neglected children.

9. Establishing or maintaining a hospital, infirmary, dispensary, clinic or home for invalid, convalescent, aged or infirm persons.

10. Fulfilling any purpose incidental to any of the foregoing.

This is a rather large order, and I think you will agree that it will take bold and imaginative measures to get it under way. Accordingly, I propose that a foundation be solicited to fund a two-year demonstration project. The project would employ six hundred (600) unemployed or underemployed local Negroes as agents of the corporation.

Each agent would divide his compensated time equally between promotion of and service to the corporation, and an on-going training program designed to provide him or her with the necessary skills to compete successfully in the labor market. The agents would be compensated at the rate of $6000 per year gross wages. Ten per cent of a person's wages would be mandatorially deducted and placed in a personal savings account which could not be drawn upon for at least two years. An additional five per cent of a person's earnings would be contributed directly to the corporation. Therefore, the gross remuneration that the agent would receive would be $5100 annually.

The agent's duties for the corporation would be to seek financing for the corporation throughout the Negro Community. Each employed Negro would be requested to contribute $3.00 per month to the corporation through the salary deduction method. Each unemployed adult, including welfare recipients, would be allowed to participate through a monthly contribution of $.50. Negro businessmen would be requested to tithe; i.e. contribute ten per cent of their quarterly net to the corporation. Professional people and others throughout the Negro community could participate on a flexible scale in accordance with their means.

The agency, foundation or group which funds this demonstration grant would evaluate and report on the corporation's progress at the end of two years. If significant concrete progress results, the "Buffalo Plan" could serve as a pilot for all or most of our metropolitan communities.

EPILOGUE

If, after all of the killings and head beatings and cattle proddings and kickings we have suffered before the world, we do not succeed in providing our children with sufficient security to permit them the healthy exercise of their individual initiative in freedom, we lose. And if, to avoid this loss, we adults must sacrifice part or all of a generation, let it be so. For our sacrifice makes possible both the extension and preservation of what we hold most dear in civilization. Only through sacrifice can we create an "image base" on which our children can build to insure the good life for themselves and their fellow men.

I should like to close with a parable of Thomas Merton.

> It is related that when Mohammed was seeking the light, he thought of becoming a Christian. He went to some Nestorian Christians in a corner of Arabia, and sought a sign of the truth of Christianity from them. In order to see whether they had faith, he asked them to show him the credibility of the Christian message by walking barefoot on red hot coals. The Nestorians told him that he was mad. Mohammed, saying nothing, departed from them. And soon the conviction that he sought came to him in the burning heat of the Arabian desert. It was a truth of stark and dreadful simplicity -- to be proved by the sword.

Group VII

From Floor

NOTES ON
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
June 1 and 2, 1966
Washington, D.C.

Talk these points up in pvt. & local public situations -

Juvenile & Criminal records -

Job Standards & Testing

Corrolary - where bonding is required
Left to pvt. companies - govt. has
to get into bonding -

Need for incentives rather than penalties -
to communities who respond -

Ans - EEOC interest -

Lollis Lomax -
don't limit Conclusion to juvenile records -

Mrs. Peacock
* Insurance cancellation - by pvt. companies -

Cleveland Robinson -
min wages & Coll Barg. - endorsed report -
plus sermon

Coll. Barg as a Civ. Rt. for all workers -

* No min wage will be accepted if every job is not covered

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(1)

~~INTRODUCTIONS — RESOURCE PEOPLE~~

By now you have considered many items
There are many details in the report
Short of a draft of a law

A FEW GENERAL REMARKS

THIS RESOURCE PANEL CONCERNED
ONLY WITH Economic SECURITY & WELLFARE
The first major heading in the report.

THE Council's job a difficult one
FACE the SERIOUSNESS OF PROBLEM

BRIEFLY
To BE BROAD-Scaled enough to offer hope
To Keep Contending pressures in Perspective
To have a Satisfactory ~~amount~~ number
of Practical, Specific Suggestions

In part the problem is meshing
Short run programs — aimed at
the urgencies of the situation —
with Sound long-run approaches

To write for specialist (econ. & Civ Rts)
policy makers, general public —

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~~There are a few further things —~~

~~your resource people recognize~~

~~that for you (as for us) that~~

~~The way we View the proposals~~

~~depends to a large degree on~~

~~the views we already hold which,~~

~~Of course, ARE conditioned by~~

~~our values and experience.~~

There will be, of Course, differences of Viewpoint

Perhaps it is not unfair to illustrate this point, and another one, to relate two Conversations from ~~last night~~ Tuesday evening —

2 old and respected friends

1) Re: Specific: naive to think can rely on that "instrumentality — a bureau)
Need a drastic change

2) Re: Proposals in general — who would have thought 3 yrs. ago — Such a Council, Such Sweeping Proposals

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~~So the other point~~ raises the question — how broad and significant are the proposals? — or are they narrow specifics.

I would submit, that in the economic security and welfare proposals, full implementation (or nearly so) would bring about very dramatic changes indeed.

It SEEMS TO ME THE COUNCIL has attempted to look specifically at the economic security problems faced by Negroes, and to propose those elements of a rational manpower and welfare policy which would work quickly for a solution.

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In doing this, they have attempted to relate: (1) Available human resources, (2) Training needs, (3) the problems of mobility, (4) the barriers to job information, (5) the need for family security, (6) the job needs of the economy, (7) the job needs of folks.

They have related these items with four ~~three~~ fundamental understandings in mind:

1) that there has been a past history of serious disadvantagement.

2) That there still is widespread, continuing discrim.

3) That intermediate and long run needs of ~~economic~~ the economy ~~needs~~ — as important as they are — are far from being the only social needs which we now must meet rapidly through public policy & action & revitalized pvt. initiative.

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4)

~~Toward these ends, the report proposes the following;~~

~~As backdrop~~ —

4) That ~~achieving~~ attaining & maintaining a full employment economy is a matter of continuing high priority.

[p. 9 & 10]

* Toward these ends, the report proposes the following:

I) Establish metropolitan jobs councils in all metro areas with substantial Negro population

[P. 11]

Metro. Human Resource Action Program

An all out total effort —

Coordination — Assessment of problem —

Job info — Counseling — training —

Stimulation of pvt. groups —

Reviewing progress

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~~IB~~)
[P 14] Create a rural job task force to develop & coordinate a comprehensive program ~~for~~ of economic assistance for Negroes.

Similar to metro — rural setting

[p. 15] Special centers for transition problems

~~IA~~)
[P. 17] Develop a Comprehensive Human Resource Program To set goals, measure progress, to structure action —

National — Lab. Dept. responsibility involving local areas

1) Number & characteristics of Negro workers
2) Show services needed
3) Evaluate progress of Negroes in job market

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IV ~~Go~~ Develop govt. financed employment
[P19] Programs on public works and
Services to guarantee the availability
of jobs to able workers who cannot
be placed in or promptly trained for
regular employment.

Candid recognition: Can't always
fit people for jobs — must
fit jobs to people —
Looks to
Pres. Council of Econ. Advisors
[p.20] for leadership.

V MOUNT a Comprehensive, Year-round
Employment, Training & Counseling programs
for Negro YOUTH
through Schools — Com. org. —
V-P. Task force on Youth Motivation
Expand & Improve → Neighborhood Youth Corp. — Job Corp.

(8) ~~144~~

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VI Affirmative actions by private
[P. 23] employers, Labor organizations, and
government to provide more & better jobs.

Communication to & encouragement of
Negroes regarding employment.
Review of tests & Standards
Work with lower levels of supervision
With local unions

Private org. — Technical Assistance
Contracts only with fair employers
(Project equality)

Court.

[p25] Expand Coverage of Title VII
Greater power to E.E.O.C.
Cease & desist —

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VII Initiate & Reinforce Supportive Services

[p. 26] to facilitate movement of Negroes into jobs.

[p. 27] (A) Federalize public employment service
Nat'l job market
Nat'l econ. forces affecting job market
Integration of efforts
Standards—

(B) Physical location of jobs

(C) Transportation

(10)

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VIII STRENGTHEN INCOME Maintenance and Labor Standards Programs.

[P 29]

Improve minimum wage
Expand to Service & Ag. jobs — Increase level.

Adjustment programs

Extend Collective Bargaining
Coverage of Law
Organizing

(11)

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IX RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED

[p. 30] Welfare Programs to Provide Constructive Benefits to the Poor.

Nat'l ~~Fed~~. Standards for levels of public assistance

Single category to qualify — Need.

Fed. programs in states which
Cannot or Will not meet Fed. Standards

Family aid, even with employable male

Encourage training & learning.
even if on ~~welf~~ public assistance

Attention to Staffing Problems

[P. 32] Explicit acceptance of gov't's responsibility for guaranteeing a minimum income to all Americans.

a) making "last resort" employment available.

b) improved public assistance to those not adequately covered by social insurance program

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Mr. Chairman, this closes the presentation. Our resource panel stands ready to respond to questions or comments.

More importantly, however, ~~we feel that~~ thoughtful comment and criticism from this group is wanted, its needed — indeed, its why all of us are here.

9:30 —

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS - SHERATON PARK HOTEL - JUNE 1, 1966

	Delaware Suite I	Virginia Suite II	Maryland Suite III	Continental Room IV	South Cotillion Room V	North Cotillion Room VI
CHAIRMEN	(Mrs. F. Freeman Chester Lewis)	(Hon. J. Nabrit — Howard U.P. Dr. O. Singletary)	(Hon. E. Breathitt Dr. Benjamin Mays)	(Louis Pollak) Dean of Yale Law	(Percy Sutton) State Rep — N.Y.	(G. William Miller) Pres., Textron (C Council)
10:45 - 12 Noon	Housing	Education	Economic Security and Welfare	Adm. of Justice and Other	Education	Housing
1:45 - 3:15 p.m.	"	"	"	"	"	"
3:30 - 6:30 p.m.	Education	Housing	Adm. of Justice and Other	Economic Security and Welfare	Housing	Education

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS - SHOREHAM HOTEL - JUNE 1, 1966

	Ambassador Room VII	Empire Room VIII	The Forum IX	Blue Room X	Palladian Room XI	Tudor Room XII
CHAIRMEN	(Theodore Kheel)	(Jack Conway)	(Judge Higgenbotham)	(John Wheeler Thompson Powers)	(Carl Stokes) Mayor's Race Cleveland	(Dr. Kenneth Clark)
10:45 - 12 Noon	Adm. of Justice and Other	Eco. Security and Welfare	Housing	Education — ATTYN. Cleveland National	~~Eco. Security & Welfare~~	Adm. of Justice and Other
1:45 - 3:15 p.m.	"	"	"	"		"
3:30 - 6:30 p.m.	Eco. Security & Welfare	Adm. of Justice andOther	Education	Housing	Adm. of Justice and Other	Eco. Security & Welfare

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS - SHERATON PARK HOTEL - JUNE 2, 1966

	Delaware Suite	Virginia Suite	Maryland Suite	Continental Rm.	South Cotillion Rm.	North Cotillion Rm
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
CHAIRMEN	(Mrs. F. Freeman Chester Lewis)	(Hon. J. Nabrit Dr. O. Singletary)	(Hon. E. Breathitt Dr. Benjamin Mays)	(Louis Pollak)	(Percy Sutton)	(G. William Miller)
9:00 - 12 Noon	Eco. Security & Welfare	Adm. of Justice and Other	Housing	Adm. of Justice and Other	Education ?	Housing ?
2:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Adm. of Justice and Other	Eco. Security & Welfare	Education	Eco. Security & Welfare ?	Housing ?	Education ?

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS - SHOREHAM HOTEL - JUNE 2, 1966

	Ambassador Room	Empire Room	The Forum	Blue Room	Palladian Room	Tudor Room
	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
CHAIRMAN	(Theodore Kheel	(Jack Conway)	(Judge Higgenbotham)	(John Wheeler Thompson Powers)	(Carl Stokes)	(Dr. Kenneth Clark)
9:00 - 12 Noon	Housing	Education	Eco. Security & Welfare	Adm. of Justice and Other	Housing	Education
2:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Education	Housing	Adm. of Justice and Other	Eco. Security & Welfare	Education	Housing

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OR "RAT ALLOWANCES?"

A Response by the Executive Committee of
the New York City Pre-White House Conference

to the

"Council's Report and Recommendations
to the Conference," White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"

June 1-2, 1966, Washington, D.C.

Two uninvited issues will appear at and will dominate the White House Conference on Civil Rights: the issue of minority separatism and the issue of our country's priorities.

The issue of minority separatism appears because this White House Conference has been organized to give separate consideration to the American Negro. This Executive Committee and the entire New York Pre-White House Conference--composed of New Yorkers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or socio-economic level--has declared with one voice that the doctrine of separatism is a disservice to all of America's minorities and a retrogressive move in any White House Confernce convened "To Fulfill These Rights."

We reject the President's published statement that if Puerto Ricans or Mexican-Americans want a White House Conference, then "let them ask for it."

We cannot accept the doctrine of separate but equal White House Conferences.

We have instructed the members of our Executive Committee who will be present to register with the conferees in Washington our profound objection to the separatist policy which has guided the Council that arranged this meeting.

(more)

The second issue that will profoundly affect the White House Conference is the problem of national priorities. The priorities issue means: what comes first in the use of our tax money? This decision will make the difference in frustrating or fulfilling the promise of opportunity for equality.

What are the alternatives, and how shall the choice be made? The basic choice of priorities must be made openly and after properly-informed discussion of alternatives. We affirm that the issue of equal opportunity for all Americans is too important to be decided either covertly or unknowingly.

The men and women who attend the White House Conference from the fifty states are present to do much more than enjoy the honor of their invitation and the limelight of this national meeting. The conferees are gathered to discharge a great responsibility: to take counsel with each other and pass judgement on what program will fulfill these rights.

However, the White House Conference program, as released, is so rigidly structured that it permits little freedom or time for the conferees to deliberate as a body. It is vital that the conferees, in the name of the fundamental commitment "To Fulfill These Rights," must re-open the issue of conference process, agenda, decisions and subsequent strategy.

Implicit in the set of proposals set forth by the Council is the assumption that the task of fulfilling these rights can be accomplished within the present ordering of priorities. We challenge that assumption!

Another assumption,set forth in the President's speech at Howard University, and picked up by the planners of the Conference, is that the addition of a few civil rights laws to the nation's present set of priorities has created genuine equal opportunity, and that our task today is to help

(more)

Negroes move "beyond opportunity to achievement." We challenge this assumption! There is no real opportunity to move from! Our task is precisely that of creating real opportunity.

The Council's Report and Recommendations to the Conference accepts the main thrust of our country's present priorities, retains the ghettos, allows the slums to grow, depletes our health services, and leaves millions of our citizens with inadequate education and job training. Our great cities continue to deteriorate as the linked problems of metropolis and race worsen. All this proceeds while massive military and space spending puts more money into circulation and the government celebrates a rising Gross National Product.

In New York City, the Welfare Department grants a "rat allowance" to some welfare clients: extra money for electric light to keep the rats at bay. The share of America's deprived minorities in the federal government's main domestic and foreign spending is in the nature of a bigger "rat allowance." No slum is replaced by a war-induced Gross National Product.

A year ago, this nation was given a solemn warning by John McCone, former Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, and his colleagues who reported on the rebellion in Watts, Los Angeles:*

> In the summer of 1964, Negro communities in seven eastern cities were stricken by riots. Although in each situation there were unique contributing circumstances not existing elsewhere, the fundamental causes were largely the same:
>
> --Not enough jobs to go around, and within this scarcity not enough by a wide margin of a character which the untrained Negro could fill.

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*Violence in the City--An End or a Beginning?, A Report by the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, 1965.

(more)

--Not enough schooling designed to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged Negro child, whose environment from infancy onward places him under a serious handicap.

--A resentment, even hatred, of the police as the symbol of authority. . . .

"What can be done to prevent a recurrence of the nightmare of August? It stands to reason that what we and other cities have been doing, costly as it all has been, is not enough. Improving the conditions of Negro life will demand adjustments on a scale unknown to any great society. The programs that we are recommending will be expensive and burdensome. . . .

"As a Commission, we are seriously concerned that the existing breach, if allowed to persist, could in time split our society irretrievably. So serious and so explosive is the situation that, unless it is checked, the August riots may seem by comparison to be only a curtain-raiser for what could blow up one day in the future. . . .

"The road to the improvement of the condition of the disadvantaged Negro which lies through education and employment is hard and long, but there is no shorter route. The avenue of violence and lawlessness leads to a dead end. To travel the long and difficult road will require courageous leadership and determined participation by all parts of our community, but no task in our time is more important. Of what shall it avail our nation if we can place a man on the moon but cannot cure the sickness in our cities?"

How does the present Council Report to the White House Conference respond to this plain-spoken warning and counsel?

The Report affirms and confirms the existence of insufferable deprivation among Negroes and other minorities. The inferiority and inequality of their housing, education, health and job conditions and opportunities are all recognized.

This Report is devoid of any definite assurance that the evils which it acknowledges will be ended in the forseeable future. It implies the accomplishment of far-reaching reforms, while not disturbing the present order

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of national priorities. Our government has committed large resources to placing a man on the moon by 1970, regardless of the cost; has committed large resources to the defeat of Communism in Vietnam and elsewhere, regardless of the cost. But the nation's commitment to its deprived minorities is tentative and conditional--hedged in with if's, but's and maybe's. This "commitment" lacks dollar signs, timetables and concrete implementation.

Where in the Council's Report and Recommendations is the commitment of money for the task which the McCone Report defined as the most important in our time?

Where is the timetable "To Fulfill These Rights?"

With respect to the program of the White House Conference, there is this unimpeachable test of credibility: Is there commitment of money, manpower and priorities to make equal opportunity a reality for all our people --whites, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Americans of Oriental and every other extraction?

The Council Report contains no reference to our need for not less than $25 billion more per year to bring education up to a decent level in our country. There is no hint that the elimination of inhuman housing needs a capital outlay of not less than $15 billion per year. The Council Report is devoid of any reference to the national requirement of not less than $8 billion of additional health and medical investment to bring the blessings of modern medicine to all our people.

The statement of human needs in the Report would have a different meaning if there were any hint of fiscal responsibility for implementation.

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The Report refers repeatedly to "Pilot Projects","Demonstration Programs" and "further research." Does anyone really suspect that we don't know how to build a house, or a school or a hospital? What "demonstrations" are needed on how to employ a plumber, electrician, nurse or teacher? What "research" is needed to enforce laws that are on the books?

To millions of our citizens who have suffered the massive effects of discrimination and economic deprivation, limited efforts will continue to be a fraud on people who demand opportunity for equality in their lifetime. "Demonstration projects" in jobs or education, housing or health services will not suffice. Such proposals mask a strategy of interminable delay.

Massive social and economic action is needed now. But massive remedies require massive financial resources, and that is precisely what is missing in the program for this White House Conference.

* * * * * * *

We are unable to predict whether or how the President and his aides may respond to this challenge. In any case, there is much to be done by marshalling our own talents.

There is abundant evidence that the esse tial strategy for the next stage in equal rights must focus on Metropolitan-Rural Development for Equal Opportunity.

We of the New York Pre-White House Conference, now reorganized as the Metropolitan Development Conference for Equal Opportunity, are convinced that the economics of equal opportunity, especially in our great cities, must now be the center of attention. Accordingly, we have drafted a strategy for

(more)

organizing and implementing the budgets and efforts designed to make equal opportunity real. Concrete planning has already begun for New York City. We will be pleased to share with you what we have learned, and would like to benefit from your experience.

We invite inquiries from all interested citizens on how to organize an and plan for their own city and community.

Please address your inquiries to:

Metropolitan Development Conference for Equal Opportunity
475 Riverside Drive, Suite 456
New York, New York, 10027

* * * * *

Leadership Conf on C. R. (Spec.)

CORE Chief Tilts Rights Conference

Seeks to Substitute Agenda; 2,500 Delegates in Capitol

By JOHN HERBERS

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WASHINGTON—The White House conference on civil rights, scheduled to open here Wednesday, was dealt another blow Tuesday when the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) announced he would move to throw out the prepared agenda and start from scratch.

The announcement by Floyd B. McKissick added to the air of uncertainty that hung over the conference as the 2,500 delegates representing many shades of opinion began arriving at the Sheraton-Park Hotel and setting up strategy caucuses of their own.

In this respect, it seemed more like a political convention than a conference. If there was any prevailing attitude it was one of skepticism about what could be accomplished in two days by so many people of divergent views.

McKissick was a member of the 19-member council that drafted the broad set of recommendations to be placed before the conference, for helping the American Negro achieve the equality that has been promised to him under national law.

He attended none of the weekend meetings, however, saying Tuesday that the money he would have spent on travel and expenses was needed for CORE projects. Arriving as a delegate, he called a news conference and announced:

"We have decided after deliberation to participate — in order that the militant can bring forth ideas which otherwise would not be brought forth." Then he added:

"There's a prevailing sentiment that the conference has been rigged by the administration."

McKissick said CORE will offer a motion in the opening session Wednesday to permit a vote on any resolution offered. If this motion is denied, he said, CORE delegates will then decide "what action to take."

Recommendation	Action Needed

~~VII~~ VI. PREPARATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO STRUCTURE THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROVISION OF MANPOWER SERVICES FOR MINORITY GROUPS

Develop a comprehensive structured program to survey and meet the employment, training, and related manpower needs of minority groups. This program should include:	Federal legislative and administrative action.

A. Preparation of a "Human Resources Budget" to systematically:

1. Estimate the number, characteristics, and manpower problems of the specific groups in the nonwhite population who require assistance in meeting their job and training needs. This assessment should not only be national in scope but should focus on the 70-odd cities and five or six Southern States in which Negroes are concentrated. Both urban and rural areas of Negro concentration should be included. Data on unemployment, underemployment, and skill attainment should be collected in predominantly Negro neighborhoods on a block-by-block basis if necessary. The assessment should include estimates of future needs based on population, labor force and socio-economic projections.

2. Identify the types of manpower services needed by each of the specific population groups involved; e.g., by in-school youths, out-of-school jobless youths, workers of low skill and educational attainment, older workers, female workers, etc.

3. Establish specific program goals and a time schedule for meeting the goals. These goals should include the number and types of services to be provided, the specific number and types of minority group people to be served, specific locations, and a definite time schedule.

4. Appraise existing Government and non-Government programs to determine the extent to which they can help meet the established goals, and to assign definite priorities and targets to specific agencies.

Recommendations	Action Needed
5. Identify the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals. This would include determination of the nature, size, timing, and location of the additional programs.	
B. Coordinated efforts to develop, propose, and support specific programs and increased resources for which the Human Resources Budget has indicated a need.	Federal administrative and legislative action supported by nongovernment and local government groups.
C. A systematic program to evaluate the progress of minority groups in the job market, by area, industry, occupation, and type of worker; and to assess the effectiveness of the Government services involved.	Federal and State administrative and legislative action.

SUMMARY

Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security

Generally, this panel called for a public program to create jobs, a review and re-engineering of occupational classifications, a timetable for the achievement of specific goals in employment and the establishment of "skill inventories." Specifically, the following goals and proposals were put forth.

A. Expansion of Jobs.

1. Governmental and private efforts to achieve full employment.

2. Development of a capital and manpower budget to develop "socially useful employment."

B. Adequacy and Security of Income.

1. Expansion of coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

2. Raising of the minimum wage.

3. Encouraging the organization of unorganized workers.

Income guarantees

4. Adoption of the negative income tax.

5. Supplement incomes for workers performing certain socially necessary jobs.

6. Packaging welfare payments with work incentives to encourage workers to raise their standards of living.

7. Extending coverage and establishing higher average minimum payments for unemployment insurance.

8. Government regulation of hiring and firing patterns for employers of seasonal workers.

C. Elimination of Discrimination.

1. Improvement of the administration of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act through (a) more adequate budget and personnel; (b) shift of orientation from individual complaints to attacking patterns of racial discrimination (legislation may be needed); (c) strengthening of sanctions; and (d) amendment to authorize cease and desist orders and other affirmative action by the Commission.

2. An attack upon racial discrimination in state and local government employment through federal policy.

3. Closer coordination of federal agencies engaged in the various aspects of civil rights.

4. Determination whether Executive Order 11114 (covering non-discrimination in public construction and contracting) should have priority over contractors' collective bargaining agreements with labor.

5. Establishment of performance criteria to determine the extent of Executive Order 11246 (covering non-discrimination by government contractors) compliance and to avoid tokenism.

6. Improvement of intra-urban and inter-urban transportation to assure that minority workers have easier access to jobs at reasonable cost.

D. Improvement and Expansion of Education and Training.

1. Improve the quality of schools in de facto segregated areas.

2. Assure access of minority groups to all publicly supported facilities.

3. Rapidly expand the number and quality of junior or community colleges.

4. Establish federal minimum standards for the conduct of public education.

E. Encouraging Entrepreneurship.

1. Make available increased Federal loans, guarantees and technical assistance to encourage entrepreneurship.

2. Increase contributions from private and non-profit organizations.

3. Encourage joint ventures including Negroes and white (particularly in large and small franchise companies).

F. Continuing Problems of the Rural Negro.

1. Stimulation of employment by the Federal Government to enable Negroes to continue to live on Southern farms.

2. Greater efforts by governmental and non-governmental agencies to provide a range of services to speed the assimilation of rural Negroes into the urban economy.

G. Expanding and Strengthening Non-Governmental Efforts.

1. Implementing programs for locating plants and businesses so as to reach Negroes in target areas.

2. Re-investment of gains from increases in productivity into structured job expansion and job training programs.

3. Retailoring of jobs for effective absorbtion of Negro workers at present skill levels.

4. Greater efforts by trade union organizations to remove barriers to apprenticeships, employment, and upgrading members of minority groups.

5. Action by community leaders to establish, strengthen and make more effective local and state equal employment opportunity councils.

6. Adoption and expansion by non-profit organizations of equal employment opportunity practices in all of their economic activities.

H. Expansion and Improvement of Federal Training Programs.

? 1. Tax credits to broaden and deepen in-plant and plant-associated education and training.

2. Use of federal government contracting power to insure improved training opportunities.

3. Large scale expansion of the Manpower Development and Training Act and an effort to bring Negroes in large numbers into such programs.

4. Dissemination of information about the availability of training opportunities to potential employees.

5. Additional stress on on-the-job training.

6. Education of local leaders that it is to their advantage not to prevent low wage employees from securing training.

I. Strengthening the United States Employment Service.

1. Federal leadership of the Employment Service through the establishment of national standards (as a second best answer to the federalization of the System), upgrading through better staffing, more aggressive action by the federal government to assure that the Service acts in a non-discriminatory manner, and broadening the scale and scope of the Service to assure that all people (including minority groups in rural areas) have access to it.

2. Placing personnel under state merit systems.

3. Re-allocating federal funds to help minority group members by placing additional funds at the disposal of employment officers.

wrote(?) original proposal

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Charles Horwitz-Jackson Miss.-August 7, 1969-with Delta Ministry

Some parts of the plans of the organization have changed since they began. Originally they had two goals--1) to raise funds to put 4 organizers into the field and 2) the group wold try to put as much time as possible into helping the organizers. These people had always been working with blacks but would make a commitment to phase into white organization. Some of them ~~might eventually~~, it was planned would ~~really~~ actually take jobs as organizers.

Now they have had to rethink some of these ideas. First, they can't raise the funds they wanted to. The groups that would support black radicals will not support whtes. They didn't want to go to OEO for funds because it tied them down too much. For the summer recreation project, which is the primary thing of importance they are doing now, they went to OEO, but they were able to do this without being restricted. However if they had confronted the power structure they would have been smashed. Nothing that was done attracted publicity. If it had the program would have been smashed. Thus it wasn't that they were able to get funds for a radical venture without the associated strings. It was just that they were able to disguse their ultimeat goals and to do things that did not openly challenge the power structure. He says that the project was designed in some ways to do research and get into position to do organizing.

Had to reconsider giving the organizers such a free and independent head to do organizing. There needed to be more involvement of the people on the Committee in it. For one thing, with all the difficulties of organizing unless the organizer is directly involved with a group and the group with him he will tend to lose enthusuasm. There is the need to give the organizer freedom to take the group where it wants to go, but there needs to be more involvement of the people behind him in the process than there was with Steve.

group = [illegible]

local [illegible]?

?

They were too idealistic about the ability of the organizers to go and organize on their own. Steve had had success organizing several plants in the area without being a paid employee of a union. However, community organizatio is different and more difficult. The situation there is rather amorphous without a single issue around which to build the organization. In fact, Steve seemed to be trying to find the one issue but was never able to do it. He could never get the community together on one issue.

Since Steve was so independent, the Committee doesn't even know where the Miss. Progressive Union is. Only one person on the Committee has even met

physically?

the group. Steve said they weren't ready yet to meet these people - not ready to meet the middle class radical-liberal types.

Seems to be saying that the reason for Steve's failure was partically the fault of the group and partially the fault of Steve as a person and his lack of character (He left the project without telling anyone goodby.). Steve was very independent. It seems he was saying that the allowance of this independence was a mistake. He also feels that what he is saying about independence is not just true for Steve but has some validity for other organizers, because Steve (and Lee) were not very much different from other organizers they might get.

-Had to rethink their involvement with middle class people. They had originally planned for the middle class white organizing to be going on at the same time as the lower class organizing and serve to support the lower class effort. However, now without anything to support in the lower class community its position is unnecessary. Peltz who was working with the middle class doesn't think its time yet.

Peltz also thinks that there is a much greater need and priority should be given to organizing the poor whites. They don't want the middle class group to play an important role in the community, at least at this time. Their goals would conflict with those of the poor whites and the Committee favored the position of the poor more. The Committee doesn't want to have to contend with an opposing group with its own "head."

Horwitz thinks it much more important to organize int the white community (I think the poor white community) than to build middle class support groups for blacks.

-The goal of organizing poor whites demanded ideological unity. It also demanded that they did not have security leaks because they would be discussing matters which they would not want publicity on. This is the reasons for keeping their group small. He also mentioned a reason for keeping it small as being the need to meet in individual home rather than black meeting places and they could thus only accomodate a small number. They are planning to bring in new members at the next meeting under the same thoughts as before.

At this meeting they are asking black radicals to participate for the first time. He states there were two reasons for not asking them before. First, with a number of young radicals in the group and somewhat new in terms of dealing with blacks, they didn't want to have to contend with "reverse Tomism."

or the tendency to accept anything a black man said simply because he was black and you personally felt guilty. Secondly, they did not want to overburdent the already overworked black radicals with a new and struggling organization. These people had told them to go work in their own community and the Committee didn't want to ask them to help in this task until after they had done the initial work. Also, they didn't want to involve the blacks in asking their traditional sources of funds for money for the white organizing project.

-He feels that the formation of this committee could happen in other Southern states. There are enough of the liberal-radical constituency around to do it. However, it couldn't happen in a small town in other states or Miss. for that matter.

-Members of the group contributed some type of tythe to keep the organization going. Horwith says that some of them gave 5-10% of their salaries. Kalas said though that the monthly income from the contribution might have been around $50.00 which doesn't square with Horwitz's figures.

-Lee the other organizer left because she had to work with a partner and was too independent to be a real partner. She said that the also thought the Committee would be more active. The group thought she would be the fairly independent and self-sufficient type of organizer. She didn't like the uncertainlt of the situation. If something mor firm had been going she might had made it. The need for the group to be more active and for theem to have more contact with the organizers is the type of thing that Horwitz thinks is applicable for organizers in general.

Steve wouldn't move fast enough in the process or orgnnizing. When they tried to push him, he became very sensitive--again the need for a better understanding and more involvement.

-They didn't attack the race issue. Felt it was better just to organize and to let the people you work with see that your life style is not a racist life style and though their respect for you they start to change.

-Horwitz is not as firm as Kalas about the fact that the goal of the group is to organize poor whites for power and not for the goals of a coalition. He is not apparently as firm either on the fact that they have talked this point out completely. He says that there is diagreement in the group over this point and that everyone see a coalition somewhere at the end. It is just a matter of timing and degree.

-He says that the Committee might have been slightly better off had they not seen the two models of ACT and GROW. He agrees that ACT was the most impressive and seemingly relevant. (I can't remember whether the reason for thinking they would be better off is that they would have been hit by the conflict or that they would have developed their own model.)

-GROW has proved that Klanish, racist people can be forced to see their self interest in cooperation and working with blacks.

-In the election he said that the worker's candidates received only 2-3% of the vote. Either the GROW people and the candidates didn't do their homework or they needed more time.

-The question now is whether the whites having attempted to cooperate with blacks in the election and having failed will revert back to their old position. He says the situation is unpredictable - that even a small incident could easily blow the possiblities for a coalition.

-GROW has also shown whte organizers where to go in terms of a beautiful situation fro the development of cooperation - a place where white racists had to co-operate in order to be successful. This was traditionally a very Klanish, racist town. Greenville, Miss. with its tradition for liberality would not be such a beautiful location.

-You can't change people by less that action of self-interest.

-One of the problems that mus be overcome to get whites organized is racism. (It seems significant that he said one, although the conditions of this moment did not allow it to be discussed further. If in fact this is what he meant, then it seems to be a logical basis for his differing at least to some degree with Zellner's and GROW's confrontation of the racial issue.)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

John Kalas-Jackson, Miss.-August 6, 1969

Laurel is a unique situation for Mississippi. It had a Klan Union (disputed by Zellner) with Blacks holding the balance of power. It was also a company town with the company being ~~Nxxxxx~~ Northern in origin.

It ~~xx~~ is also interesting because of the support work done by the women. They helped to raise money to keep families together through bake sales, etc. They also ~~x~~ stood together against the merchants who could have really pressured the people and cause them to think twice about cutting people off. He thinks Zellner had these ideas and had them implemented in Laurel.

SCEF takes on dead issues just for the sake of raising the issue, creating the disturbance, and being a martyr. Zellner is more of a pragmatist. He tends to concern himself with tactical use of issues and would be one the Alinsky side of an Alinsky-SCEF ~~xxxx~~ spectrum is one were imagined. However, Kalas doesn't think by any means that Alinsky has all the answers. One reason he doesn't is because he works with Northern ~~XX~~ ploiticians who follow their own self-interest. Alinsky sets it ~~y~~ up so that if this self interest followed he wins. Southern ~~xxx~~ politicians will go against their own ~~x~~ self interest. If they didn't the civil right movement would be better off than it is at this point.

Alinsky hades all ideology. He thinks only about strategy. He hates labor unions and likes churches. Almost every place he had been recently was set up by a church. He will not go into a community if things are together and ready for him.

The Greater Jackson Committee was started in Nov. It was called by Jimmy Jones, at least in part in response to the effects of Black Power in excluding whites from the black community and their statement to go work in your own community. The meeting in Nov. was all white. They have been catching flack from the blacks who say they are organizing a dangerous group. They are now expanding members and are at the point of inviting blacks to ~~fxx~~ Join for the first time.

They kept a small group because of the necessity of keeping their information der rather strict control. They have lost or are losing about 6-10 members very legitimate reasons such as moving out of the area. They, at the meeting will bring in more members.

the meeting in Nov. they had people from GROW and ACT. Act seemed more ssive to them and more reasonable for their situation. One thing to

deep in mind though was that Zellner was not able to come becsuse of the birth of a child by his wife. ~~Hexixxby~~ According to Kalas, the other GROW workers are not nearly as impressive as Zellner.

Rather than a group working for racial unity and the joining of blacks and whites as their primary goal, the Committee is trying"to organize whites for power." This has been discussed rather thoroughly by the group too according to Kalas.

Kalas-August 7, 1969

He says that Jones was more up for the goal of the coalition as primary. His strong influence at the beginning may be the reason that the introductory portion seems to come accross as having this goal. The goal of the group is the organizing of whites for power.

ACT is working on the basis of coalitions on the basis of self-interest and the concept of self interest is rather complete in itself. With GROW the effort is to change minds. This is at least one of the reasons for the confrontation with the race issue immediately.

Kalas said that one of the ACT men at their first meeting did say that he mentioned his civil rights contacts to groups he worked with,(but the feeling I got was not the confrontation spoken about by Zellner.)

Kalas doesn't think the chances are very good at all of getting funded in any major amount for the program. The people who would give money to black groups to organize have not yet shifted to giving money to organize whites. He thinks they might get some "frustration money" -- grants of $1000 or so and will be able to and have to limp along on that.

Kalas-August 6, 1969

The Governor put pressure on some of the people who had their names on the proposal in terms of threatening not to approve their application for other positions.

Brooks has the best program going at present in terms of white organizing in Jackson.

Gary Brooks-Jackson, Miss.-August 7, 1969

Horwitz and others pushed the Hinds County Coalition for Youth Action Board which is make up of 20 black high school students to establish one white summer recreation center. There were 19 centers for black young people which besides recreation taught black history, black culture, etc. This is callse the Summer Recreation and Tuborial Program. The hidden agenda behind the establishment of the center was that of establishing a beachhead for further organizing. (Kalas says that the efforts of Horwitz were separate from any official involvement with the Committee.) They started this center in South Jackson, the worst white area in the city.

When they opened up the center, they invited everyone in the area to come out to the opening. However, everyone who showed up except for one 20-year old was between the ages of 8 and 17. The center became a defacto day care center.

Through the one older guy he attempted to get other older guys involved. They found that one of the issues that bothered these people was police brutality. These guys and girls, or at least many of them, had been involved with the law. The center gave out leaflets telling of the legal rights of these individuals. They gave out 30 of the leaflets to mainly the 15 year old boys and older.

Approximately 20-25 kids a day come by the center. 8-10 guys 17-20 come by when they are not working.

He was initially afraid about telling the locals about their politics. He isn't sure whether the people have changed as a result of associating with them, but at least now they accetp them as "nigger lovers", which Gary at least in part as Zellner, thinks is a healthy change in itself.

He says that these people have attitudes that are amazingly like blacks in relation to their personal and group worthlessness. No one has ever cared about them and they become very protective of Gary and the others at the center who have shown an interest in them.

The next issue after the police brutality leaflets was that of a guy having a friend at the county farm who had been beaten up by a guard. Many of the boys in the group had either served time there or had friends who had. They were going to get together a number of affidaths on the brutality and take them to the county board. Gary says that the guys in the group don't really have any hope of getting anything accomplished--a real sense of

powerlessness-- and he doesn't know where they will go after it fails--seems either militant action or give up. However, since that time they have not been able to move ahead on the county farm issue because they have been fighting and effort ~~to evict them~~ by the land lady to evict them.

She supposedly had two complaints about roudyness or noiseness in the neighborhood. The kids who went to the center circulated petitions to keep them there and got 150 signatures on them. The land lady refused to look at the petitions. Gary and the people from the center planned to picked her home them but it was rained out. They passed out leaflets to people in the community to call her and protest this move. He is not sure how many people called her. They were also planning to take her to J. P. court to fight it, but she finally gave in. Gary thinks she did so because she didn't want to have to go through the trouble of a trial.

The police often cruse by the area and came in one night after the eviction process started. They at least noticed some of the radical literature that was there. Some time later the FBI made an appearance. Gary thinks the reason for these two appearances may have been that they were resisting the eviction order and when the police saw the literature they let the FBI know about it.

-They have had a couple of people come down at night and sing. This program has worked. Some like draft counceling have not.

-The recreation program is designed to give legitimacy to their other activities. They have developed real good relations with the kids in the neighborhood but their relationships with parents really aren't strong. Some like them; some dislike them; and some are indifferent. They have been walking a tight rope between turning the program into a worthless rec. program and alienating them.

-There is some potential down there with the older guys, but he really doesn't know exactly what direction to try to go with them. The 8-10 older guys might have some political potential if given training. They are most easily organized around police problems. One thing here, though, is that these problems are not constant enough to organize around such as a defense organization for the community-- the events are too infrequent.

In relation to the problems with the police, these people realize brutality against the blacks. They have no love for the police. The police treat them badly and these people know the police don't like blacks.

-One of the ideas of establishing the center was to go into the poor white community and find out who could be organized on what issues, who was in the community, and what were they doing, etc. They were operating on the principal

of organizing through service.

-Tried to get the parents organized aroud the issue of a day care center but this didn't work. The people they could work with best were the yound workers and dropouts. The issues thus far were brout up by the guys -- ~~pli~~ police buntality and working conditions were the best issues. ~~Somehowthey haventthesenablexteafind~~ There is a proposal being made for the fall for a continuation of the summer rec. program. There would be an attempt to keep as many centers opern as possible on a volunteer basis. There would also be as many as five tutor/organizers hired, one of them being white and Brooks hoping to get the job. The black you organizers would work to get more blck history into the school programs and to talk of hiring policiss. The blacks would be ~~bl~~ political organizers working with high school students under the cover of the tuborial program. Since there isn't any money to do organizing being identified as such, the black and white people interested in it are trying to milk OEO for as much as possibe.

-He will probably be the white organizer. The two things he can see to work on are ~~trxi~~ getting the county farm issue off the ground through either the Legan Constitutional Civil Defense organization, the Miss. branch of the Civil liberties organization or through the Board of Supervisors. The second are is counciling on police problems. His future plans about organization aren' very firm. No one has shown him the way to organize a community. He says that community organization is difficult here because there isn't a feeling of community. (I think he said that he couldn't find an issue on which to really organize the area.)

-He and Don, a P. L. guy, have been talking about taking jobs in the local bakery and trying to organize it. Ther are about 4 or 5 guys they work with at the center who are employed at the bakery. A local guy who they just hired to help at the center said he might change his job so he could work there and help them. However, Brooks says that they haven't yet done even the basic research on the plant. He also has real doubts about the avisability and desirabilisy of doing labor organizing which would probably have such a slim chance of success and which would send them into a traditional and conservative labor union. In addition, he says he shudders when he thinks of working at that plant. (He says the wages there are around $1.60 and hour --Kalas had said $1.15-- he says that racist practices were used.) From what he says, the organization of the plant seems only a possibility.

David Doggett and Lynn Rogers-Jackson-Kudzu-August 7, 1969

In terms of organizing the state the only thing besides the paper itself was the First Annual Miss. Youth Jubilee held in April in Jackson where they mentioned the possibiliby of froming a state-wide organization and the second to be held in October where it will be discussed again.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Don Miller-Jackson Miss.-August 7, 1969

Differences in GROW and ACT--- GROW needs a crisin situation while ACT can work on a traditionnl geographic approach. FROW hits the racial issue very quickly and head on while ACT is much slower and believes that the groups must stay separate (either for much longer or indefinitely.). ACT does not want publicity at least in the early stages.

He thinks that the ACT approach has more to offer in the Jackson environment.

Doesn't think that the liberal-radical group like has been formed in Jackson could be formed in any other deep South state besides Georgia, and thinks that there was in fact a meeting in Georgia shortly after the one in Mississippi with Si Kahn and others. He doesn't know, however, the results' of this meeting. He thinks that Mississippi has had the publicity to bring people in. The '64 and '65 summers helped in this. Because of its problems, it has also had the visibility to attract people and make accomplishment there a goal to be striven for.

He feels that eventually the Jackson Area Committee will get something off the ground, because there are enough people who are interested in the long term interest of the state and will stick with it, who are also finding themselves being phased out of work with the black community.

He says that the co-ops he knows about with white membership and he will make a generalization for the others are just organizations of moderate income farmers looking for more income. There are not any white co-ops in the state conparable to the black ones. There aren't any which are really poor white organizations. The officials in the state just don't make information about FHA loans and that type of assistance available to these groups.

Mary Miller says that even in the northern part of the state where there are few blacks there is no organization. She seems to inficate that this is the place where it would be if it existed. However, the entire organizing staff is black and it wouldn't work for them to organize in this region. Also, they haven't made any efforts to organize in the area anyway.

Miller says the people in Washington don't seem to understand that you can't bring in whites by giving equal effort for whites and blacks in a head start program. If you talk of special white projects the people immediately react and say that this is the start of something bad in the reverse. EPO got their money straight from R. and D. in Washington. You can get things

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like this done if you talk to the right people in Washington. It's especially difficult for "a white man from Mississippi" though to talk about a special need to work with whites. It doesn't seem to go to well with the old liberal thinkers of the pre-'64 era.

orig. White H.R.

Dated

GREATER JACKSON AREA COMMITTEE: Proposal for experimental project in organizing whites in Mississippi

For the Committee:

Mr. Charles Horwitz
P. O. Box 139
Edwards, Mississippi
852-2611

MISSISSIPPI

An all-white federal jury in Meridian after deliberating more than 14 hours found seven white men guilty of conspiracy in connection with the deaths of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman, three civil rights workers who were lynched in Neshoba County in June, 1964. Eight defendants in the case were acquitted. The jury was unable to reach a verdict as to the guilt or innocence of three other defendants.

The Justice Department under an 1870 civil rights law brought federal indictments against the 18 white men charging them with conspiracy to deny civil rights to the slain men.

The case built by federal attorney John Doar essentially was based on the testimony of two FBI informers, one of whom was on the scene during the slayings. They said Schwerner was marked for death by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and that Goodman and Chaney were killed only because they happened to be with him. Witnesses said that on the day before the men were slain, Klansmen set fire to a Negro church near Philadelphia as a ruse to bring Schwerner to the area. After visiting the burned-out church the three men were arrested by Neshoba County Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price and held in jail incommunicado for six hours. In that period Klansmen assembled several miles down the highway. When the men were released they were chased down in a hundred-mile-an-hour race, taken into the backwoods and shot to death. Their bodies were buried under an earthen dam.

Among those convicted were Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price and Klan Imperial Wizard Samuel Bowers. Neshoba Sheriff Lawrence Rainey was acquitted. Neshoba Sheriff-elect E. G. (Hop) Barnett, and two other defendants who received a mistrial, will be tried again at an as yet unnamed date.

After the verdict Federal Judge Harold Cox held Price and another convicted man, Alton Roberts, in jail without bond for threats they allegedly made against him while the jury was considering its verdict. In an unusual, but not unprecedented move, Judge Cox re-charged the jury after it told him it was "hopelessly deadlocked." Judge Cox reminded the jurors that they should consider the majority opinion in their deliberations.

South-watchers throughout the country hailed the verdict as the beginning of a new day in Mississippi. Judge Cox (who in a voter registration case once referred to Negroes as "acting like a bunch of chimpanzees") drew praise for his handling of the case. At one point during cross examination he admonished defense lawyers for race-baiting questions.

The case had significance beyond the immediate fact that for the first time Mississippi white men had been convicted for offenses against civil rights workers. Some observers trace the change in mood among many Negroes toward black separatism in part to the disillusion that set in within the civil rights movement after the Neshoba County slayings. There was, they say, the feeling that nothing would be done, that those guilty would never be brought to justice. Some felt, too, that if Schwerner and Goodman had been Negroes the case would have been forgotten in white America as numerous cases before in which Negroes alone had been slain were forgotten.

Civil rights observers see no great hope that Mississippi justice has improved as a result of the Meridian verdict. For it was federal action, not state or local action, that initiated the conspiracy trial. In fact it was precisely because of local inaction that the federal government became involved at all. Officially the deaths of Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney remain unsolved. No state charges have ever been brought against anyone for killing the three men. Despite state hints now that it will seek murder indictments few expect that the guilty person or persons will ever be tried or if tried, convicted.

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The Mississippi fall has produced a harvest of new race related violence.

Bombers struck the Temple Beth Israel in Jackson September 18 with a dynamite blast that tore open walls and shattered window panes. A few hours after the bombing FBI agents arrested three white men whom they identified as Ku Klux Klansmen. The men were charged with assaulting a federal officer who sought to question one of them in connection with the bombing. Gov. Paul Johnson and Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson denounced the terror attack. The Greater Jackson Clergy Alliance, composed of both white and Negro members, staged a "walk of penance" to the bombing scene and issued a statement which said, in part, "We have walked to this place to express our sorrow to the Jews and their Rabbi; our sorrow for the ones who set off the bomb; our sorrow for ourselves who have directly or indirectly encouraged such acts of violence." The synagogue was the scene of a Mississippi Human Relations Council meeting a few weeks before the incident.

On October 5 bombers struck on the campus of Tougaloo College. Target of their attack was the home of Dean William Bush, a white faculty member and former director of a Jackson antipoverty program. An FBI spokesman described the bombing as "similiar" to the attack on the Jackson Jewish synagogue.

Nightriders attacked the home of a Carthage Negro prominent in voter registration activities. Leake County Sheriff Russell Edwards said "five or six rifle shots" were fired into the home of NAACP leader Jonas Hardney, on the evening of October 7. The attack drew a warning from the NAACP's Charles Evers who said that "Negroes all over Mississippi have been instructed that from now on if any person comes on their property . . . at night and looks suspicious . . . to shoot and shoot to kill."

Wilkinson County Sheriff Charles Netterfield discounted the significance of an armed confrontation at Centreville between members of the Deacons for Defense and local whites. Netterfield said the groups faced each other at a service station during a protest march by 500 Negroes but no shots were fired. Mon C. Allen, defeated Negro candidate for sheriff in the September primaries, said whites left the scene when the Deacons appeared with rifles.

In Laurel, three hooded men attempted to beat a nineteen-year-old female employee of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, but released her when the girl's mother tore the mask off one of the men. The men forcibly entered the girl's home armed with shotgun, pistol, and rubber hose.

Chicksaw County District Attorney James Gore said in October he will go before a county grand jury to present the case of an Okolona policeman who is alleged to have slain a Negro when he resisted arrest. A three-man Justice of the Peace court earlier freed the policeman on the ground that there was "insufficient evidence" to bind him over to a higher court. Four eyewitnesses testified they saw the arrest and shooting. The Negro was handcuffed and shot three times.

A circuit court jury in Collins was unable to reach a verdict in the case of Cecil Sessums, accused in the shooting of T. W. Rogers of Seminary. Rogers said that Sessums and two other men abducted him and threatened to kill him because he refused to carry out the orders of the secretive White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Negro parents in Noxubee County, testifying in contempt of court proceedings brought by the Justice Department against county school officials, told of being threatened and intimidated after enrolling their children in previously all white schools. The Negroes said they withdrew their children from the schools after visits by two white school officials.

Political Change on the Wind

Republican gubernatorial candidate Rubel Phillips told Mississippi voters in a statewide TV address that the paramount issue facing Mississippi today is full economic rights for Negroes. Paraphrasing Booker T. Washington,

Labor Dec
Jackson Daily News 9/4/67

GOOD JOBS AVAILABLE!

if you are interested in a good paying permanent job . . . .

HERE IS WHAT YOU HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR . . .

Applications are now being accepted for a number of immediate job openings – Both skilled – and unskilled – wage rates begin at 2.32 per hour and range up to 3.12 per hour.

SOME SAMPLE RATES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- Yard Laborer 2.32
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- Rip Saw Operator 2.47
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- Edger & Trimmer Operator 2.67
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FRINGE BENEFITS INCLUDE

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Apply in person at the employment office - Masonite Corporation - Laurel, Mississippi or Call Mr. S. H. Ford 428-4311 Area Code 601

MASONITE CORPORATION

P.O. BOX 1048
LAUREL, MISS.
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AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

In
Strike violence associated with Masonite in Laurel see
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Labor Miss.

END OF STRIKE TERMS LISTED

Hundreds Applying for Re-employment

7/13/67

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

LAUREL, Miss. — Hundreds of striking employes of Laurel's Masonite plant are applying for re-employment this week in keeping with an agreement between Masonite Corp. and International Woodworkers of America (IWA).

The strike began April 21, 1967.

Under terms of the settlement, local union 5-443 IWA will be governed by a board of trustees instead of elected officers.

A. M. Collins, representative of IWA's general offices in Laurel, is setting up the board.

Among major provisions of the agreement, terms of which were announced Tuesday, are:

—Extension of a work contract signed March 4, 1967 to December 1, 1970.

—Masonite will continue procedures currently employed on a permanent basis at the option of the company and will not be the subject of any grievance, litigation or National Labor Relations Board charge.

—Union members who had not returned to work, numbering about 1,400, may file for permanent bargaining units which will in the future become available.

—Employes will be hired from a list of past employes judged acceptable by the company.

—No added employes will be hired in bargaining union jobs in maintenance for two months.

—Preference will be given to qualified union employes for two years.

—Other bargaining union jobs in other departments will be filled from a preferential hiring list of qualified persons for a period of two years.

—Returning employes will receive credit for previous services for benefits including vacations, holidays, participation in the pension plan, group insurance and medical benefits.

—Early retirement benefits will be open for those former employes who are not on the preferential list.

—The company will remove its Unfair Labor Practices Act charge against the union with the union dropping appeals.

Labor-Miss

Women Protest In Laurel

7/7/67

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LAUREL, Miss. (AP) — A group of about 100 women marched on Laurel's City Hall today demanding the mayor do something about the lengthy Masonite strike.

The group's spokesman, Mrs. Edna Earl Lewis, said "nobody can seem to do anything.

Mayor Fern Bucklew confered with about 12 of the women while the remainder of the group waited inside the building.

A hearing is set for this afternoon on Masonite charges that the union has violated provisions of a Chancery Court order forbidding mass picketing at the company's Laurel plant.

The International Woodworkers of America Local 5-443, struck the plant last April and the company has since reopened the plant with other workers.

STRIKE IS OVER-- PLANT OFFICIAL

Labor Miss

Masonite Operating with New Workers

Times Picayune

LAUREL, Miss. (AP) — The manager of the Masonite Corp. plant testified Wednesday that he considers a strike at the plant to be over.

Manager R. E. Paul said members of the International Woodworkers of America who have not returned to their jobs have been replaced.

Over 2,000 workers struck the plant April 21 charging the company was harassing union officials.

The plant reopened last month with 1,000 newly hired employes including vacationing college students.

Paul testified in chancery court on a hearing to gain a permanent injunction against the union barring a strike.

Union president J. D. Jolly testified the prime reason for the walkout was revised shipping procedures and suspension of union representative Freddy Adcock.

Over 80 union members were charged with contempt of court for alleged refusal to end the strike. The officials countered with a claim that they gave orders to return to work, but the individual workers failed to respond.

In Jackson, Mississippi AFL-CIO president Claude Ramsay urged both parties "to return to the bargaining table to settle this matter."

Ramsay said the presence of so many untrained workers in the plant may have led to the death of a 20-year-old college student Tuesday.

Jack Craft, 20, son of an engineer at the plant, was killed when a piece of equipment exploded.

"Similar accidents will surely follow unless this dispute is resolved at an early date," Ramsay said.

"I urge both parties to this dispute to return to the bargaining table and settle this matter before more lives are lost."

1968

LABOR AND THE SOUTH

Laurel, Mississippi

Black Workers Set

Against White - Strike Broken

Robert Analavage

This article originally appeared in the January 1968 issue of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, which is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund in Louisville, Kentucky.

Robert Analavage is an Assistant Editor of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, and on the staff of SCEF.

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Black and White Divided

Laurel Strike Is Broken

(Editor's Note: A recent strike in Laurel, Miss., between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Masonite Corporation points up what trade-union experts in the South have been saying for some time:—that industries in the region plan to use divisions between white and black workers in a new way.

(For several generations the owners of land and industry have kept political and economic control by getting white workers to believe they had an identity of interest with the owners because of the color of their skin. At the same time, black workers were pushed to the lowest rung of the ladder.

(Today, because of the new strength of black people and their movement for freedom, employers can no longer keep them down. So the employers now try to convince black workers that they will do better by going along with management rather than with the white workers.

(The result is the same:—a division which benefits nobody but the employer. The Laurel strike is typical because it also involves the question of automatic machines' replacing people; it also involves the continued moving of more industries into the South.

(Robert Zellner, director of grass-roots organizing work (GROW) for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and Jack Minnis, SCEF research director, went to Laurel several times during the strike.

(Robert Analavage, assistant editor of The Southern Patriot, went with them. His article tells the story from the standpoint of both the black and white workers. It is hoped that this analysis will help all of us to understand the necessity for black-white unity in the struggle for economic and political democracy in America.)

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

LAUREL, Miss. — The strike formally began in April, 1967, when a shop steward was fired by a foreman. The steward was backing two workers in their refusal to do work not included in their job descriptions.

But it began a long time before that. It began when Masonite brought in a team of efficiency experts to determine how to make the most profits with the fewest workers at the lowest cost. The experts suggested that the plant be totally reorganized, with automation the eventual goal.

Masonite calls its operation here the largest hardboard plant in the world; it produces a $250,000 weekly payroll for the Laurel area. The company and the local, largest in Mississippi, have had bitter struggles over the years, but nothing to rival this one.

This time the local, considered the most militant in the state and possibly in the South, saw the actions of the company as the opening of an effort to destroy the local completely. It did not hesitate to strike once it felt its interest threatened.

The strikers set up mass picket lines and refused to allow anyone, including management personnel, inside the plant. Hulse Hayes, a lawyer from the firm of the late anti-union Senator Robert Taft, went to court for Masonite, seeking an injunction against the union's activities.

A lower-court judge upheld the strikers' right to picket peacefully, so Hayes appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

During the court proceedings the local argued that it had been pushed into the strike and so was unable to give the required ten days' notice before striking. The local subpoenaed documents and exposed Masonite's reorganization plan. The documents also showed that the company had hired Wackenhut guards 10 days before the strike began.

These guards come from the same private detective agency used by Governor Claude Kirk to police the state of Florida.

GUN-TOTING WACKENHUT GUARDS patrolled Masonite's Laurel plant during the seven-month strike (photo by Bob Analavage).

Still the Mississippi Supreme Court granted the injunction. The strike was ruled illegal, and it was made a crime for the international union or anyone else to support the strike. The workers carried on alone.

Wackenhut set up outposts all over the Masonite property, with shotgun-toting guards entrenched in sand-bagged bunkers. The plant looked more like a fortress than a factory.

The local had been through it all before. As recently as 1964 the men had conducted a bitter wildcat strike. They saw the 1967 walkout as just another in a series of battles between capital and labor, and described it in those terms.

As in the past, the workers felt that their union would stand firm. They had no doubt about the outcome. But one factor had changed since 1964. This was the growing number and strength of black workers and the efforts of the company to manipulate these employees.

In fact, some union officials said that Masonite had planted agents in the plant to discover ways to divide the workers. These agents seem to have decided that the long history of division between black and white people made it possible to pit them against each other.

In reality the Laurel local is two locals —one white, comprising 75 percent of the membership, the other 25 percent black. Until a few years ago the black workers were in a sub-local. Although more than 500 blacks were members of the local and felt that the 1500 white workers accepted them as fellow trade-unionists, they still did not feel they were really a part of the union.

No black people were elected to office in the local. Officials of the local now see this as a mistake. Some realize that a program of education might have brought about the unity they needed in this strike.

The Union's Position

In order to assess the whole situation better, Bob Zellner, Jack Minnis and I met with seven or eight members of the local's leadership—all white. The strike had been going on for months and the local found it difficult to get its side of the story to the public. The Laurel newspaper had even refused to sell the union space to explain its position.

Meanwhile, Masonite was recruiting strikebreakers from Georgia, Texas, and other parts of Mississippi.

"They had the whole Ole Miss football team scabbing in there," said J. D. Jolly, president of the local.

A Wackenhut guard had been slain the day we met with Jolly and other leaders of the union. The room was tense as we sat down with these men.

We were very frank about the fact that we were in the civil-rights movement. Minnis explained that at one time we had all worked for SNCC. He said we were now with SCEF and were interested in building unity between black and white working people in the South.

Minnis told the men that we wanted to help if we could, but we needed to understand the full nature of the strike. The men were silent for a moment.

Then Jolly spoke up: "We don't care who you are as long as you can help."

I think it is important to know Jolly. His life has been dedicated to the local and to the cause of trade-unionism. His name was in the headlines briefly in 1964 after a white union official was beaten by the Ku Klux Klan for backing a Negro in a grievance against the company. Jolly declared that the union would go to war with the Klan, if necessary, to stop further such acts.

Company's Position

CHICAGO — Masonite Corporation was asked to comment on statements made in this article. Their public-relations manager replied that "the article is untruthful to the point of being ridiculous." He did not say what was untrue.

He was frank about the local's history. "You have to understand the nature of the South to understand it," he said. "Because of this, we once had a sub-local. All colored, with their own officers. The different races did occasionally attend each other's meetings. There were three colored workers on the negotiating committee and they took part in contract deliberations.

"It wasn't integration; it wasn't segregation. Still . . . well, our international constitution prohibited segregation and, to be frank, we knew all the time what we had to do. Then came the Civil Rights Act (1964) and a suit was filed by six of our brothers—one white and five colored.

"When we integrated, the whites had the numerical strength. They were 75 per cent of the union. Candidates were put up for office and everybody voted along racial lines. None of the colored candidates were elected and they never ran again."

Jolly calls that election a mistake. He says: "I, from a practical standpoint, thinking of the union first, don't want to freeze the colored out, because we need them. If some of our colored members hadn't broken this strike and gone back to work this strike would be over."

We asked what could be done to avoid similar splits in the future. "Only thing I can see is that we've got to form a coalition," Jolly went on. "White and colored in the local will have to get together and come up with some candidates from both races and everybody will have to back them. Otherwise this thing will continue to split us."

The Need for Coalition

Coalition. A magic word these days. Quite simply it means the coming together of people with similar problems to fight a common enemy. It does not mean love or brotherhood or integration, although it could mean or lead to all of these things.

But coalition does require two ingredients, and one of these is strength. The mostly white local did have strength and had shown it many times in previous strikes. The question is: Did the black minority in the union have any strength?

I believe Jolly answered that when he said, "If colored members had not gone back to work the strike would be over."

The majority of the black workers had used their strength, but they used it against the union. They gave reasons for this, which I will go into shortly, but first we need to stress that the black unionists did not act as a unit. Although about 300 blacks helped to break the strike, about 200 supported it.

The other ingredient needed for a coalition is trust. And the black people who refused to take part in the strike simply did not trust the white members of the union.

When we talked with the black men who went back to work, they said there was a slight possibility that they and other non-striking blacks would meet with the white union leaders to discuss an arrangement whereby the black workers would honor the strike. But, said the black workers, any such meeting would have to be on the initiative of the whites. They would make no effort to set up the meeting.

We reported this conversation to Jolly and other union leaders. We pointed out that we were not in any sense representing the black workers; that they were not our clients and we had absolutely no influence in the black community. We stressed to them that they would have to gain the trust and confidence of the black workers themselves.

Jolly and the others asked us what we thought they should do. We told them they should contact the leaders of the

black strikebreakers. They asked us whom they should talk with. We told them they should know who the leaders of the black strikebreakers were, and added that we could not act as go-betweens.

When they mentioned "good friends" they had in the black community, we suggested that these "good friends" were probably not the leaders of the militant workers. We said that a new spirit was abroad in the black community, and it would be up to them to figure out how to deal with that spirit in the interest of unity.

Jolly and the other said they would consider what we had told them and that they would try to work out something. However, Jolly said that it wasn't just a simple matter of the union leadership going to the black strikebreakers and bargaining over concessions.

The union members honoring the strike had already taken the necessary steps to impose sanctions, if they chose to do so, against those who had abandoned the strike. Jolly emphasized that the black strikers had also voted for these steps.

"Our local is a democracy and we have to abide by the majority will," he said.

The Strikebreakers' View

The meeting we had had with the black strikebreakers revealed how they felt about the whole business. One of their supporters was Mrs. Susie Ruffin, a veteran in the freedom movement and now a member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

She is very militant but was opposed to the strike. She arranged for us to meet some of the black strikebreakers in her home. They agreed to talk but only on condition that their names be withheld. Their names are not important; their views are.

They had supported strikes before, including wildcats. One man who had walked the picket line for six months in 1964 said:

"What did it get us? Nothing changed; we were still treated like second-class citizens, like niggers. Ain't no Negro union officials. There's only four black shop stewards, and they don't have authority over whites.

"The union never asks us for help until something like this comes up. To put it right down, Negroes are just sick and tired of being fooled by whites. But no more. I'm so tired of my people being walked on."

We asked another man what he thought about the union. Mrs. Ruffin broke in: "It's a den of Kluxers." The man agreed with her. Yet, when we ran down a list of union officials, he and the others referred to only one of them as a Klansman. They called all the local officers "good union men."

Bob Zellner, a native of Alabama who still has relatives in the Klan, had raised the question of the Klan with the union leadership. They admitted that there were Klan members in the local.

Herbert Ishee, the financial secretary, added: "There are some Klan on the negotiating committee. They're good unionists, pretty good boys, but I don't believe in their politics."

As for the widely held belief in the black community that the Klan controls the local, Jolly said: "Sure, we have Klansmen in the local but they don't control it. I'll fight anyone—any outside group—that tries to take over this local."

We asked one of the black workers why he refused to take part in the strike. He said: "You know, after the Civil Rights Act the company integrated the facilities at the plant. Washrooms and showers. The whites kicked up a fuss.

"I don't appreciate a man using me . . . saying we're together when there's a strike and then kicking up a fuss because we're using the same facilities. Another thing, the whites didn't even consult us when this strike began. Not one word, like they figured we'd support it anyway. I didn't desert the union; the union deserted me."

None of the black workers considered themselves anti-union. They said: "A worker has to be in a union for his own security. We have good wages and job security only because of the union's work."

However, all of them were highly critical of Local 5-443 for allowing segregated job classifications. They all said they wanted to stay in the union, "if only it would change."

We asked them if they would be willing to meet with the white unionists to try to work out such differences. With the balance of power they held in this strike, there was a possibility they could win concessions they wanted from the local, since the whites had now seen the need for unity.

If an understanding was reached between the two groups, it could be guaranteed by the strength of the blacks; the white workers would know that only united action would bring gains from the company in future disputes.

Here was shown the need for a black caucus within the union. Blacks have usually mistrusted white people in similar situations because so many promises have been made and then broken when the black people were no longer considered necessary. A caucus within the union would make sure that there would be no backsliding on promises made and agreements reached between the black and white workers.

However, this did not appear to be in the minds of the black people, as reflected by these comments:

Mrs. Ruffin—"If only those white people would come to us equal and bargain. . . ."

A worker—"I've seen something of these whites for years. They can't be trusted. I see no reason to talk with them."

Another worker—"If they would come to us and ask us like men."

Setting a Pattern

In Jackson, where we talked with Claude Ramsey, head of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, he gave us a larger perspective on the Laurel strike. He saw the Masonite strike as part of a plan to destroy trade-unions in the state. He believed the Mississippi Manufacturers' Association was involved.

"Masonite is the beginning of a pattern," he declared. "This local has always been radical and a thorn in the company's side. They've had some bad strikes down there. If they destroy this local, unionism in Mississippi will be set back decades. Masonite laid a trap for them and they walked right into it."

What the company had done was to win many allies in the black community by upgrading a few blacks in the plant and ending segregation in the washrooms.

Minnis described how it worked in the *Patriot* last month: "Thus when management was confident that it had the loyalty of enough black workers it began upgrading black workers in a way that was certain to drive the white workers into a wildcat."

Jolly had told us that this very upgrading of blacks had caused friction with the whites, but he also admitted that the black men had previously "had the dirtiest, the filthiest, the roughest jobs."

However, Masonite is no crusader for the rights of black people. It has a plant in the Union of South Africa where its black workers are the most exploited in the world. It also needs to be pointed out that the company was simply complying with a U. S. Government order when it ended segregation in the washrooms.

Claude Ramsey arranged for us to talk with E. K. Collins, attorney for Local 5-443. Collins is also state senator from Jones County. He is most widely known to the civil-rights movement as

attorney for the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi, which fought off the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in 1964. He has a reputation for being a strong trade-union supporter.

"I signed the first union card in this state," he told us proudly. "I once worked for John L. Lewis (of the United Mine Workers)." He said that as a boy "I had a job carrying water for the workers—white and colored."

Senator Collins said he had been one of the original organizers of the Laurel local and obtained its charter. "It was the first union charter in the state," he added.

The attorney said he agreed with Ramsey's charge of a conspiracy to bust all unions in Mississippi. "No doubt about it," he declared. "If they break this union, the shipbuilders in Pascagoula are next and after that the paper mills in Natchez and Moss Point."

"You see, there are all kinds of companies up North that want to bring plants down South because of cheap labor. And every Chamber of Commerce is backing them."

(We were also told that all elements of the local power structure, including the Laurel Chamber of Commerce, backed Masonite in the strike; indeed, "the city attorney represents the company in disputes with the workers.")

We asked Collins about the Klan elements in Local 5-443. He said he had evidence that there were 65 Klan members in the union, but he also pointed out that the local had published a manifesto against the Klan in the Laurel newspaper.

The Strike Continues

As the strike continued, there were bombings and at least five killings which authorities blamed on some of the strikers. However, the black workers told us that none of this was aimed at them. The violence seemed directed at whites breaking the strike.

At the height of the violence, the Mississippi Highway Patrol sent extra men to Laurel and the National Guard was placed on alert.

Soon there were 900 men working in the plant, which was reported working at 45 per cent of capacity. The 900 men were about equally divided among white unionists who had returned to work, strikebreakers (white) brought in from other areas, and black unionists who had refused to join the strike.

But Masonite was being hurt. A *Standard & Poor's* bulletin reported at the end of the summer that there had been a substantial decrease in Masonite earnings due in part to strikes in Ohio and in Laurel. *Standard & Poor's* also stated that Masonite had sold more than 210,000 acres of prime Mississippi timber to St. Regis Paper Co. for $35 million.

"The colored workers (who went back to work) make up the numerical difference and give the company hope of winning the strike," Jolly said several weeks before the end of the strike.

We talked with people in SNCC, the MFDP and the Delta Ministry about the possibility of working together to build a black-white coalition to aid the local. They all saw possibilities in the situation, but were busy with other things they felt were more important.

Two weeks before the strike ended, a statement did come from the MFDP, which is made up almost wholly of black people. The full text is printed elsewhere on this page, but the following portion is worth quoting here:

"It is to Masonite's advantage to emphasize the KKK element in the union. This keeps the black and white workers apart. We refuse to swallow Masonite's claim of complete KKK control of the union.

"We have found that labels, whether Communist or KKK, prevent people from thinking and cover up the real issues . . . If Masonite can kill the union in Laurel, this will set back both Negro and white workers 30 years."

The Strike is Broken

On December 12, 1967, after seven and a half months, the Laurel strike came to an end. In San Francisco, an agreement was reached between the international union, the Masonite Corp., and the federal mediation service.

We happened to be in the Union hall the day the agreement was announced.

"Ain't it a shame," one rank-and-file member told us, "we don't even get to vote on it."

J. D. Jolly and the rest of local 5-443's officials were removed from office and the local was placed in trusteeship, which meant that all property, finances and other assets of the local came under the complete control of the international.

A man of about 50 said, "one of these days it's all coming to a head and it's going to be settled with guns. There's going to be one final battle between capital and labor."

The agreement was explained to the *Patriot* by Ronald F. Roley, Portland, Ore., international president of the union, on the ground that "our aim was to save as many jobs and as many benefits as possible under the circumstances. A preferential hiring list was set up for those men still out at the time of the settlement." (There were over 1,200 men, more than half of the local, still on strike when the agreement was signed.)

As for the company's reorganization plan, Roley said, "we'll try to resolve whatever we can."

Members of the local scoff at this. They described the agreement to me as "a sellout, a sweetheart contract." Sources within the local also say they have learned that the militants who led the strike will not be rehired—ever. Additionally, all strikebreakers will keep their jobs.

What is clear is that Masonite exploited the social divisions between the unionists masterfully, like pawns in a giant chess game. Whether the same tactics will be used in other areas, as Claude Ramsey and E. K. Collins predicted, seems hardly open to question.

The burning resentments of black workers exist everywhere; the failure, even the refusal, of some white workers to cope with this also exists everywhere. If the tragedy of Laurel is not to be repeated, this situation must be corrected.

Blacks have said they will not initiate any reconciliation because they feel they have been betrayed too many times in the past. Therefore, whites will have to make the first move. Unity remains the working men's only protection; otherwise they will continue to be the victims.

Masonite can now dictate conditions and wages and, as the directors of that company can tell you, it will be a long time before the workers of Laurel will again have the strength to challenge them.

This article describes some of the work of Grass Roots Organizing Work (GROW), a SCEF project which is helping poor white people in the Deep South organize for political and economic power, in coalition with the black movement. The article is reprinted from The Southern Patriot, SCEF's monthly newspaper. For subscriptions ($3) or a sample copy, write:

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

The MFDP Statement

The MFDP is investigating the strike in Laurel, Mississippi by the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) local against the Masonite corporation, because this strike affects every member of the MFDP in Mississippi.

If Masonite can kill the union in Laurel, this will set back both Negro and white workers 30 years. Whatever the result of the strike, it will be copied by management and members of the Mississippi Management Association to crush union organizing in Mississippi. Without unions, working people can be fired without cause by management, they lose their right to collective bargaining, better working conditions, higher wages and decent vacations with pay.

Members of both races are working at Masonite and are also on strike. Masonite claims that the union is completely controlled by the KKK. This places Negro employees in the unfortunate position of having to choose between the KKK or Masonite. This is too simple and too frightening to be true.

It is to Masonite's advantage to emphasize the KKK element in the union. This keeps black and white workers apart. Since 1964 the union has held integrated meetings, yet it was only since the strike began in April that Masonite gave Negro workers many good jobs previously reserved for whites. But it is important to understand the history of the KKK's power in Jones County. This power affects not only the union but Masonite and every important economic and political institution in Jones County.

The FDP is and has always been on the side of FREE trade unionism. We refuse to swallow Masonite's claim of complete KKK control of the union. We have found that labels, whether Communist or KKK, prevent people from thinking and cover up the real issues.

The Klan issue should not force Negro workers to reject unionism. A man should not be deprived of his right to a job or a right to belong to a union solely because he is a member of the KKK. Only if we protect the rights of all men to freedom of association and speech, no matter how unpopular their cause, will our own rights be preserved.

Movement Failed on Laurel Strike

On December 12, over 1,000 Masonite workers had their union put into trusteeship and their 7½ month long strike sold out. The local Laurel movement that day was very concerned because some preacher had thrown a wrench into a planned Christmas boycott of downtown Laurel aimed at getting some Negroes hired in the stores.

It would be dishonest, however, to say that the local movement had no position on the strike that ended—for all practical purposes—in the busting of the most militant union in Mississippi. The Laurel movement did have a position: it urged black workers to scab for Masonite, and did so for the whole length of the strike.

A main argument used to justify support for and encouragement of the scabs has been that this was the first time most of these black men had "ever stood up." But when you have on your side the Mayor, the Mississippi Supreme Court, the Mississippi Chamber of Commerce, the Mississippi Association of Manufacturers, the regional NLRB, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the International Woodworkers of America, the city police, the state police, the National Guard, the Wackenhut guards and, in the center of it all, the Masonite Corporation . . . well, hell, what kind of a "stand" have you really taken?

What essentially happened is that Masonite wanted to get rid of the union, and felt that they needed a sizable number of workers who would be willing to scab on a union-initiated wildcat. They tried to do this among the black workers by integrating washrooms and showers. The strategy worked, and a union that the black scabs said "was good on fighting for economic issues and working conditions" was destroyed.

Now at least some of us should be able to see, at this late date in the history of U.S. capitalism, that the forces of the corporations, their various State apparatuses (especially the courts and the police), and their 'friends' in organized labor (which is most of the international unions), are never going to be doing good for workers. So if we want something better than what we have, it means we must look to workers themselves. With workers' unity and a good program of struggle, the international unions can be taken over, and the corporations and their state beaten.

But unity and a fighting program is exactly what the movement in Laurel did not have.

When Rap Brown talks about the need for developing an ideology to prevent one section of dispossessed people from oppressing another, he's not just whistling Dixie. And the movement's got to go further than statements and proclamations. Because big corporations will be trying to work the "Masonite Plan" for breaking unions all over the South, now that it's worked in Laurel.

Which *means* that instead of ignoring unorganized workers, we begin to organize them. That instead of ignoring strikes, we support them. That instead of playing ball with the union piecards and misleaders (otherwise known as the 'labor lieutenants of capital') we fight them to the finish. And the last of these *means* that we take jobs in plants to begin organizing a caucus of rank-and-file workers to take over the unions so as to be better able to wage war on the bosses.

If this seems a sensible approach to a real problem, then it also *means* certain things for the 'movement'. It *means* that staff people be required to spend a part of each year working on a job. It *means* that SNCC and the MFDP find room on their list of 'priorities' for organizing black caucuses in unions like the one in Laurel. It *means* that SDS find the 'time' to support strikes going on right under their noses, (like the recent 60-day transit strike in Madison, Wisc., which the militant students didn't find time to support because they were too busy with other 'more important' matters, like protesting Dow's presence on their campus).

There is no doubt that Southern (and U.S.) workers are unhappy about their condition. There is a major question as to whether some sections of the left (including the movement) are willing to get their hands dirty and calloused enough to organize that discontent into positive and direct struggle against the corporations and their state. If the movement isn't willing, then the Laurel bust is just a taste of what's coming.

FRED LACEY
New Orleans, La.

(The writer of this letter, a former CORE field secretary in Louisiana, is now a dockworker who is active in the Progressive Labor Party in New Orleans.)

it all. Just before the vote, a local minister wrote a piece for the paper entitled, "How will the Klan Run Denham Springs?" The citizens decided it wouldn't run the place at all. They defeated every candidate suspected of having the support of the Klan. Mayor Allen Scivicque had been elected in 1964—when there was no Klan issue—by a margin of only 39 votes. But in the 1966 election—in which the Klan question became the issue—Scivicque, opposed by the Klan, won by a vote of 1,041 to 654.

After the election, Denham Springs was rewarded with an insight that is given only to the strong. "By their own admission after the election," one citizen said, "they [the Klan] didn't have but 17 members inside the city limits. Before the election you'd have thought they had 1,700. Personally, I think the election knocked them in the head out here."

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Unlike the situation in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, a known alliance with the Klan is likely to harm a politician in Georgia, unless he at least goes through the formality of shunning it.

In the 1966 Democratic gubernatorial contest between Ellis Arnall and Lester Maddox, it was just generally taken for granted that Maddox was the Klan's candidate. Speeches were made on his behalf at Klan rallies, where pro-Lester bumper strips and placards were also distributed. Maddox was sensitive enough to the feelings of most Georgians to know that if he could not go so far as to repudiate Klan support, at least he must try to share the mud. So he accused Arnall of being a life-time Klansman. For Georgians who remembered how Arnall, as governor in 1946, had crushed the Klan of that day, it was an accusation difficult to believe. But the point of the episode is that Maddox felt called upon to try to drag Arnall under the Klan umbrella, too. In Georgia politics, it is not a good place for one man to be caught all alone. (In fact, it wasn't a good place to be caught even twenty years ago, the first time Arnall was accused of being a Klansman by a political opponent.) The Klan knows this, too. Although Klan Czar Shelton not only says publicly he is solidly behind Wallace, to the point of soliciting funds for his various campaigns, Shelton's counterpart in Georgia, Calvin Craig, knew better than to help hang the label of Kluxmanship around Maddox's shoulders. The Georgia Klan refused to endorse Maddox or Republican Bo Callaway in the general election.

This is not to say that to be known as a Klansman is death in Georgia politics; it is only to risk losing that marginal bloc that teeters between orthodoxy and rebellion. For example, KKK leader Craig failed in his try to be elected to the Fulton County (Atlanta) Democratic Executive Committee in 1966; but he didn't lose by much. He received 3,200 votes in the Fourth Ward, which was only 272 votes under the winner. In a race that close, it is not even certain that it wasn't personality or something else than Klan membership that made the marginal difference.

When poverty administrator Sargent Shriver turned down Craig's bid for appointment to a local OEO community action board, the Grand Dragon's useworn retort was that President Johnson's whole anti-poverty program was an idea stolen from a "copyrighted book of an international Communist Jew," anyway. The Model Cities idea is apparently of acceptable origin, however, so acceptable, in fact, that Craig got himself elected to the project's six-member biracial Executive Board. He will represent one of the half-dozen Atlanta neighborhoods to be rebuilt in 1968. More recently Craig announced he was resigning from the Klan amid much speculation that he will run for Sheriff of Fulton County.

As soon as he had received the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, Gov. Maddox appointed a former law partner

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of James R. Venable, Imperial Wizard of the National Knights of the KKK, to be vice chairman of the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee. Does this indicate Klan influence, or merely the influence of what Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen described as the "rabble of prejudice, extremism, buffoonery, and incompetency?" The presence of Venable's ex-partner could not be interpreted one whit differently from the appointment of James H. Gray, publisher of the Albany DAILY HERALD, as the party's state chairman; Gray has no known Klan credentials or even indirect affiliations, but he was the unsuccessful candidate in the earlier Democratic primary of Roy Harris, president of the White Citizens' Council of America.

Although the Klan's efficiency is well demonstrated in organizing murderous kidnappings or highway shootings, it is futile to attempt to measure its "influence" within a society where great masses of non-Klan, church-going, tax-paying, law-abiding people hold and have for years held identical political and social views with those preached by the Klan. Roy Harris, that clever little master of political deceit, knew what he was talking about, because after a lifetime in Georgia affairs he had discovered the practical limits of respectability: "Some people think the nigger is beneath their dignity," he told me cheerfully, speaking briskly around a cheap black Tampa cigar. "They *talk* Constitution but they look at the nigger question. They *talk* state's rights but they mean nigger. The nigger question will never be a dead issue. Some issues never die."

For more than three years, Senator Talmadge, who used to treat the "nigger question" rather openly, has not even obliquely mentioned it; instead, he incessantly talks of mobs in the streets. Neither Lester Maddox, who gained national notoriety with his pistol and axe-handle threats to Negroes, nor Bo Callaway, once a close associate of Talmadge back in the "nigger question" days, even hinted at the existence of such a thing in their campaigns for the governor's seat; instead, both dwelt heavily on anti-federalism. If there is any interpreting to be done, apparently Georgians know how to do it. But in any event, there is no sign that the Klan set the tone of this last important election. Further evidence of the impotence of the Klan in statewide races was the fact that Peter Zack Geer, Georgia's lieutenant governor, who had developed a reputation over the years of speaking the harsh anti-Negro language beloved by many rednecks and all Klansmen, was defeated by George T. Smith, a moderate.

It is the white-collar haters who keep Georgia in hot water; the John Birch Society - "Let Freedom Ring" - White Citizens claque that, for example, took control of Americus and crushed every voice of moderation, literally driving out some of the town's leading citizens who had seemed inclined to negotiate with their Negro neighbors.

It is to this crowd, more than the Klan, that Maddox forges his philosophical cuffs. "The Let Freedom Ring" message that so infuriated the Georgia American Legion by chiding it for favoring the importation of Communist merchandise—this message was beamed from business property of Maddox. So was the "Let Freedom Ring" message opposing certain tobacco companies for using Yugoslavia tobacco as a mix.

"Camel-Tempo-Winston-Salem Red tobacco. Don't inhale 'em."

It may be a nutty limeric, but it's better than a flogging.

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Periodically, leaders of Mississippi proclaim that the Klan has either died out altogether or been surpressed beyond recognition, and almost invariably these claims are offset by new Klan violence. In the closing months of 1967, local officials said the Klan was moribund in the Jackson area. Yet within the last eight

months there have been at least a dozen bombings—including two synogogues and a rabbi's home—burnings and shootings in the Jackson and Meridian areas, all of which look like Klan work. The last outbreak (as of this writing) came on June 30, 1968, when a Klansman—Thomas Albert Tarrants III, 22, was caught carrying a box containing 29 sticks of dynamite, toward the home of a Meridian businessman (a Jew) who had helped raise money to re-build bombed Negro churches. Tarrants who had once been a cell-mate of Sam H. Bowers, Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, tried to fight the lawmen off with a sub-machine gun, but was felled by ten bullets. Mississippi officials, embarrassed by the revival of violence, say it could happen anywhere.

The nice people of Mississippi are convinced that the Klan has no significant influence on public opinion and politics. Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, whom this reporter talked with a few weeks before his death, was looked upon in Mississippi politics as a moderate of sorts. "There is no room in Mississippi for black power or white bullies," he once said in a fairly good statement of whatever moderation can be found in Mississippi; it can be translated as signifying a deep yearning for a return for the way things were before the civil rights movement, without attempting violently to restore the old order. Gartin was frequently identified in the northern press as typical of the "new" Mississippi politician. This was his opinion of the influence of the Klan:

"The Klan doesn't have so much molding influence. Public opinion *reacts* in favor of the Klan. The KKK profits from the so-called white backlash; our people have had a bellyfull of dictatorial bureaucracy. The Klan appeals to the person with less education. It has more of a frontal attack, although not all Klans are that way. A politician could denounce the Klan in Mississippi and survive; it isn't that powerful. The Klan knows I disagree with it. I believe you should do things in the light, *but at the same time there are some good people who believe its end justify its means.* [His emphasis supplied with sympathetic nods.] The great overwhelming majority of the Klansmen will obey the law. A lot of my friends—and I don't deal in the past—believe that the KKK is the right organization to cope with what a lot of us feel is the encroachment of federal government. There are other people who feel that the Citizens' Council is the right organization through which to deal with federal encroachment. There are others who feel that other organizations are the right organizations. *It's sort of like one person saying that the Masonic Lodge is best, another that the Presbyterian church is best. One appeals to the less educated, the other to the sophisticated, but that is not saying one is bad and the other is good."* [Emphasis supplied.]

Gartin himself was a member of the Citizens' Council, as was just about every important state official in Mississippi at one time, but claimed in this interview that he was no longer active. He considered the Citizens' Council to have been "very effective" in opposing civil rights.

It is plain from his remarks that this "moderate" was no thundering opponent of the Klan and that he, in fact, considered himself in a kind of casual alliance with the Klan against a common foe. Ironically, his attitude toward the Klan seemed to be, in fact, more tolerant than that of Sen. James Eastland, the *bete blanc* of the civil rights movement, who frequently and publicly accused his 1966 Republican opponent, Prentiss Walker, of being the candidate of the Klan, with the intimation (if not the statement) that this was bad. This could be justified on the basis of campaign strategy, of course; since most Klan followers already were inclined to suspect Eastland of liberal leanings, the senator could not hope to win many of them back but he could, by linking the Klan with his opponent, hope to claim for his own the washed middle-class and the planters who make up the

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large majority of Mississippians and who deplore the aesthetics of midnight murder in the mud. (In 1964, Eastland was playing the other side, sending out a letter saying that the United Klans and Knights of the KKK are **not** on the Attorney General's list and are thereby worthy of good citizens' attention.)

The Klan's efforts to influence political affairs are almost consistently crude. Although it certainly has enough standing in Mississippi to permit its officials to take public positions on political issues, the Klan usually uses its old system of after-dark threats, with no remarkable success. For instance, early in 1966, the Klan strewed lawns in Greenville, Mississippi, with single-page mimeographed papers calling for the election of officials "who have the guts to stand up before the public and say, 'I am for the white race of people.' " No names were mentioned but the broadside opened with a reference to the fact that the mayor and the city fathers had met with the NAACP and Head Start officials. The Klan also complained that white people had been discharged from their jobs in some local factories for belonging to the Klan, and claimed that the vacated jobs were given to NAACP members and COFO agitators. Chamber of Commerce officials said all the charges were lies. Insofar as this kind of midnight distribution of slanderous leaflets must make an irritable atmosphere in which even politicians who want to do better must have more trouble carrying through their good resolutions, to this extent the Klan has some success in small towns. But since it is all but scientifically established that no white official in Mississippi is anything but pro-white and anti-NAACP, one would be hard-pressed to conclude that a Klan leaflet barrage had any effect in changing local political thinking.

A sustained barrage, coupled with a widespread, successful recruiting drive, would be something else. Such a situation arose in Laurel, the capital of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. (The White Knights, strictly a Mississippi organization, have been active in these counties: Jones, Forrest, Covington, Smith, Jasper, Wayne, Newton, Neshoba, Webster, and Calhoun. At one time they claimed 800 members in Jones County (Laurel), but newsmen and lawmen in the region—while acknowledging the possibility of that as a one-time figure—are unanimous in their estimation that recently the Klan has "lost a lot." Some say the White Knights are now inoperative under that name.)

Recent court and grand jury decisions in Laurel are said to have been directly influenced by the Klan, although sometimes the influence was of a negative sort. Much of this is rumor that cannot be supported. For example, it is widely assumed in Laurel that one of the local judges threw out a case against a city official because the charges had been trumped up by the Klan. The judge was reportedly opposed to the Klan because his opponent in a recent race had been supported by the Klan. Thus Klan "influence" of one sort or another is thoroughly intertwined in local politics.

Laurel Mayor Henry Bucklew's problems with the Jones County Grand Jury are believed by the mayor and his supporters, including executives of the local newspaper, to stem from Bucklew's opposition to the Klan. In October, 1965, Bucklew offered a $1,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of persons for the burning of any church, house, or business or for shooting into a residence. At the time he made the offer, he said that "99 out of 100 Mississippians do not believe in bombings, or shooting into homes." Even assuming that this was no effort at a practical estimate it is not a comforting thought that a Mississippi insider would suggest—even rhetorically—21,000 of his fellow citizens (Mississippi's last census showed 2,100,000 residents) are, if not Klan members, fully capable of participating in the most robust Klan exercises. Bucklew's undisguised nervousness at the time he offered the reward is sig-

nificant. "What I am about to say could mean the end of my political career," he said, before announcing the reward, "or its actual beginning." If he felt the pro-Klan sympathies to be strong enough possibly to endanger his political career, he also felt his life in danger. "I'll speak now, knowing that my life might be in danger from a crack-pot on either side of life's main stream." He has been threatened with a tarring and feathering; he believes he has been spared the actual attempt "because you can trace feathers."

Eleven months later, a grand jury indicted Bucklew for "false pretense" involving a gift to Magnolia Boys Town, though no money was missing. The town was divided over the question of whether the Klan was so thoroughly represented on the grand jury as to make the indictment simply harassment. Bucklew's announcemen of the reward was made over television at the burning peak of Klan activities in that area. The Klan put out a letter saying Bucklew had been a member of the organization but had broken away because he wanted money. Bucklew retorted that he had never belonged to the Klan.

Bucklew believes the Klan has a strong influence on public opinion, though not a determining influence on any issue where feeling is sharply divided. The Klan has boasted in the Laurel area that "if you join, you will never be indicted; if you are indicted, you will never be convicted." Bucklew and others believe this is a safe boast to make, since Klan membership is wide enough to assure good chances of at least one member getting on a jury. In the Laurel area, the mayor believes the Klan can sway 40 per cent of the people; statewide, he would put it at 20 per cent. Officials and newsmen interviewed elsewhere in the state, however, believe Bucklew is influenced by his own troubles to set an excessively high figure. All agree that some state legislators, especially those from South Mississippi, are not unsympathetic to the Klan. State Rep. Billy Joe Lee of Lawrence County (Southeast Mississippi) refused to confirm or deny a House Un-American Activities Committee report that listed him as an officer of the White Knights.

Another victim of the Klan's infamy attack through newsletters has been J. W. West, editor and publisher of the Laurel LEADER-CALL, a newspaper that has won a number of professional awards for courageous reporting (it was bombed on May 8, 1964; no arrests were made). One of the recent newsletters given to this reporter by West reads:

THE CITIZEN-PATRIOT

A Newsletter dedicated to the Truth and the Christian Civilization . . ."-where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty." II Cor. 3,17. The most vicious and disruptive Mayoralty election within the memory of the oldest residents of Laurel has finally passed, leaving hurt and bitterness in its wake. Regardless of how one may feel regarding the qualifications and personalities of the various candidates, there can be no doubt that the prime mover of the chaos and confusion, which was introduced into the mayor's race, was none other than the chief agent of and for communist propaganda in Laurel, J. W. West.

The good-natured, tolerant, Christian citizens of Laurel should realize that there can never be any real peace or tranquility in the conduct of our public affairs as long as this alien intruder, West, is in a position to disrupt our local harmony. If he is not out campaigning against private property, he is agitating against our local form of municipal government; if he is not encouraging and subsidizing the blackamoors to rise up and demonstrate, he is stirring up hatred and animosity in our local

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elections. Agitation, dissention, (sic) propaganda; heating and stirring the pot of public affairs to the boiling point. These are standard methods of communist subversion, and J. W. West is past master at their application. He takes the freedom of the press and uses it as an unbridled license to work against the dignity and stability of our community life. J. W. West is a highly trained communist, well versed in the art of destructive propaganda. He has presumed to insinuate his revolutionary programs here upon us, because of his imagined superiority which his intellectual training gives to him. In this connection, it would be well if we would all turn to the Second Chapter of the First Book of Corinthians, to understand what Satanic Plans these communists such as West and his associates in Washington, New York, and Montreal have in store for us.

A local newspaper is undoubtedly a convenience, but when it it is in the hands of a cunning and brilliant agent of Satan such as J. W. West, it is a real and positive danger to a Christian community.

THE CITIZEN-PATRIOT is calling once again for a widespread rejection on the part of the general population of Laurel and Jones County, of J. W. West and his foreign-controlled communist propaganda organ, the Laurel LEADER-CALL. We are asking all honest citizens and merchants to cancel their subscriptions and their advertising in this dangerous institution. The subversion of our community is too high a price to pay for the meager information which they provide. As long as the operation of the Laurel LEADER-CALL is continued on the present basis, the communists have a beachhead here in Laurel, from which they can expand into another Selma March or Bogalusa Demonstration. Let us ask ourselves, "Is it really worth it?" Is not the peace and dignity of Laurel worth more to we (sic) citizens and our children than the continued operation of J. W. West and his communist propaganda mill?

To cancel your subscription, Dial 428-0551 (office), or 428-0397 (home). Do it now, won't you please?

LAUREL NEEDS A
LOCAL NEWSPAPER.

That may seem a bit crude, but efforts to sway public opinion through broadsides of this quality have more impact than sophisticates from larger cities might suppose. West claims that the Klan has done "everything they could to wreck this paper. They've sent letters to barbershops, beauty shops, merchants saying I was linked to the FBI and things like that. They've put out the same kind of scurrilous sheets about Jewish merchants in Hattiesburg. I think some people who don't know me are influenced.

"It's difficult to go up and down the street saying 'did you see the damn letter' and add 'I never belonged to anything but the Kiwanis Club.' We have a lot of people with limited education who believe what the Klan circulates."

The effectiveness of the Klan is mainly evidenced in arousing spite toward vulnerable civic leaders — as incumbent mayors and newspaper publishers are notably vulnerable—rather than in swaying an election. The basic independence of Americans, even southern Americans, is seen in the fact that while many of them may join the Klan in the perverse pleasures that arise from an orgy of spleen, they will not go so far as to follow the

recommendations of the Klan in an election. It appears that for most people, even in such a troubled community as Laurel, the long-range welfare of the community is considered above the momentary thrill of individual pique. Thus, in the election preceding these interviews, the Klan had not been at all effective. Only one man with the Klan's support was elected, and it is not at all certain that he wanted the organization's backing. The same thing can probably be said for the success, fractional or total, of Klan candidates throughout the South—the Maddoxes and the Jim Johnsons—that while the Klan may have supported them, this was not the reason for their getting as far as they did.

Angered by Washington and by the appearance in Mississippi of civil rights workers, many substantial people of Laurel actually went through the tedious ceremony necessary for joining the Klan, but it was not long until they saw that this was a profitless indulgence. Most of them, according to those this reporter talked with, have long since resigned from the membership they took out a year or two ago. The Citizens' Council, which *had* been strong in Laurel, lost all its upper-middle class members to the Klan for a time, but now the Citizens Council is reviving again. The attorney who represents the Klan in Laurel is helping to revive the Citizens' Council. Merchants were influenced to join the Klan because they thought it would throw business their way. Professional men were sometimes influenced by the idea that the Klan was a legitimate expression of regional unrest. Subsequent acts of violence changed their minds irrevocably.

Mississippi has other emotional groups. At Corinth, Mississippi, the PTA was attacked by "Let Freedom Ring" — one of the very few signs of LFR activity in the state. Another of the small hate groups is the Association of Christian Conservatives (ACC), which can at its peak depend on a turnout of 100 to a rally. At last report, Elmore Greaves of Madison County was president. Greaves is reportedly also one of the key men behind the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race in Mississippi (APWR). Typical of the activities of both the ACC and Americans for the Preservation of the White Race in 1966 was a rally at which John Rarick was the principal speaker, and the topic, not clearly defined, seemed to revolve around the treachery of some Southerners. Senator Eastland and Governor Paul Johnson were denounced as being too moderate. The APWR had earlier mailed out a leaflet describing Senator Eastland's "sipping pink tea with Bobby Kennedy." The leaflet also offered a cartoon of Eastland shaking hands with Senator Kennedy. Eastland's support of the Kennedy nominee to the federal bench, Francis X. Morrissey, aroused considerable protests from this Mississippi faction. Speakers for these groups will frequently strike hard at the theme, "We shall never forget Oxford," an allusion, of course, to the civil disturbance at Ole Miss which President Kennedy and then Attorney-General Robert Kennedy had a prominent role in attempting to subdue.

The Association for the Preservation of the White Race is so rickety, splintered and scattered that it is difficult to determine all its officers or the source of its funds or the scope of its membership. One picks up only random names.

For example, Mrs. Ralph Ainsworth, 26, a Jackson schoolteacher, was shot to death by police last June when she was caught in what lawmen said was an effort to dynamite the home of a Jewish businessman. In her purse were membership cards for the Ku Klux Klan and the APWR.

Typical of the APWR activities was the "Operation Locust" launched early in 1966 to buy from merchants who had been boycotted by the NAACP in Fayette. It was reportedly fairly successful, drawing customers from as far as Alabama and Louisiana. Despite such passing successes, the APWR does not have much public acceptance; when the Ole Miss law school invited Senator Robert Kennedy to

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speak in 1966 (it later invited a Klan official to balance the program), the APWR announced that it would stage a protest rally at the university, but the Ole Miss Student Senate voted opposition to the preservationists' visit and successfully turned it away. The vote was 38 to 15.

The dissident groups appear to survive by lending each other members. The same faces show up at rallies sponsored by different groups. Thus when there was a "conservative Rally" on the Rankin County courthouse grounds, present were executives of the APWR, the Association of Christian Conservatives, the New Orleans Citizens' Council, and the Klan. Speakers included Brandon Mayor R. D. Morrow, Jr., who welcomed the group; Fred Ross, former director of the Mississippi Department of Welfare; the Rev. A. C. Everett of Whiteworth College in Brookhaven; and State Circuit Judge O. H. Barnett of Carthage. These are respected names, even if they represent the fourth and fifth rung of politics. This is important to bear in mind, for at the same time these men were alluding to the "dictatorship" in Washington and upbraiding "churches that teach integration," Klansmen were distributing their literature through the crowd with the quasi-approval of the speakers.

Around Jackson, state officials almost unanimously denied that the Klan was of any influence on *them,* although they allowed as how it might be an influence on somebody else. Most state officials said they had never heard of the APWR. Everyone interviewed defended the Citizens Council and saw it as regaining strength. The National States Rights Party, judging from the pervading ignorance of its existence, seems to have no foothold in Mississippi whatsoever. William B. Street, state editor of the Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL, whose staff of stringers and his own thorough knowledge of Mississippi politics puts him in a uniquely strong position to judge, says he is inclined to agree with state officials who discount the Klan's political influence, except in certain pockets, such as around Natchez and in the Southeastern section. He puts the Klan count at 500 for the United Knights and 2,500 for all other Klans; of these 2,500 he believes 90 per cent would be White Knights. Street guesses that the Klan could "scare up," in several senses, about 10,000 votes around the state. There are, of course, innumerable hunting and fishing clubs with a Klan-like perspective.

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On August 19, 1966, Robert M. Shelton, imperial wizard of the UKA, showed up in Star City, Arkansas to proclaim that the Klan is "getting in a position in Arkansas when it can use its power and influence to help elect a governor. We've done it in Alabama."

This estimate of their strength was certainly an imperial bit of wizardry, for while Jim Johnson's survival in the Democratic primary was properly hailed as a victory for the stand-pat segregationists, it was not measurably influenced by organized, formal Klansmanship.

Johnson was against so many things that he was bound to strike some responsive chord in many people. A flickering of flame was seen among Citizens' Councilers during his campaign, flaring up highest when Mississippi's ex-Governor Ross Barnett came to speak in the state and proclaim that it was absolutely essential to elect Johnson governor and George Wallace president; on the platform with Barnett was William J. Simmons, head of the Citizens' Council. There was no question but that the Council was working for Johnson, but there was no indication that the Council had the Klan as its ally in this effort.

In day-to-day politics in Arkansas, Klan influence is too small to measure.

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The Virginia Klan, like the Klan everywhere, is troubled internally by its hawks and doves—those who feel the Klan is

in Mississippi but in the United States. Both were influenced by the hate propaganda which floods the country from California and many other states and both were dedicated to wiping out the "common enemy."

The Kathy Ainsworth who belonged to the Klan undoubtedly died, as her mother said, fighting for her beliefs.

SUSPECT IN 300 ACTS OF TERROR

Laurel, Miss. — Sam H. Bowers, convicted in a case of three killings, charged in a case involving a fourth, and suspected of giving orders that resulted in six other murders, still walks the streets of Laurel.

As imperial wizard of Mississippi's White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Bowers is suspected by police and the FBI of masterminding almost 300 other acts of violence—shootings, beatings, bombings and burnings.

Convicted last Oct. 20 of a federal civil rights charge growing out of the 1964 lynching of three men in Neshoba County, he has continued to hold Klan meetings while remaining free on appeal. Meanwhile, White Knights terrorism, which, according to court testimony, the imperial wizard must approve, has continued.

U.S. Dist. Court Judge W. Harold Cox allowed Bowers to remain at liberty under an appeal bond of $10,000, but stipulated that he could not leave Jones County (Laurel). A federal judge has discretionary powers to grant or deny an appeal bond in a felony case and may revoke such a bond in face of evidence the defendant is dangerous to the community.

Since Bowers' conviction, at least 20 acts of violence have been laid to the White Knights; he has been charged with kidnapping, and there has been court testimony that he ordered the 1966 death of Hattiesburg civil rights leader Vernon Dahmer, who was killed in a firebombing attack on his home.

The last major violence by the White Knights occurred June 30 in Meridian, Miss., where police surprised two Klan members allegedly trying to dynamite a Jewish businessman's home. In an ensuing gun battle, Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth, a pretty teacher turned terrorist, was killed and her Klan colleague, Thomas Albert Tarrants, III, was injured. Tarrants, firing a submachine gun, critically wounded a policeman and a bystander.

The day after the gun battle, the TIMES has learned, Bowers wrote to one of the Meridian policemen who were watching the house, complaining that police had killed "a Christian, American patriot . . . doing her best to preserve Christian civilization by helping to destroy the body of an animal of Satan's synagogue. . . ."

It was a typical Bowers hate epistle, except that he engaged in untypical self-deprecation ("my witness is damaged by the fact that I am an ignorant, filthy and dishonorable sinner").

In the five-page typewritten letter to officer Tom E. Tucker, Bowers wrote that "as one who has been repeatedly accused of having blood-stained hands," he could sympathize with Tucker "for the horrible experience which you have undergone."

'Principle of Law'

"Mr. Tucker," Bowers wrote, "the principle of law as it has been twisted and abused by the animals in the synagogue of Satan, one of which you were guarding and protecting on the night when young Kathy was killed, and one of your fellow officers was wounded nigh unto death, is not the law of our father; it is the law of Asiatic, cannabalistic slavery."

The law, although moving much too slowly for his potential victims, is steadily weaving a web around the imperial wizard. Along with three other White Knights and a Klan attorney, he is charged with kidnapping in an alleged attempt to force a false statement from a witness in the Dahmer arson-murder case. He also is charged with arson in the case.

In the kidnapping case, one witness testified Bowers became enraged when other Klansmen refused to carry out his order to "eliminate" the victim.

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desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, he has frequently become enraged over racial questions. But he was not known to have initiated any organized opposition to the civil rights movement until 1963, when he joined a Louisiana-based Klan and shortly thereafter formed the nation's most notorious Klan—the White Knights.

$50,000 in Bonds

Bowers today is under a total of $50,000 in bonds—$20,000 in the kidnapping case, $10,000 in a federal case involving the Neshoba lynchings, $10,000 on an arson charge involving the Dahmer killing and $10,000 in the federal civil rights case growing out of the Dahmer killing.

He was tried on the arson charge, but a mistrial was declared after a jury reported it was hopelessly deadlocked 11 to 1 in favor of a guilty verdict. He faces another trial on the charge. In the same case three White Knights already have been sentenced to life—two on murder convictions and the third on a plea of guilty to murder.

Bowers is frequently seen here at an old Klan hangout, John's Cafe, operated by Devours Nix, 44, head of the White Knights bureau of investigation and an arson defendant in the Dahmer case.

The imperial wizard, slim (6 feet, 165 pounds), with high cheekbones, heavy-lidded eyes and long blond hair combed to the sides, used to slip around wearing dark glasses to prevent investigators from getting clear photographs. But that was before he became so deeply involved in criminal charges. Now he doesn't bother.

He seems devoid of humor. During his trials in federal court at Meridian and in state court at Hattiesburg, he sat quietly chewing gum, a grim expression on his face except for occasional smirks when he seemed to be enjoying some private joke.

Bowers, 43, a bachelor, is hardly the stereotyped, rednecked racist, although many of his henchmen are. The grandson of a former congressman, he attended college almost two years, is a voracious reader and a prolific and quite literate writer. He is a fairly successful businessman and his partner in a coin machine firm is a reserve major who heads the local Army Reserve unit here.

Disowned by his father ("he's not mine anymore"), Bowers is defended by his mother, who told the TIMES, "He's fanatically interested in fighting communism, but isn't everybody?"

Mrs. Bowers, whose husband divorced her 25 years ago after she left him with Sam, then a teen-ager and another son, only 2 years old, declared she was convinced of Sam's innocence, "otherwise I couldn't bear this."

"I know a psychiatrist who would say Sam is a product of a broken home, but he's not," declared Mrs. Bowers, a retired state employee. "He was reared very carefully."

Bowers refused to talk about his troubles. To a reporter who tried to question him, he said, "I don't intend to cooperate with you and you don't have permission to use my name in any way."

Bowers lived an obscure life until he became a Klan chieftain. He was born Aug. 6, 1924, in New Orleans, the son of a salesman from Gulfport whose father, Eaton J. Bowers, a lawyer, served four terms in Congress (1903-1911).

'Brilliant Mind'

Sam Bowers' mother, Evangeline Peyton, the daughter of Lincoln Rigg, a well-to-do planter, says Eaton Bowers "read and talked constantly to Sam and he used to say Sam had the most brilliant mind of any child he had ever seen."

Bowers' himself has boasted of the relationship, although it is little known in Mississippi.

In a 1965 letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, copies of which he sent to Mississippi members of Congress, Bowers complained about "harassment," and protested that he was a Christian with an ancestral background who should not have been subjected to "belligerent" acts by the FBI.

"The first president of the first constituted legislative assembly on this continent, the Virginia House of Burgesses, was

my direct lineal ancestor," Bowers wrote.

"It was my own privilege to serve as a volunteer in the USN from 1941-45. My grandfather, E. J. Bowers, a former Congressman . . . at whose knee I received a goodly portion of my education, was freely acknowledged by his contemporaries at the bar to be without peer in his grasp of the basic theory of the purpose of our law."

Bowers wrote then that he hoped he could continue to hold the FBI in high regard and that it would "not fall a victim, as so many other governmental agencies have, to the powerful anti-Christ forces which are destroying our country. . . ."

'Animal Regulations'

The FBI has since fallen from grace, as indicated in Bowers' letter to Officer Tucker, in which he said that without the spirit of Christ to sustain it, "our law becomes a set of animal regulations, the delight of bureaucrats and professionals such as Roy Gunn (Meridian police chief) and J. Edgar Hoover, and the glory of the synagogue of Satan Jews."

"Oh, the horror and sheer absurdity of it all," continued Bowers. "Imagine the children of God, WHITE PEOPLE, cheating each other over the 'rights' of a child of the devil! How can this occur? It happens when men such as J. Edgar Hoover and Roy Gunn violate the First Commandment of Almighty God and teach innocent men to trust in them and their law instead of first trusting in the Heavenly Father. . . ."

Mrs. Bowers, who lives alone in a small, tastefully furnished Jackson, Miss., apartment, recalls that as a child Sam was "an inveterate reader and read books far advanced for his age."

"He was wild about Erector sets and anything mechanical," she said.

Although she said she is "as proud of Sam as I can be," she said she was disappointed he went into the coin machine business . . . pinballs, cigaret machines and other vending devices.

"It's beneath him," she said. "I don't know why he got into it. I wanted him to be a lawyer; his father was the first Bowers for generations that was not a lawyer."

Father Is Retired

Sam grew up in New Orleans, the Tampa-Ft. Meyers area of Florida, Gulfport and Jackson. His father changed jobs frequently, working as a salesman, as an agent with the U.S. Border Patrol Service, and then for a railroad and later in defense work. Contacted in an eastern city where he now lives in retirement, he said Sam "is not my son anymore, I disowned him a long time ago and I'm living as anonymously as possible. I wish you wouldn't say where."

Former high school classmates remember young Sam as a bright student who made fairly good grades, but worked well below his capacity. He seldom socialized and did not associate with girls, traits he has retained as an adult, according to long-time acquaintances.

School records at Fortier in New Orleans, which was considered the city's top public high school when he attended there, showed he got excellent grades in history, science and math.

Two former schoolmates recall that he never got into serious trouble, but enjoyed turning on fireplugs and outwitting police who tried to catch him. Said one, "Sam had an old beat-up Model A he was always working on or driving and enjoyed running around turning on fireplugs, then taking off before police had a chance to get him.

"It was just fun, he didn't mean any meanness, but he seemed to have a disregard for the consequences of anything he did. For example, one time he got hold of a railroad switch key and wanted to go change the switches, not to cause a wreck, but just to 'see the engineer's face when the train goes on the wrong track.' "

Parents Divorced

Records pertaining to a divorce decree in New Orleans, granted July 20, 1943, to Sam Bowers, Sr., showed that his wife left him on June 15, 1939, when Sam was 14 and his younger brother (now a college graduate, also living as anonymously as

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Sam and his brother apparently were caught in the middle of a bitter marital dispute. Records indicate that at one time —after the separation but before the divorce—his father forcibly took his brother to New Orleans, although Sam remained with his mother in Jackson for two years.

On Dec. 17, 1941, 10 days after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Sam, only 17 years old, left Fortier High School and, with his father's consent, but not his mother's, joined the Navy.

"He's fanatically patriotic," his mother says today. "But he thought he was fighting for a pure democracy, not for this lousy government."

Sam served in the Navy until Dec. 7, 1945, when he was honorably discharged as a machinist mate first class. The following year, having secured his high school diploma through an equivalency test, he entered Tulane University in New Orleans.

He transferred after a year and attended the spring and summer sessions at the University of Southern California school of engineering in Los Angeles, working toward a bachelor of engineering degree. There he became friends with a classmate, Robert Harry Larson of Chicago, who later offered to provide the managerial talents for a vending machine company if Bowers would do the mechanical work.

Larson, taller and heavier than Bowers and three years older, had attended four previous colleges—Central YMCA College, New Community College, and Illinois Institute of Technology, all in Chicago, and Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Va.

But neither Bowers nor Larson ever received a degree and after leaving USC moved to Laurel, where Bowers' father was living, and set up the Sambo Amusement Co.

Larson, now a distinguished-looking Army Reserve major, has never been connected with Klan activities and he has told investigators that Bowers never mixed such activities with business. For many years Larson and Bowers lived in one of two small frame buildings which housed the firm's equipment and records. Larson now lives in one of the buildings and Bowers lives in the other across an alley.

Although Larson has remained a friend and business partner with Bowers, their relationship has been strained at times, according to acquaintances. One said, "I've known them to go for months without ever speaking."

Even in a city this small (population 27,000) Bowers early in his career here remained a nonentity except in places where he serviced coin machines. His only trouble with the law, before his Klan activities, came in February, 1955, when both he and Larson were arrested for illegal possession of liquor. Bowers pleaded guilty and was fined $100; Larson pleaded innocent and the charge was dropped.

It was a strange charge for Bowers, who neither drinks nor smokes. "He always said he didn't want to be a slave to any habit," his mother says.

Swastika Emblems

But people who knew Bowers well say he had some rather strange habits—like wearing swastika emblems on his arm or clicking his heels in front of his old dog, stiffly throwing a Nazi salute and exclaiming, "Heil Hitler."

"And he's always been a fanatic on guns and explosives," says a former friend. "He likes to talk about how to make explosives and he'll talk to you about it for hours if you'll listen. He's got a nasty temper and when he gets mad he stalks up and down, raising his voice and clenching his fist. I've never seen anybody try to head him off, they just back off."

When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, according to this source, Bowers "just thought it was wonderful—he went into happy, crazy acting."

Bowers' mother, who also says she is an inveterate reader, shares her son's great anxiety about an internal Communist

menace. She told a reporter, "The Communists have infiltrated the FBI—I know that—I can read—Sam didn't have to tell me that."

Mrs. Bowers loathes the FBI and believes it is trying to frame her son.

"Bobby Kennedy sent 250 FBI hoods—you know the Kennedys control the underworld—to Mississippi and Alabama to deny us our rights," she said, without explaining further. She added, "No, I didn't get that from Sam, I read it."

Last December a constable in Collins charged Bowers and Thomas Tarrants with possessing an illegal weapon (submachine gun) which he found after stopping them on a reckless driving charge. "The FBI was just using reckless driving as an excuse to plant that evidence (the weapon) on them," Mrs. Bowers says. "Sam is fanatical about reckless driving and he wouldn't have been in a car with anyone driving recklessly." A jury acquitted Bowers of the weapons charge.

At one point in the two-hour interview Mrs. Bowers cautioned the reporter, "Don't use my address now. Sam's fanatical about trying to protect me from all this—it's vicious."

Occasionally she strayed from the subject, reminiscing about the old days when there was no civil rights movement. "All I want is if it could be just like it was. Our niggers had all they wanted. They were happy. We took care of 'em. Now the common people and white trash from the North have come down here and got our niggers all dissatisfied. The Yankees have just brainwashed 'em."

"I've lived too long," she said, "I never thought I'd have to face anything like this. I was rather carefully raised, too."

Preparatory School

Mrs. Bowers said she had a governess until she went off to preparatory school in New York—Miss Finch's Finishing School for Girls, which no longer exists.

Several times she volunteered that her son was not the product of a broken home and once she said, "Sam was not affected or frustrated over a divorce and he never had a traumatic experience in his life, to my knowledge."

At the same time, she insisted he is innocent of any violence. "You couldn't pay him to bomb a church," she said.

She said his knowledge of history "is what makes him so very interested in fighting this thing—he knows how a race of people, like the Greeks for example, were mongrelized by a darker race of people. He has read everything he can get his hands on about communism and how it works, but he wouldn't kill anybody. He says that everything that's happening is all predicted in the Bible."

Mrs. Bowers said she and her son both love Negroes "who know their place."

Church Members

Mrs. Bowers said she and Sam are devout Christians. "I'm an Episcopalian and Sam's a Methodist like his father," she said, although for many years now Bowers has been a member of Laurel's small Hillcrest Baptist Church.

"When I think of the way people are persecuting Sam," Mrs. Bowers said, "why I think of the Blessed Mother and how she stood everything—understand now, I'm not likening Sam to Jesus Christ—but I think of how a mother stands such things and I know it's just God's grace." For the first time she wept, dabbing at her eyes with a tissue.

Mrs. Bowers was disturbed to learn that her son had written a letter to officer Tucker defending Mrs. Ainsworth and Tarrants, and said, "I don't know what good he thinks bombing a poor Jew's home will do, but I don't know what's in his mind.

"I'm his mother but I'm not responsible," she finally said, "Why does my background have a bearing on what he did? I don't see why you even have to write about Sam."

With all of her son's troubles, Mrs. Bowers has one consolation.

"I've never seen Sam so serene," she said. "He says he's happy. He says if the Father wants him to go to the federal pen, then that's where he'll go."

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REACTION AGAINST TERRORISM

Laurel, Miss.—Shortly after he formed the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in early 1964, Sam H. Bowers told his followers, "If we permit our enemies and opponents to convince the public that they are good, and we are bad, we will eventually lose, regardless of how many of the enemy that we kill."

Today Bowers can count at least 10 "enemies" killed, many others injured and intimidated, and scores of churches, synagogues and homes burned or bombed.

There is still some support for the White Knights—hundreds still attend fish fry and barbecue rallies in their behalf and as recently as last year, a rally near Laurel drew 3,000 persons and raised $1,000 for the legal defense of Bowers and other Klansmen.

But the support has dwindled and most Mississippians are convinced the Klansmen are bad. There has been strong public reaction recently against the Klan's terrorism, especially since two white Mississippians—a policeman and a bystander—were critically wounded in a gun battle with two Klan members at Meridian on June 30.

At its peak in 1964-65, Bowers' hooded order numbered 5,000 to 6,000 members, but federal sources say that today there are fewer than 500, including about 50 hard-core members.

Continuing FBI investigations and an increasing number of state and local investigations have resulted in mounting criminal charges against White Knights and have frightened many members into resigning.

In all, 36 White Knights have been arrested in cases of terrorism involving a total of seven murders. Bowers, who as imperial wizard, according to court testimony, must approve all "eliminations," has been convicted of a federal civil rights violation in a case involving three murders and faces a second trial—the first ended in a mistrial because of a hung jury—on a charge of arson in connection with a fourth.

The FBI and police have information that Bowers' Klansmen have killed at least three persons in cases in which no charges have been filed.

Much of the violence occurred in 1964 and 1965 when racists were incensed over the presence in Mississippi of large numbers of civil rights workers. Terrorist acts broke out sporadically in 1966 and 1967.

Some police sources felt that the back of the White Knights was broken Oct. 20, 1967, when an all-white federal jury at Meridian found Bowers and six other Klansmen guilty of conspiring to violate the civil rights of three young men who were lynched in Neshoba County. The sources were wrong.

U.S. Judge W. Harold Cox gave Bowers and Neshoba County Chief Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price maximum 10-year sentences and sentenced the others who were convicted to terms ranging from 3 to 6 years. He released all of them on appeal bonds.

Meetings Continue

Bowers, confined to Jones County (Laurel) under terms of the $10,000 appeal bond, has continued to hold Klan meetings. White Knights terrorism also has continued, including the bombing of a synagogue and a rabbi's home in Jackson, the bombing of a synagogue and fire-bombing or burning attacks on 10 churches and houses in the Meridian area.

The White Knights have been heavily armed and according to federal records, at least one of the Klan's members—Louis Anthony DiSalvo, 41, a barbershop operator at Waveland—still holds a federal firearms license as a gun dealer. He is known to state investigators and the FBI as a violent-talking racist who speaks at Klan rallies and spreads hate literature.

After Bowers' arrest on the arson charge, FBI agents raided his coin-machine firm here and confiscated eight weapons, including at least one submachine gun, several revolvers, six canisters of .30-caliber ammunition and a case and several bandoliers of other ammunition.

A large quantity of ammunition and

more than two dozen other weapons were seized at the homes of other Klansmen arrested in the case.

Women Targets

Women and children have been the targets of some Klan attacks, including two of the more recent ones. Last May 2, nightriders sprayed 25 submachine gun bullets into the home of Mrs. Flossie Lindsey, a Negro, in the Sand Hill community of Rankin County, injuring her 6-year-old grandchild.

Last June 6, Mrs. Lillie Byrd, a Negro widow, and her brother, Nelson McIntosh, were injured slightly when a night dynamiting wrecked their house.

Investigators have linked the White Knights to both cases, but no arrests have been made.

Since Bowers organized the Klansmen, the FBI and police have traced about 300 violent acts to them. The White Knights, who consider themselves "Christian soldiers" and mix bullets with Bibles and prayer meetings with military drills, are suspected of burning 75 churches.

Joined in 1963

Bowers, a long-time fanatical racist, became interested in the Klan in 1963 and joined the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana after it spread across the Mississippi River and established a klavern in Natchez.

A persuasive talker ("he can get these people to do damn near anything," one investigator said), he convinced a number of the Original Knights in early 1964 that they would join a highly secret Klan he was forming that would use "physical force" against the civil rights movement.

He was an instant hit with the people who generally make up the rank and file of the Klans—school dropouts, unskilled and semiskilled laborers and lower-income whites who manifest economic as well as social fears about Negroes and the civil rights movement.

They could look up to him but identify with him, too. He was better educated (almost two years of college) and used big words and fancy phrases, but he shared their views and translated them into action.

Justifies Violence

He even justified for them the use of violence in behalf of "Christianity."

"As Christians," he wrote in a lengthy "executive lecture" on March 1, 1964, "we are disposed to kindness, generosity, affection and humility in our dealings with others. As militants, we are disposed to the use of physical force against our enemies. How can we reconcile these two apparently contradictory philosophies, and at the same time, make sure that we do not violate the divine law by our actions, which may be held against us when we face that last court on the Day of Judgment?

"The answer, of course, is to purge malice, bitterness and vengeance from our hearts. To pray each day for Divine Guidance, that our feet shall remain on the Correct Path, and that all of our acts be God's will working through our humble selves here upon this earth."

That was good enough for the Klansmen. Besides, their ranks came to include a number of persons who commanded some respect in their communities.

One was a highly regarded fifth-grade schoolteacher, Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth, who was killed in the Meridian gun battle, and another was a young businessman and former Laurel Jaycee leader who was charged with murder in one of the Klan killings.

A number of law enforcement officers (several in Laurel), jack-leg preachers and rag-tag attorneys and other professional or semiprofessional persons also joined.

Laurel was the logical place for a Klan headquarters—and not just because Bowers lived there. Its population (27,000) is 35 per cent Negro and many of its whites became incensed when the city's largest industry, the Masonite Corp., began trying to implement equal employment opportunities as required by government contracts.

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Group Secretive

The public here knows little about Bowers and the White Knights beyond what has appeared in news accounts of arrests and trials. The organization has been highly secretive and almost invariably has carried out its terrorism at night.

"Ours is a nocturnal organization," reads one of Bowers' Klan documents. "We work best at night . . . we must harass the enemy at night and, in general, have little or nothing to do with him in the daytime . . . We must remember that the Communists who are directing the agitators want us to engage in pitched battles in the streets so that they can declare martial law."

The Laurel LEADER-CALL, which has confined its coverage of the White Knights to arrest and court cases, was bombed by the Klan May 20, 1964.

Editor J. W. West says that the paper has never campaigned against the Klan but has stood firmly for law and order.

Reason Given

West said after the bombing of the newspaper that "word came back to us that they did it not because we did anything to them but because we didn't do anything for them."

"Anything we write about Bowers will be strictly from the court record," West said. "We don't want to fool with him."

Laurel residents are leery of talking about the White Knights. As one put it, "We don't talk much about them around here because we never know who we might be talking to. You don't know who all the members are."

In Bowers' March 1, 1964, lecture, he cautioned the Klansmen that with the approaching influx of civil rights workers to the state in the summer, Klan goals would not be easy to achieve.

"We are all of us in a highly irritated and excited state of mind at this time," he wrote. "The Communists in the governmental administration and their fellow conspirators in the NAACP are deliberately trying to goad us into making mistakes, which they can exploit to their political advantage.

"To counteract this, we must keep our heads and get down to work. We must not make the classic military blunder of permitting the enemy to choose the battleground and set the conditions of the battle. We must design our own attack program, and stick to it without distraction!"

Perhaps one reason the Klansmen were in such an excited state of mind was that on the night before the White Knights had claimed their first victim—Clifton Walker, 37, Negro, of Woodville, who was killed with a shotgun at close range because of an alleged sexual involvement with a white woman. No arrests had been made in that case.

On May 2, two more Negroes were killed, but their bodies were not found until July 12, 1964. Henry Hezekiah Dee, 19, and Charley Eddie Moore, 20, an Alcorn A&M College student, were tied to a tree and whipped by hooded White Knights. Part of one body, tied to a railroad tie, and part of another, tied to a motor block, were found in the Old River south of Tallulah.

During the beatings, according to a witness, the Klansmen tried to force Dee and Moore to admit they were Black Muslims. They were not.

Two members of the White Knights were arrested in the case on a warrant sworn out by the local district attorney, but the case has never been prosecuted, apparently because of insufficient evidence.

The most infamous killings occurred June 21, 1964, when three civil rights workers—Michael Schwerner, 23, and Andrew Goodman, 20, both of New York, and James Chaney, 21, a Meridian Negro —were shot to death by a group of White Knights in a conspiracy aided by several

members who were law enforcement officers.

The bodies of the victims, buried in an earthen dam, were recovered 44 days later after an exhaustive FBI investigation.

State charges were never brought in the case, but a federal grand jury indicted Bowers, Neshoba Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, Chief Deputy Price, and 15 other White Knights on charges of violating the victims' civil rights.

Rainey and seven other defendants were acquitted; Bowers, Price and five others were convicted and mistrials were declared in the cases of the Rev. Edgar Ray (Preacher) Killen, E. G. (Hop) Barnette, then Neshoba's Democratic nominee for sheriff, and Jerry Sharpe, 23, Meridian pulpwood hauler.

Judge Cox said new trials would be held for Killen, Barnette and Sharpe, but so far they have not been scheduled.

The next murder victim was Earl Hodges, 47, a white mechanic at Eddiston, who was stripped, tied to a sawhorse and beaten from head to toe with a leather strap with tacks in it.

He was dumped out of a car near his father's house and died shortly afterwards.

Hodges had associated with members of the White Knights, who reportedly beat him because he refused to go with them on a mission to beat a white man the Klan believed was having an affair with a Negro maid. No arrests have been made.

Murder Cases

Other cases of murder include:

Jan. 10, 1966—Vernon Dahmer, 58, Hattiesburg leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, killed when two carloads of White Knights made a shooting, firebomb attack on his house, destroying it and sending his wife and three children fleeing into the night. A 10-year-old daughter suffered burns. Five Klansmen were charged with murder and arson, and Bowers and four others were charged only with arson. Three Klansmen already have been given life sentences—two on being convicted and the third on pleading guilty. Bowers and 12 White Knights also were indicted by a federal grand jury for violating Dahmer's civil rights but have not been tried.

June 12, 1966—Ben Chester White, 65, Negro, shot many times with a rifle and a shotgun. Three White Knights were charged with murder in the case, and one confessed and turned state's evidence. An all-white jury acquitted one of them; the other two, including the one who confessed, have not been tried.

Feb. 27, 1967—Wharlast Jackson, NAACP leader at Natchez, killed by a bomb that shattered his car. A year and a half earlier, Natchez NAACP president George Metcalfe was injured critically in a similar case, but he has recovered. There have been no arrests in either case.

There have been other cases where Negroes disappeared and foul play by the White Knights was suspected but never proved. One case, for example, involves a Negro motel employe who made advances to a white telephone switchboard operator in 1964 and has not been heard from since.

And there have been vicious beatings where death did not occur. One involved Otis Matthews, 45, white, a native of Laurel and financial secretary of the International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO) local here, who was assaulted because the Klan believed he was promoting integration at the Masonite plant. Eight hooded White Knights beat him with a "black annie"—a leather strap four feet long, one-fourth of an inch thick and four inches wide with small holes in it and a wooden handle.

Recent Cases

There have been other cases of atrocities, some of which have occurred in recent weeks. And some Mississippians who are not directly involved in Klan activities continue to wink at the violence.

The White Knights raise funds through front organizations, such as the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, whose leader in Jackson is W. T state highway employe.

Many Mississippians who cann the policies of the White Knigh mind attending barbecues or to win support for segregation i in the name of the White Knig attend such rallies not knowing goes to the Klan, but others w well aware of it.

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Many Mississippians who cannot accept the policies of the White Knights do not mind attending barbecues or fish fries to win support for segregation if it is not in the name of the White Knights. Some attend such rallies not knowing the money goes to the Klan, but others who go are well aware of it.

And more powerful organizations that have respectable community images, such as the Citizens' Council, directed by business, industrial and professional people—continue to promote segregation. Some political leaders and some newspapers also give a strident voice to never-say-die segregation policies.

All this perpetuates a climate in which Klansmen feel they have many allies.

Situation Changes

But the picture is changing. Already some leading Mississippians have dissociated themselves from the Citizens' Council. And political leaders are beginning to speak out.

Gov. John Bell Williams, a staunch segregationist who has a staff member who has associated with the APWR, visited Meridian after the bombing of the synagogue there and announced that an intensive state investigation would be conducted. After the June 30 battle at Meridian between two Klan members and police, Williams issued a statement commending the police action and declaring that law and order would be upheld in the state.

The FBI, which infiltrated the White Knights with informants long ago, has brought steady and increasing pressure on the terrorists.

However, Bowers' "invisible empire," as the Klan calls itself, did not really begin to crumble until Mississippi juries began convicting some of them and local and state police joined the FBI in a concerted effort to solve Klan crimes.

Until recently, few Mississippi newspapers would speak out against the White Knights. Although they have yet to tell the extent of the White Knights' activities, some papers have begun to campaign against terrorism.

Bowers has expressed concern in several of his secret Klan documents that the White Knights "must always keep the public on our side."

"As long as they are on our side," one document reads, "we can just about do anything to our enemies with impunity."

OF MASONITE

11-1-68

Labor Relations Board Supporting Strike Action

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The Masonite Corporation of Laurel and striking members of a union in that city have been notified of a National Labor Relations Board decision which supports the action of Masonite in handling employment of certain individuals since the strike.

In a rather sweeping decision, the NLRB upholds the company in refusing to re-hire some of the men involved in the strike, since they were covered under a collective bargaining agreement and violated that agreement.

The strike in April of 1967 found the company resuming production soon, and seven months later, a settlement was reached, terms of which constituted something of a landmark in labor relations in the state. The settlement extended the term of the contract by the amount of time the strike had then been in progress, seven months, and carried the following provisions:

"—Employees now working in the plant cannot be displaced from present job assignments, nor can they be "bumped" by lay - off or recall purposes by anyone not now working at the plant.

"—A preferential hiring list, not including many former employees, will be established for a two-year period. Former employees must indicate to the company their desire to be reemployed by January 15, 1968, then preferential hiring will be given to them as job openings occur.

"—Rehired former employees must complete a 90-day probationary period, then they can exercise a right to use all accumulated seniority to bid on future permanent job openings. They also will receive credit for previous service in determining vacations, holidays, insurance, medical benefits and pension plans.

"—All operations methods, procedures and work assignments currently employed in the plant will be continued permanently at the option of the company, and will not be subject to any grievance, litigation or NLRB charges. (The Company is currently in full production with only 1600 production workers as compared to 2300 production workers under the labor agreement prior to the strike.)

"—All grievances and unfair labor practice charges will be withdrawn, and an out of court settlement was made of a damage suit filed by the company against the union."

It was to escape from some of these provisions that some 688 employees filed their complaints with the NLRB, which has now defined their contentions. The language of the board in a notice addressed to both the company and union said:

"The. . .case charging a violation under Section 8 of the national labor relations act, as amended, has been carefully investigated and considered.

"As a result of the investigation, it appears that further proceedings are not warranted at this time. With respect to the contention that certain individuals were entitled to reinstatement as unfair labor practice stikers or to rehire under the settlement agreement, it is noted that the strike was contended to be an unfair labor practice strike in earlier charges and no proceedings were ever authorized pursuant to that contention.

Consequently, under section 10 (10), the strike cannot now be shown to be an unfair labor practice strike. Since the strike cannot be considered an unfair labor practice strike and the evidence establishes that it occurred in violation of the then effective collective bargaining agreement, the strike was unprotected; therefore, the employer was free to refuse employment to any striking employees.

"Further, the employer's execution of the settlement agreement wherein it agreed to take back some strikers was not considered to be a conconation of the unprotected activity, particularly as the agreement specifically permitted the employer sole discretion in determining the acceptability of strikers who applied for reemployment.

"There is no evidence to support a conclusion that employer's denial of reemployment to some strikers who submitted

"Also there is no evidence that the employer failed to comply with the provisions of the settlement agreement or that its overall conduct was inconsistent with what it agreed to do under the terms of the settlement agreement. Also the settlement agreement was used as a basis for withdrawal requests in earer "CA" and "CB" cases. There is no evidence to support a violation of section 8 (A) (2) of the act. I am, therefore, refusing to issue complaint in this matter."

The formal ruling then set forth the procedures to be followed if the union wants to appeal to the Washington NLRB. Then the ruling picked up the charges brought by the employees in the Wood Workers union, which were denied by the Board ruling handed down in New Orleans.

Union enjoined in Masonite strike

11-18-68 Labor - Miss. DD-T

JACKSON (UPI)--The Mississippi Supreme Court today made permanent an injunction restraining members of Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America from striking against the Masonite Corp. of Laurel.

The court's action came several months after a violent walkout at the huge hardboard manufacturing plant had been settled. However, Masonite officials earlier had said they would conclude all legal action against the local, including a multi-million dollar damage suit filed in U. S. District Court.

The strike was called by the union April 21, 1967, and was followed by picketing and attacks against supervisory personnel entering and leaving the plant. Several bombings and attempted bombings and nightrider attacks linked to the strike followed, climaxed when a security guard was shot to death.

Masonite filed a bill for an injunction May 1, 1967, and a temporary injuction was granted by the state Supreme Court. Later, the union and its officers were found guilty of civil contempt for violating the temporary injunction.

The chancery court of the Second Judicial District of Jones County refused to make the injunction permanent and Masonite appealed to the state Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, in an unanimous decision, held that the lower court erred in dismissing the temporary injunction and made the injunction permanent but limited to the term of the collective bargaining agreement. The collective bargaining contract was executived March 3, 1967, and contained a no-strike clause.

The court also reversed and remanded for a new trial a suit brought by Mrs. Clarice Howell of Lucedale against a supermarket where she slipped on a banana peel and fell.

The George County Circuit Court had granted a directed verdict against Mrs. Howell, and she appealed on grounds a jury question was raised by uncontradicted testimony regarding remarks of a supermarket employee. The employee said that he might have dropped the banana earlier that day.

The Supreme Court held that this testimony was enough to carry the case to the jury. "The jury could have concluded from this testimony that the employee of the store was negligent in the performance of his duties, and that the banana had been there since early morning as a result thereof."

Labor - Miss

Judge Declares Settlement Between Masonite, Union Valid

3-7-69 JDN

LAUREL, Miss. (AP)— Officials of the Masonite Corp. of Laurel say U.S. Dist. Judge Dan Russell has upheld the trusteeship of a local union by the International Woodworkers of America and has declared a strike settlement between the building materials corporation and the union valid.

The ruling came on an August 1968 complaint field by officials of IWA Local 5-443 asking an injunction against the trusteeship set up by the parent organization and requesting that the strike settlement be declared valid.

J. D. Jolly, Granville Sellers, Herbert Ishee and John A. West filed the action against trustee Walter Forman, the IWA and Masonite. The suit maintained the establishment of the trusteeship was contrary to legal procedure and was consummated without adequate notice.

Russell noted in his ruling, "The court finds that throughout the more than seven months work stoppage, illegal as found by every court and administrative body who heard the issue, J. D. Jolly and the other local officers were advised repeatedly through written and oral communications from the international officers that the strike must end.

"In all the communications and hearings occurring prior to the appointment of a trustee, there was no literal compliance with the international constitutional procedure for establishing a trusteeship, as plaintiffs contend there was more than sufficient compliance with both the constitution and statues thereafter."

Russell also stated authorities were in agreement that bargaining contracts were entered into in good faith by the local and the strike settlement agreement was binding and valid.

UNFAIR? 5/25/68

Masonite Dispute Off Again

Labor - Miss.

JDN

LAUREL, Miss. (AP) -- About 300 former employes of the Masonite Corp. plant here have filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board, charging that the company used unfair labor practices.

George Maxey, an attorney for the men, said more names will be added later. Masonite has declined comment but a spokesman said the company will answer the charges.

The dispute arose after the end of a seven-month strike which ended last December. The International Woodworkers of America Union took over control of the striking local union and worked out an agreement stipulating that striking employes could apply for rehiring but the company would make the decision on whom to rehire.

The charges filed with the NLRB allege that the unfair labor practices have been employed in rehiring procedures since the end of the strike.

The bitter strike resulted in the death of a special plant guard who was shot from ambush. Several non-striking workers were beaten, and the homes of some non-strikers were fired on.

AMERICAN LITTLE

SAT. MARCH 8 1969

the "law" and the workingman.

The Masonite workers have had their day in court. They've gotten what justice is available to working men and women in the U.S. Court in Mississippi.

None.

The U.S. District Court of Mississippi's Southern District handed down the opinion March 4. Judge Dan M. Russell signed the opinion. don't know know who wrote it -- tha is , we have no proof who wrote it. It reads as though Masonite's advertising agency was the author. But, whoever wrote it, with Dan Russell' signature on it, it becomes the law As such , it is enforceable with al the might of the United States Govt

The opinion stinks, on every page, with hatred and prejudice against working people. For example, w referring to papers filed by the Masonite workers, the opinion says the papers were "not filed until.. When talking about papers filed by the International and by Masonite, it merely says the papers were "filed". This seems to mean there was something wrong with the filin of the workers" papers. All those papers were filed on time and properly.

The opinion refers to material which have never existed. For exam the opinion says the International filed "minutes of all IWA executive board meetings from November 28th. 1967 to November 12th, 1968." Thats an outright lie. The International never filed minutes of the November 28th meeting. How could they? None were taken.

The opinion ignores the meaning of the federal labor law as it is supposed to be interpreted. For example, the opinion cites Sec. 464 (c) of the U.S. Code which states that "...a trusteeship established by a labor organization in conformity with the procedural requirements of its constitution and bylaws and authorized or ratified after a fair hearing..."(our emphasis). Any definition of the term "fair hearing" must include written charges an opportunity for the accused to

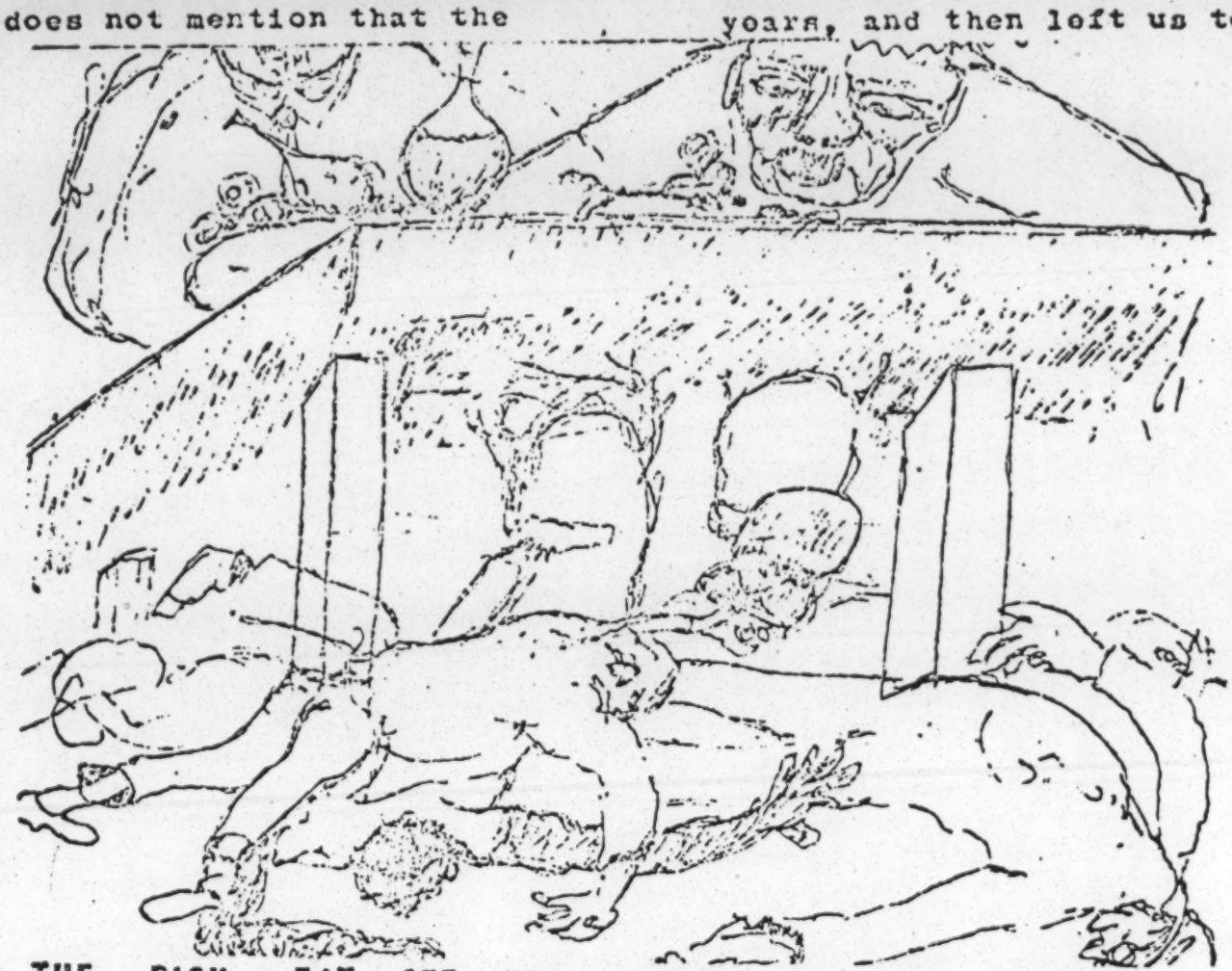
(continued over page)

to cross-examine witnesses presented against him, and to present witnesses in his own behalf. Everyone connected with the case knows that such a hearing was never held, either before or after the trusteeship.

The opinion wrings its hands and moans and wails about the violence connected with the strike. It winds up the lurid account with this sentence: "The violence reached its high point when a young unarmed plant security guard was shot and killed". Now how about that? Don't you get a picture of an apple-cheeked youth in the prime of his young life cut down by assassins. The opinion does not mention that the dead man was a Wackenhut gun thug hired by Masonite to intimidate the strikers. It doesen't mention that his death happened months after anything else which might even remotely resemble violence had occurred in connection with the strike. And last but not least, it fails to say that there is considerable doubt about just who was behind the shooting of the guard.

We could go on and on with examples like these; examples of the prejudice and ill-will against working people that show up thru the opinion. But what's the use? We all now know for sure what we've suspected all along. The courts don't work for working people. If working people want justice, they're going to have to <u>take it</u>. They're going to have to quit just asking for it -- they're going to have to just flat out <u>take it</u>.

The taking begins next June 3 when the city of Laurel elects a new administration. Let's make sure its a workingman's and workingwoman's government, and we'll see how Masonite likes taxation from the workingman's point of view. That's where it starts. Fro there it goes to the county and t the neighboring counties and, finally, to the state. It'll take some time and alot of hard work. But we can won if we want to win. And when we win, it'll be <u>our</u> judges on the federal bench. Then Masonite and all the rest of them who've milked us dry all these years, and then left us to rot - then they can have a taste of <u>our</u> justice.



THE RICH EAT OFF THE BACKS OF THE POOR

- - - - - - - - - -

Russell's opinion is public recor Copies can be had from the Fed courthouse in Hattiesburg (for a price) or from attorney George Strickler, 606, Common Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

NEXT ISSUE of CHICKEN LITTLE
* The hospital "gift".
* Masonite's prospects, 1969.
* Wage rates and corporation profits.

ANNOUNCEMENT .
Nomination of an <u>independent</u> workingpeople's slate, next Saturday, March 15th, 2pm, at the Hickory Lounge, Waynesboro h

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Bob Zellner-New Orleans-August 6, 1969

Englehardt

There are seven GROW staff members-- Bob and Dottie Zellner, Mike Higson, Jack Minnis, Rhoda Norman, Ray Mathews, and Bob Analavage. Zellner is the head of the project.

He was SNCC field secretary from 1961 to about 1966 when he went the way that Black Power decreed. At that time he submitted a proposal to SNCC to organize whites and SNCC approved it but did not have the wherewithall to support it (I take it that they did not have the funds but the priorities were probably also a factor there.) He then went to SCEF with the proposal and came to work with them.

He said when they began he really wasn't in a ~~hurry~~ rush about organizing. He thought it would take a couple of years to get over a half douzen contacts in any one location. Organizing poor whites is really difficult or at least it is very new and uncertain. No one has ever don it on a mass scale in the South so he is working on such a model.

In the area of race, if people were going to change their racism ~~therxxxxxx~~ on the basis of conscience, they would have done it during the past eight years of civil rights activity, but they haven't. The nation really doesn't have any conscience. Racism has to be destroyed on the basis of self interest. This is the kind of situation that existed at Laurel. The whites needed the leadership of the Blacks in the Black community. They also has to have unity in the strike if it was to be successful. Thus the situation of self interest was established.

When they went to Mississippi looking for a place to begin the went into an area of the Delta. The things they saw there are those mentioned in the Patriot article and the GROW brochure. These people needed basic welfare services which the GROW people couldn't provide. You can get tied down doing that kind of thing, even though it is a worthwhile endeavor. Also the client donor relationship is difficult to get rid of onee it is started. In Laurel they never established this type of relationship. These people are not the type that Zellner wants to deal with. They are too concerned with providing themselves with food and clothing for daily needs. He wants to work with the working class who have at least some time and sence of political consciousness. Thus the GROW people left that area. ?

Wah the Union Klan controlled? Zellner says that it definitely wasn't. Most of the board members were anti-Klan but (and I cnn't remember the exact reason for their inability to act) they were somewhat powerless to ___ ?

shift the nature of the Union. The Union was very definitely discriminatory and did have Klan influence involved in it, but Zellner states specifically that it was not Klan controlled.

He says the International Union gave the "sweat-heart" contract and put the Union under trusteeship because they got concerned about the money involved. They were being sued by Masonite and became excited and settled it for that reason. I think there was a 3 Million dollar suit against them which was in the process of being raised to 6 million.

In the election, they were beaten pretty badly. Zellner said that he didn't know the percentage (Jackson people say 2-3%) of the vote that they got. However, they did raise the issues for the first time. They also got experience in raising campaign funds, turning out literature, conducting meetings, etc. He says it was really interesting to watch the local Republican Country Club type talk about the need to give a fair shake to the working men and that the county was controlled by the Chamber of Commerce. The Republicans adopted much of the working men's rhetoric and one of the results of the election was the election of a Rep. mayor. To some extent Zellner thinks the people up there have put the officials on notice and if the Rep. don't come through with some of their promises, they will have trouble next election. He says the people have more influence than they do votes (although I'm not sure exactly what he means by that.) It does seem that Zellner thinks that this was only a beginning but an important beginning in terms of working people having a voice in the government.

He says that the solution of the split between the blacks and whites will be extremely important for an success in the strike of politics. Already there has been an number of changes in terms of the racial ideas of the people. More in this length of time than Zellner had actually expected. However, getting this much make him and the group want to push for more, and there is some danger there. He says some unique things have come about already such as whites and blacks going together to the city government to protest police brutality to blacks. He sees good beginnings here, and to some extent says the city government has been put on notice to come accross with some things or else.

The Committee for Working People's Government is the present steering committee for Laurel. It had its beginning with a five member committee elected or formed when the union was put under trusteeship. I think two of these board me

members are black. To form the final Committee 2 more members were added which were women.

This committee started off representing 2,000 families. Now they have support from people not involved in the strike. The group at presnet doesn't have any on-going program and more or less reacts to incidents. They are however, at present writing for and circulating a newspaper and doing some leaflets (I think concerned with the strike.). They also raise money for the suits brought by the union. Approximately 100-150 do this. About 300-400 come to a meeting a month -- meetings are held weekly-- and there is a much larger number whidh helps them out but are working elsewhere and can not come to meetings during the week. There are meetings of the union every two weeks and there is this separate meeting of the group which the committee leads. The committe group is separate from the union and considers it a separate body. One of the reasons that so ~~xxxxx~~ may men work outside of the community is that the plant did not rehire the really strong union men and the International union "let them get away with it." (I don't know what the average weekly attendance at the meetings is.)

The staff goes to weekly meeting of the group, does leg work, looks after the lawyers, etc. However, Zellner says that they did only what they were asked to and do not control the activities. In fact they did not want to push the strike issue to the Fifth Circut Court of Appeals because their [illegible] said that most strikes were won or lost on the basis of the union being strong enough to force the company to give in and in this case the union had been beaten. Nevertheless, the people voted to go ahead with the proceedings and so the GROW people went along.

The staff did push some issues. They had to conduct a number of workshops to get the people to run their own candidate. They had been accustomed to having the politicians come around and go with the one who would promise them the most. The GROW people had to work with them to get them to run a candidate who was a working person. This is what has had to be done in several cases. However, "if all of us dropped out altogether, they would keep on fighting"-- they are much more effective and further along than when the GROW people came in.

GROW operate on the principal of finding situations where organizaning is feasible. The want to find something where the people are stirred up and moving-- where they need something that the staff can offer.

They want somewhere where there are possibilities for community and political education. The need for this stage of development is one of the reasons they like to go with working class people. They want to bring in the poor but they are not a viable group in terms of organizing.

The GROW program also works toward the develpment of local organizers. Zellner says there are just not enough people around who can come in to areas and organize to ever hope to create a South-wide organization. What has to be done is the creation of organizers from among the local people. He says that the people in Laurel are already going out to the wood cutters in Ala. (More latter) and telling them of their experiences.

He thinks its very valid to concentrate on several places and do a complete job there. One of the functions of this work is to create models. There haven't been that many models in the past. The Populist experience and the early labor organizing was of a different type. In those instances there was paternalism on the part of the whites and the understanding that they could pull out whenever they wanted to. This in no longer the case. The white man now needs the black man who has a significant degree of power. Also the whites better realize that the black man won't be fooled again. If he double crosses him this time there will be no next time. Whites are really lucky to have this chance at all.

He sees that he is working to help people and particularly white people and it just works out that the issue of racism is a stumbling block to these people,so get rid of it. The emphasis should be on working with people around their practical and one of these interests is combining with black people. He doesn't care really what a man thinks. He can be a racist or a communist or whatever. It the way he acts that matters to Zellner. As long as he behaves certain ways in crisis situations Zellner will be happy. However, he believes that action changes peoples thoughts and attitudes and in fact not conscience but only action and self interest will work. One of the things that GROW tries to do is to pick a group that needs the organizer and black people. He says that he thinks it is dangerous or at least improper to hide who you are and what interests you have on the issue of race. They tell the people they work with immediately that they are former civil rights workers and will help if they need them. Then the very act of asking for help indicated and creates a change. These are the people that those they are working with hated and vice versa when the people on the

GROW staff were working in civil rights. The acceptance is a"pretty big leap."

I asked him about ACT's approach ---- He thinks that you have problems involved when you pick a place rather than an issue. In this instance you have to develop the need for your services and the general rapport. In the case of picking an issue the people already need you and they need the blacks. Thus there is instant rapport of some type and dependence. This immediately starts the change mentioned above. From the issue and the dependence you can broaden out into traditional community organization. He also say how you could go the other way from the community approach to issues. Here, though, you do have to waste time developing the issues. One consideration Zellner seems to have here is that of resources. With such limited ones, you should pick a place where you can maximize you success and impact. This is best done through issue selection. He does state though that he wouldn't go so far as to say that ACT's approach was wrong. Its in some ways just a difference in selection of problems and approaches and the two could be combined to some degree.

He wants to stay at a single location for a long time and work the problems completely out. Stay and create local organizers (straighten their heads out.). The day of the summer project approach is out. He is interested only in people who are in it for the long haul.

He thinks that there has really been "some radical changes" in some of the people's attitudes on race.

Laurel and Alabama with the Alabama Wood Producers Association is were the GROW project will remain for some time. The Assoc, is a group of about 000 pulp wood cutters in Ala., north Fla., and Miss. Right now the work GROW with them is in the planning and "marking time" stage. They have ntacts with the groups In the past the Assoc. has had several work stoppages d they are talking about one for this fall. However, this doesn't seem to what Zeller is talking about. He says the Assoc. has something in the fire th a good bit of potential but he isn't at liberty to discuss it now. GROW will be asked to help in this project.

He says the next big issue and hurdle in Laurel will come when the International on give up its trusteeship. The trusteeship has already woutlived its legal e and the elections are scheduled for September. Right now he can't say the election will come out. Very important in it is the black-white co-operat

If they don't win there won't be a real union in Laurel. It will be a company union. The next issue and hurdle after Sept. will be the county elections next year.

GROW is supposed to be a program with a budget of $60-70,000, but it falls considerably short of that. It gets some support from foundation(s). Most of it is from contributions, some small some large. Zellner goes on speaking tours to raise money for it.

He thinks there may be a revolution in the country involving laborers because the unions officials are so far removed in terms of interest from its membership.

(It seems that Zellner is saying that one of the primary reasons for the conditions of the poor white (Dylan) and the reasons for his powerlessness is racism and its clouding of issues and division of people who need to be together if they are to succeed. Therefore you need to get rid of racism, not because it is onf interest as an issue itself, but because it is in the line of helping people and in the line of their self interest. Some of the difference between the emphasis of Zellner and that of ZCT may be explained by the difference in the density of blacks in the deep South an Durham although Boyte said that Durham was deep South. The greater pragamatism and the geographic approach explain part of it, but the issue selection (I think) within Grow itself is influenced by the desire to change ideas rather than the self interest of poor people. Zellner's civil rights interest would make it natural that he would want to hit the race issue as he organizes--explainable, but not necessarily valid? I think Boyte at least was involved in civil rights activity and also Landerman.) Horwith says that the division on the basis of race is definitely a cause for the powerlessness and condition of the poor. He seemed to be saying that it was one of a number. I'M not sure if this is entirely what he meant, but it would square with his leanings toward ACT and the philosophy of ACT in general. It is at least interesting speculation!))

Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)
GENERAL OFFICES
3210 WEST BROADWAY, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40211 • Area Code 502/778-3348

Sept. 1, 1969

Dear Friend of SCEF,

I know that you'll be interested in reading the enclosed pamphlet about two SCEF organizers who are facing prison for refusing to be drafted into the armed forces.

In their cases--and in many others--the draft has been used as a political weapon to stop their organizing work, when other means failed.

We think the pamphlet will be a useful organizing tool for people everywhere. You can help by distributing it in your area. Please write us if you would like more copies.

SCEF is also starting a petition campaign for amnesty for all political prisoners. If you can collect names in your area, write us for copies of the petition.

Finally, funds are needed to pay for printing the pamphlet and for legal expenses. Make checks payable to SCEF, at the above address.

Thank you.

For peace & justice,

Joe Mulloy

Joe Mulloy

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
711 WEST THIRD STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL
JOHN P. SIZEMORE
SILAS H. BREWER, JR.

AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-3021

September 26, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

In accordance with our discussion of several days ago, I enclose copies of some of the documents put out by the Southern Conference Educational Fund in connection with the Laurel strike.

Please let me know if you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

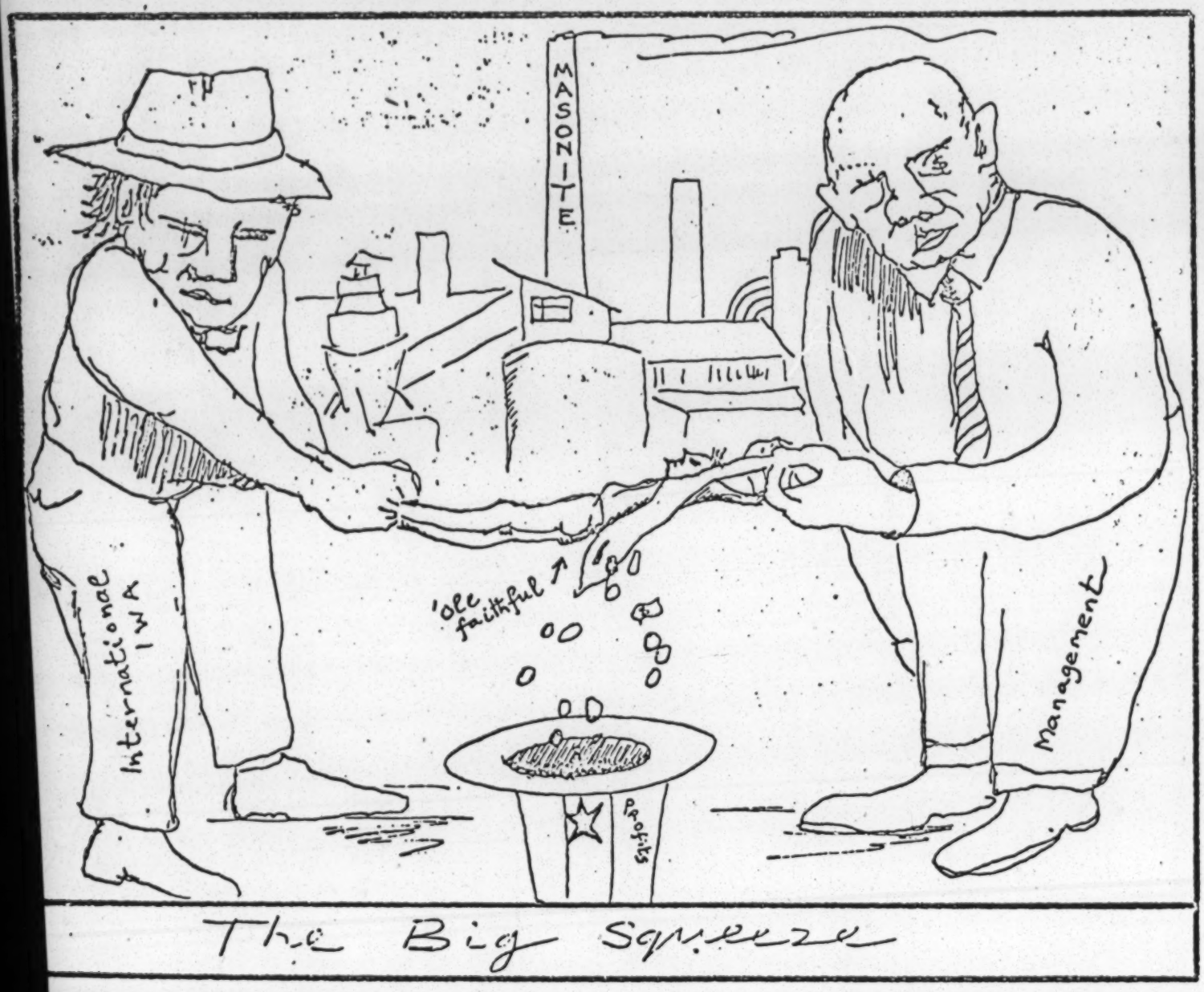
James E. Youngdahl

JEY:ghw
Encs.

opeiu105aflcio

CHICKEN LITTLE

Number 5 November 16th



The Big Squeeze

CHICKEN LITTLE IN COURT

The Chicken Littles had their day in court. We'll have ours later. You see, what we asked the court to do was, first to enjoin - that is, to forbid - the Memphis meeting. We explained that eight months after the fact was a bit late for the International Chicken Littles to be holding a hearing to decide whether imposition of the trusteeship was legal. The judge decided that he would let the Chicken Littles have their meeting and that later on he could decide whether or not the meeting was worth anything.

We also asked the judge to give us a summary judgment (to decide the whole case in our favor, enjoining the trusteeship and the sweetheart contract, right now). We explained to the judge that the Chicken Littles had failed to follow the rules of the court in answering our request for the summary judgment.

However, it turned out that the Chicken Littles, both company and International, have now decided that they want summary judgments, too. Masonite filed its request for the summary judgment just two days before the November 12 hearing. Obviously, we did not have time to prepare answers to their legal arguments, as Masonite well knew we would not. Chicken Little's attorney, Youngdahl, told the judge during the hearing that he too would be filing a motion for summary judgment, but that he would have to have some time to get it drawn up.

Then the Masonite and the International Chicken Littles s . they thought it would be more convenient for the judge if he heard arguments on all three of the summary judgments at once. The judge agreed that he thought this would be best. So he said that if his calendar was clear, he would hear these arguments on December 23. If his calendar is not clear for that date, he will hear them shortly thereafter.

The long and the short of it is that we went into court fully prepared to argue our case, and convinced there was a good chance the judge would rule in our favor - that he would order the trusteeship removed and cancel the sweetheart contract. Masonite and the International apparently were not prepared to answer our arguments, and feared that the judge would rule in our favor. So they cooked up this little deal about also asking for summary judgments. What this means is that Masonite and the International gained more time at our expense. Since the judge is the one who decides such things, he decided to delay it over our requests for an immediate hearing. Our attorney said if he could present the Local's case there would be no need for any more time.

We remain as convinced as ever that the law is on our side and that we will win, if the Chicken Littles will ever stop running and turn around to try fighting fair for a change. We suppose that eventually the court will force them to do this. Meanwhile they'll run as far and as fast as they can. The one thing they fear most is a fair fight on the issues.

BARBECUE

We are still planning the barbecue. Some details are yet to be worked out. The date will be announced soon.

MEMPHIS MEETING

The only action the International's Executive Board took was to continue the trusteeship. Apparently our actions in court prevented them from doing anything further that would be detrimental to our cause. The meeting was boycotted entirely by our people. Maybe our people were not impressed by the International's claims to insure "democratic procedures" eleven months after they trusteed us. With friends like this, who needs enemies????

ANOTHER LOOK AT CHICKEN LITTLE

The chicken littles have been yelping. Everybody knows that Now they're going to have to do more than yelp. They're going to have to do some straight talking. It'll be a new experience for them.

Our lawyers have required that the Union chicken littles answer the question: just when and where, and by whose authority, they negotiated the sweetheart agreement. The lawyers have required that the Company chicken littles answer the same questions.

The lawyers have also required that the Union chicken littles explain just how they were able to impose a valid trusteeship without following any of the procedures required by the International Constitution. This is a little different from the questions the chicken littles have had to answer before. This time they have to tell the truth or face perjury charges.

When we finish with the chicken littles they may have no feathers left. You see, we hear thru the grapevine that the International is going ahead with the November 12 meeting in Memphis. There's a Federal Court hearing in Biloxi on November 12 to determine whether the November 12 meeting can be held. The Union chicken littles seem suddenly to have lost their respect for Federal Courts. SHAME, SHAME, on chicken littles.

US and THEM

The Company chicken littles have just issued a new financial report. It makes interesting reading. It says how they have made $8.5 million in take-home pay (profits to them) in the 12 months ending Aug. 31, 1968. That's a cool $4½ million more than they bled out of us in the same period ending Aug. 31, 1967. Who benefits? Well, mostly the chicken littles and all of chicken littles' friends. They divide up the profits. Some of it goes to the shareholders.

Now it shouldn't surprise us that the top chickens (they call themselves directors) are among the biggest shareholders. If you take the 12 top chickens together, they stand to make $1 million in dividends this year from their shares (in Masonite)

President and chairman, Mr. John Coates, will make $140,000 this year from dividends on his stock. That's in addition to the $110,000 salary he draws. Mr. Coates is a rich man. If he sold his shares tomorrow he'd get $3.4 million. That's a whole lot of Cadillacs and fine houses and all. And this is not all. When he comes to retire Mr. Coates will draw $25,000 a year.

So when we come to draw our dimes and cents, keep this in mind - that the profits chicken littles make is through our toil and sweat. That's why they're so fat.

It's a good enough reason for feathering them.

THE SKY IS FALLING ON CHICKEN LITTLE

The yelping is about to start!

We're told that Masonite is preparing to begin a smear campaign against the New Orleans people, as we predicted last week.

We don't know just how the smear campaign will be handled, but we doubt that Masonite's hand will show. Of course, we'll know the hand is there.

The New Orleans people have never made a secret of their background. They were involved with SNCC in the Civil Rights Movement for years.

Bob Zellner, Jack Minnis, Mike Higson, Bob Analavage and the rest of them have been working for years to try to help black men in the South gather the strength to stand shoulder to shoulder with their white brothers in the general struggle of working men against companies like Masonite.

They have all been called communists, anarchists, reds, and trouble-makers. They've been called this by the FBI, the Justice Department, Senator Eastland, House Committee on Un-American Activities whose main purpose is to prevent unity among working men against management.

They work for SCEF whose director did a year in the federal penitentiary because he refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities whether or not he was a member of the communist party. He told the committee that under the 1st Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, a man's political beliefs are his own business and neither HUAC nor anybody else has the legal right to force him to reveal those beliefs.

HUAC told him if he didn't answer they'd put him in the penitentiary. He said "let's go."

It may be that in the near future the news media will "discover" that Zellner and the others are reds who are infesting the community.

You may ask why Masonite Corp. should use HUAC, the FBI or some other agency to start a smear campaign. The answer is very simple. The company sees its interests as being the same as these witch hunting agencies. Masonite, like HUAC for example, is against strong unionism.

Masonite is no different from the construction company at De Ridder, Louisiana who, less than two weeks ago, asked Governor McKeithen to call in the State Police because some man on site struck against the company's use of non-union labor.

In this particular case, Masonite is faced, with not only our law-suit but, our solid unity and our determination to see this struggle through. Masonite's answer to our legal action should have been filed by Saturday, September 21st. We don't know yet what they said -- if they said anything at all. But we'll be surprised if they made a half-way good argument for the way they drew up the illegal sweetheart contract.

Finally, any reaction from Masonite must be understood in the light of what is going on inside the plant. Operations are not going half so well as management pretends. Perhaps Masonite thinks that no one sees the huge bon fires of reject boards it lights most nights. Or that no one knows that machinery maintenance is so bad, production could shut down anytime.

Masonite cannot bring these and other facts into the open. If it did, it might just lose its friends in the banks, and yes, the local Chamber of Commerce.

The Committee

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MERCHANTS OF LAUREL

Last year You had your chance to help us by supporting the Masonite Strike effort. There was a meeting in the Laurel Courthouse and out of all you merchants there was only one man who stood up and spokeout in public for us. We haven't forgotten that. In over a year's time none of you have done anything to help end this strike. Now we are going to stand up again and find out who is with us and who is not.

Whether you know it or not the strike isnot over, and if you think it doesn't affect you, your're not thinking. If the union is broken and salaries go down your sales will go down too! SUCCESS FOR US MEANS SUCCESS FOR YOU. You better think it over because in the meantime we are taking our business elsewhere. We are going to support the stores that support us. Those include:

Bill Sampey - Five Point Texaco Station

Paul West - Beacon WestService Station

Doval Blue - Enco Station, Westside

W.J. Scruggs - Scruggs Bros. Service Station, Ellisville

Freddy Adcock - Texaco Service Station

Mike Corolly - Service Stationm, Ellisville.

Norman Lee - Lee's Processing Plant.

Shar Rahaim - Supermarket

We, and all our friends are boycotting all Chamber of Commerce members and members of the Retail Merchants Associatio of Laurel until they show public support for the Masonite men out on strike -- and individually or collectively exert pressure on Masonite to bring about a settlement.

Laurel, December 24th, 1963.

MEMO FROM SCAB CITY, MISSISSIPPI

DO YOU KNOW

* THAT ONLY 33 MASONITE PAYCHECKS WERE CASHED IN LAUREL LAST MONTH. WHERE DID THE OTHER 1,600 GO? WHERE DO YOU THINK THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEMBERS CASH THEIR CHECKS?

* THAT THE MAYOR GOES ELSEWHERE TO BUY HER FASHIONABLE CLOTHES?

* THAT LOCAL MERCHANTS ARE SELLING LAST YEAR'S STOCK ?

* WHY THE HEAD OF THE MASONITE PLANT MOVED HIS FAMILY OUT OF LAUREL ?

* WHY NEW INDUSTRY DOES NOT COME TO LAUREL ?

* HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE MOVED OUT OF LAUREL TO FIND WORK THEY CAN'T GET HERE ?

* HOW MANY ACCIDENTS OCCUR AT THE MASONITE PLANT?

* HOW MASONITE VALUES HUMAN LIVES ?

Do you know what you can do about this, or do you care.

THINK!

ANOTHER LOOK AT CHICKEN LITTLE

The chicken littles have been yelping. Everybody knows that. Now they're going to have to do more than yelp. They're going to have to do some straight talking. It'll be a new experience for them.

Our lawyers have required that the Union chicken littles answer the question: just when and where, and by whose authority, they negotiated the sweetheart agreement. The lawyers have required that the Company chicken littles answer the same questions.

The lawyers have also required that the Union chicken littles explain just how they were able to impose a valid trusteeship without following any of the procedures required by the International Constitution. This is a little different from the questions the chicken littles have had to answer before. This time they have to tell the truth or face perjury charges.

When we finish with the chicken littles they may have no feathers left. You see, we hear thru the grapevine that the International is going ahead with the November 12 meeting in Memphis. There's a Federal Court hearing in Biloxi on November 12 to determine whether the November 12 meeting can be held. The Union chicken littles seem suddenly to have lost their respect for Federal Courts. SHAME, SHAME, on chicken littles.

US and THEM

The Company chicken littles have just issued a new financial report. It makes interesting reading. It says how they have made $8.5 million in take-home pay (profits to them) in the 12 months ending Aug. 31, 1968. That's a cool $4½ million more than they bled out of us in the same period ending Aug. 31, 1967. Who benefits? Well, mostly the chicken littles and all of chicken littles' friends. They divide up the profits. Some of it goes to the shareholders.

Now it shouldn't surprise us that the top chickens (they call themselves directors) are among the biggest shareholders. If you take the 12 top chickens together, they stand to make $1 million in dividends this year from their shares (in Masonite)

President and chairman, Mr. John Coates, will make $140,000 this year from dividends on his stock. That's in addition to the $110,000 salary he draws. Mr. Coates is a rich man. If he sold his shares tomorrow he'd get $3.4 million. That's a whole lot of Cadillacs, and fine houses and all. And this is not all. When he comes to retire, Mr. Coates will draw $25,000 a year.

So when we come to draw our dimes and cents, keep this in mind - that the profits chicken littles make is through our toil and sweat. That's why they're so fat.

It's a good enough reason for feathering them.

THE CHICKEN LITTLES YELP!

We told you the yelping would start.

An optimistic dose of prattle was published complimenting all concerned for achievements in the fields of production, quality, and safety that every working man, foreman and ex-management, in and outside Masonite knows is pure fiction of someone's sub-par imagination. We wonder, in the face of truth, if anyone has reported that this was the laughing stock of Laurel. Even our most ignorant citizen knows now if you lower your maximum standards of production, your percentage is correspondingly higher. He understands if you lower your requirements for quality, you can even produce imaginary 100% top grade products. Of course, this means you can squeeze all your customer orders to less than half an inch between two of your fingers, which would be considered real good for a tiny, tiny operation.

Old Joe Citizen knows, too, if you keep injured people around doing nothing but drawing pay checks, lost time accidents can be reduced. Does this mean accidents have ceased? Have you been listening real close lately? Pass the cigars, fellows!

We also wonder if the Chicken Littles know that over five hundred insiders voted and directed J. D. Jolly, Granville Sellers, Herbert Ishee and John A. West to be parties to the first lawsuit to correct this travesty of justice.

We note that other Chicken Littles are now getting concerned about democratic procedures, like closing the gate after the cows are out. This grand gesture of our International is understandable after a lawsuit is filed and, almost a year later, "we desire to review with you the advisability of a trusteeship". You noticed the big lie of "illegal strike" is still being pursued when the fact is that the Trusteeship was imposed as a condition of settlement by Masonite. We can expect such prattle when running in fear is dominating leadership in organizations with which we are forced to deal.

Why is the National Labor Relations Board still sitting on our charges? Has the fear of this situation permeated the Board and delay is paramount?

We predict that the truth, as always, will dominate and big money, crooked politics, weak leaders, and pompous management will fall by the wayside.

That day is approaching when crank swinging strike breakers go berserk.

We'll visit with you again in the very near future.

THE COMMITTEE

THE CONTINUING FIGHT OF LOCAL 5-443

"...And Ed was there where they had the other two people set up to discharge them at the time they discharged Freddie Adcock. I say that the strike was set up and Jesus Christ himself could not have prevented it."

-Granville Sellers, Vice President., 5-443

"...in the negotiations concluded March 3, 1967, I told the company that if they tried to combine classifications unilaterally and illegally, move jobs out of the bargaining unit to be filled by management personnel or cross departmental lines, that the plant would go down."

-J. D. Jolly, Pres., 5-443

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

The plant did go down as everyone in Laurel knows. But how many know that it went down because this is what Masonite wanted? If this sounds strange then it might be because the only account of that strike, and the events since, has been put out by the same people who engineered the walk-out --- Masonite.

We feel the public deserves to have the record put straight. So this leaflet is addressed not only to our Brothers now back at work with Masonite, as well as those whom the company refuses to rehire, but also to the people of Jones County and neighboring counties. The fact is that THE STRUGGLE IS NOT OVER. It cannot be over while the Local remains under TRUSTEESHIP - while we work under an ILLEGAL SWEETHEART CONTRACT - and while so many of our Brothers are locked out by Masonite, simply because they are good union men.

COMPANY AND INTERNATIONAL MUST ANSWER

We have started legal action. We have charged the company before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) with two unlawful act: discrimination against union men in rehiring strikers, and interference in the internal affairs of the Union.

We have also filed a suit in Federal Court, charging that the International Union acted illegally in forcing the Trusteeship on Local 5-443. In addition we have charged that the International Union and the company acted illegally in signing the December 6 sweetheart contract.

CHARGES BEFORE THE NLRB

Shortly after the strike began the International Union filed unfair labor practice charges against the company. An NLRB filed agent was sent to Laurel to investigate the charges. He recommended that the charges be withdrawn. When the International Union refused, the field agent recommended dismissal of the charges. The Regional Director in New Orleans ordered dismissal. The International Union appealed this decision to Washington, D. C., but withdrew the appeal as part of the deal (Dec. 6th, 1967) between the International Union and the company. So the situation is this - whether some 2,000 members of the Local are entitled to full benefits and back pay, was actually made on the judgement of one individual, an NLRB filed agent.

Early this year we decided an attempt should be made to get a square deal from the NLRB. On May 21st we discussed the whole situation with the NLRB. They agreed to accept charges of discriminatory rehiring, and interference in the internal affairs of the union. However, they absolutely refused to re-open the issue of whether the strike was legal or not. Now, more than three months after the filing of the charges, the NLRB has taken no action whatsoever.

---over---

CHARGES IN FEDERAL COURT

On August 23rd our lawyers filed suit in Federal Court in Hattiesburg. The suit is against the International Union and Masonite. It asks the Federal Court to do two things:

1. Declare the trusteeship forced upon Local 5-443 by the International Union, illegal. The National Labor Relations Act says clearly what trusteeship can be imposed for. The International Union cannot say it placed us under trusteeship for any reason stated in the Act. Even if it had legal reason, the trusteeship would be illegal because the International Union did not comply with the procedures laid down in its own Constitution.

2. Declare the sweetheart contract, signed December 6, 1967, illegal. We charge that the International Union violated its constitution and Local 5-443 by-laws by operating behind the back of the duly elected Local's negotiating committee in signing the sweetheart contract. We also charge that our membership wasn't given the chance to vote on the contract; a blatant violation of the International Union's constitution and Local by-laws.

We expect that the company and the International Union will be required to file answers to the suit by September 11th, or shortly thereafter.

MASONITE'S AIM

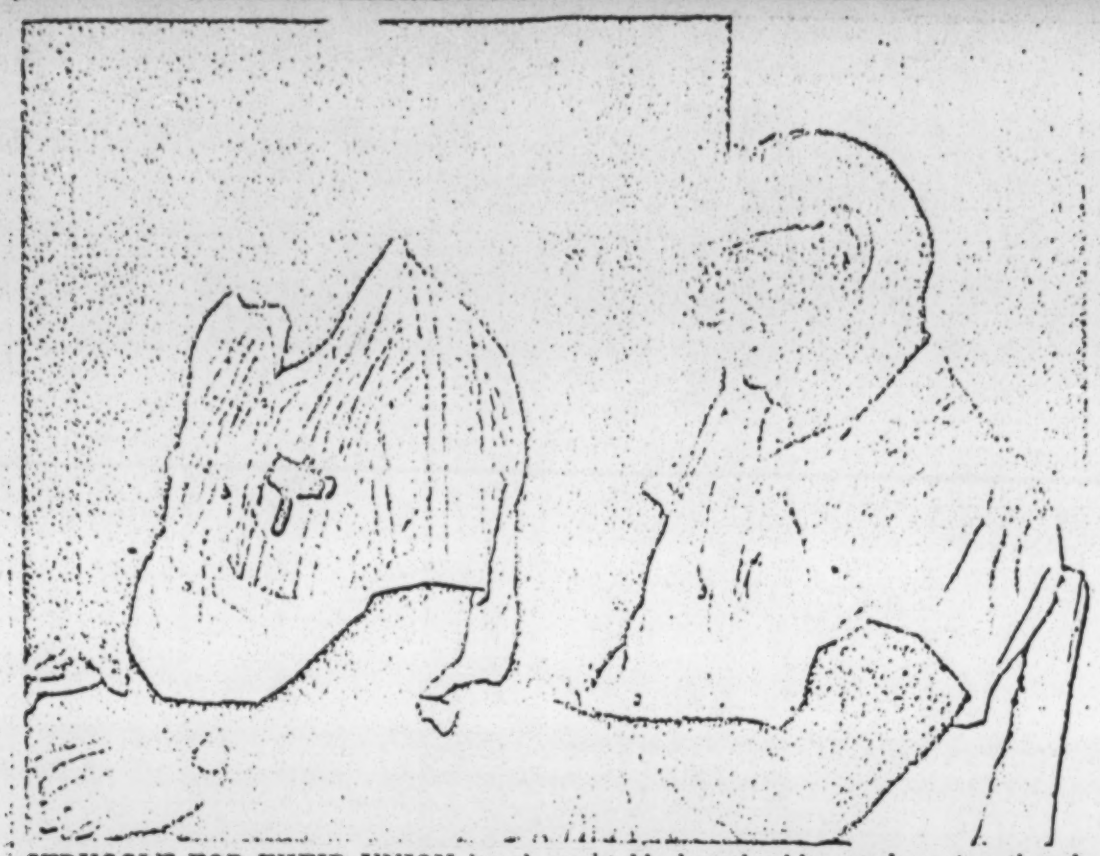
In the simplest possible words here is the situation. Masonite wanted our Union broken. It wanted the walk-out of April 21st last year. It is no secret that two Masonte officials came to Laurel for the purpose of finding out how the Union could be busted. Now these same officials we understand, have been invited to the shipyards at Pascagoula for the same purpose. Masonite wanted us trusteed, but they, themselves, couldn't do this. So they used some arm-twisting on the International Union. They said, in effect, if you don't agree to trustee Local 5-443 then we'll hit you for a $3 million damage suit.

Working conditions at the plant have gone from bad to worse since last December. Several men have been killed, many more have been injured. Little of this is public knowledge. The company has tried to hide it, just as it has tried to hide the fact that its present production is way below the quality produced before April 21st last year. Check the Stock Market reports on Masonite; they indicate what we believe to be the case - that Masonite is in bad shape financially and its credit threatened.

It's not hard to figure out that Masonite will not be pleased by the distribution of this leaflet. Why? Because the truth hurts. So if Masonite yelps, don't be surprised.

SO LET'S CONTINUE TO PULL TOGETHER TO CORRECT THIS GRAVE INJUSTICE TO SO MANY OF US. OUR MEETINGS WILL BE AT THE USUAL PLACE, EVERY SATURDAY, AT 5:00 P. M. YOU ARE URGED TO ATTEND.

Signed:
Hubert Davis
Raymond Posey
Melbourne Buckhaluts
James Neely
Ivory Garrett



STRUGGLE FOR THEIR UNION has brought black and white workers together in Laurel, Miss. James Nealey, left, discusses tactics with Raymond Posey. Both are members of the five-man committee directing the strike (photo by Mike Higson).

Laurel Struggle Continues

Workers Strike Back

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

"...in the negotiations concluded March 3, 1967, I told the company that if they tried to combine (job) classifications unilaterally and illegally, move jobs out of the bargaining unit to be filled by management personnel, or cross departmental lines, that the plant would go down."

—J. D. Jolly, President, Local 5-443, International Woodworkers of America.

LAUREL, Miss.—The Masonite Corporation did just what Jolly warned it not to do, and the plant was shut down in a long strike which the workers charged was engineered by the company.

Granville Sellers, vice-president of Local 5-443, says: "That strike was set up and Jesus Christ himself couldn't have prevented it."

But the plant didn't stay shut down. Masonite obtained court injunctions against the strike and hired security guards from Wackenhut Corporation. It brought in strike-breakers from across the South, as well as students from Ole Miss and the University of Mississippi at Hattiesburg.

The company split many of the black workers from the mass of white strikers by a new system of playing one group against the other (see *Southern Patriot* for January, 1968, for details).

Masonite "Klan-baited" the local by spreading reports that it was run by Ku Klux Klansmen, and other unions gave little support.

After nine months of struggle, which saw five men killed, the international union placed Local 5-443 under trusteeship. The international officers then signed a contract with the company which the strikers called a "sweetheart deal." The strikers said they learned that Masonite had threatened the international union with a $3,000,000 suit if it didn't put the local in trusteeship.

Nineteen hundred men were thrown out of work. It looked as if the local was finished, but the strikers pulled themselves together and looked for ways to fight back.

Aid was offered by the staff of SCEF's Deep South project, Grass Roots Organizing Work (GROW). These staff people had been in touch with the strikers throughout the dispute.

Jack Peebles, New Orleans attorney and a vice-president of SCEF, was consulted. [illegible] that the Local 5-443

The workers held a series of rallies in an open field in an adjacent county (they were denied use of their own union hall). They voted unanimously to take legal action.

Charges were filed with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The board agreed to accept charges of discriminatory rehiring (strong unionists were not called back to work) and interference in the internal affairs of the local union.

However, the board refused to reopen the question of whether the strike was legal. Three months after filing of the charges, the NLRB had taken no action whatever.

Local Files Suit

So the local has filed suit in U.S. District Court against the international union and Masonite Corporation, asking for two things:

(Continued on Page 8)

tional Labor-Management Relations Act states clearly the conditions under which a trusteeship may be imposed. The suit charges that the international cannot claim any reason stated in the act for putting Local 5-443 under trusteeship. Even if it had legal reason, the strikers charge, the international didn't comply with procedures laid down in its own constitution.

ternational and the company on Dec. 6,

2. That the contract signed by the in-1967, be declared illegal. The local charges that the international violated the constitution and the local's by-laws "by operating behind the back of the duly elected negotiating committee of the local in signing the contract." The local also charges that the constitution and by-laws were violated when the membership wasn't given a chance to vote on the contract.

The strikers distributed throughout a five-county area a leaflet in which they say: "In the simplest possible words, here is the situation. Masonite wanted our union broken. It wanted the walkout of April 21 last year. It is no secret that two Masonite officials came to Laurel for the purpose of finding out how the Union could be busted.

"Now these same officials, we understand, have been invited to the shipyards at Pascagoula for the same purpose. Masonite wanted us trusteed, but they, themselves, couldn't do this. So they used some arm-twisting on the International Union. They said, in effect, if you don't agree to trustee Local 5-443 then we'll hit you for a $3,000,000 damage suit.

"Working conditions at the plant have gone from bad to worse since last December. Several men have been killed, many more have been injured. Little of this is public knowledge.

"The company has tried to hide it, just as it has tried to hide the fact that its present production is way below the quality produced before April 21 last year. Check the stockmarket reports on Masonite; they indicate what we believe to be the case — that Masonite is in bad shape financially and its credit threatened."

The community is full of rumors, as is always the case in such situations. One is that Masonite will dismantle the plant and move away. One striking worker commented: "That plant ain't doing me no good anyhow. I'll be glad to help them pack up the boards."

Another rumor is that Masonite, caught off guard by the strikers' solidarity, may give in to their demands. Things haven't worked out the way the company hoped and—well, it was, at least before the strike, able to turn out quality products at no small profit to itself.

As for the members of Local 5-443, they have taken other steps to strengthen their cause. It is no secret that Masonite was able to split many black workers from their union brothers because the local itself had not fought discrimination and injustice.

Today, however, the local has a five-man committee—three white, two black—which includes all workers in deliberations. It is a small but important step for their own common interest.

In another step, the workers are publishing their own newsletter to keep the community informed on what is happening. The local paper is hostile to their cause (it is controlled by Masonite), and the strikers see the need to speak out with their own voice.

The workers say in their leaflet that "the struggle is not over! It can't be over while the Local remains under trusteeship—while we work under an *illegal sweetheart contract*—and while so many of our brothers are locked out by Masonite, simply because they are good union men."

MEMO TO: The SCF Staff

FROM: Dottie Zellner

THEY SAID IT COULDN'T BE DONE---BUT WE'RE DOING IT!

I'm in a high state of elation, so I thought I'd send you all a joint letter to tell you of recent events in Laurel.

Things have moved very rapidly in the past two weeks. To sum up briefly, before giving you the details:

(1) meetings have been held between black and white unionists and black movement people like Mrs. Ruffin of the FDP (this was a combination meeting-confrontation);

(2) white union women are taking the initiative and going into the black community to meet with the black women;

(3) the union distributed clothing to victims of the recent train explosion (mostly black) and travelled through the city in a car caravan with signs saying "Local 5-443 supports the black community";

(4) the people are in the process of running a slate of candidates in the upcoming municipal elections which will be specifically working-class and interracial, black men, black women, white men, white women. We are advising them to run as independents but they may not. In any case, the class and racial nature of the campaign will obtain whether they run as independents or in the Democratic Party.

Thursday night was the scene of the confrontation-meeting between the black and white unionists, and the black movement people led by Mrs. Ruffin, who had supported the black strikebreakers last year because she felt it was important to support black men whatever they were doing. It started off very tense but conversation quickly got to the nitty and ended with sincere feelings of comradeship on both sides. (I might add at this point that, after a year's fruitless search to find a black person to work in Laurel, we finally got Walter Collins to go up there and he is doing excellent work in the black community.)

Samples of the conversation at this meeting:

BOB Z: "We're here to help bring white and black poor people together to fight the man, the companies, the rich people. We've seen this division go on too long."

MRS. RUFFIN (to the white people): "You let them do this to you." (She gave the parable of a chicken so busy scratching in the dirt for food that he never looks up to see who is giving the food out.)

(over)

Several people, bl k and white, spoke about the need for getting and staying together.

HERBERT ISHEE (originally reported to be a Klan member, but probably is not): "Mr. Garrett, if you run for Mayor, I'll be your campaign manager!" (Mr. Garrett is a black union member.) "Mrs. Ruffin, if you run I'll be behind you all the way....Naturally (smiling) if I run, I'll expect the same from you."

Interchanges continued. After the meeting, Mrs. Ruffin came over to Bob Z, grabbed his arm, and said: "Bob, a year ago I told you that you'd never be able to do this--but you have!"

Sunday, distribution of clothes ended in a black church, White people were standing in a black church for the first time in their lives. Bob started to sing and the black deaconess accompanied him on the piano. It ended up with everybody singing, black people coming from all over the neighborhood....Black people stood up and said: "We're sure glad to see you all (to the whites) but we want you to know, we don't want any hypocrites here!"

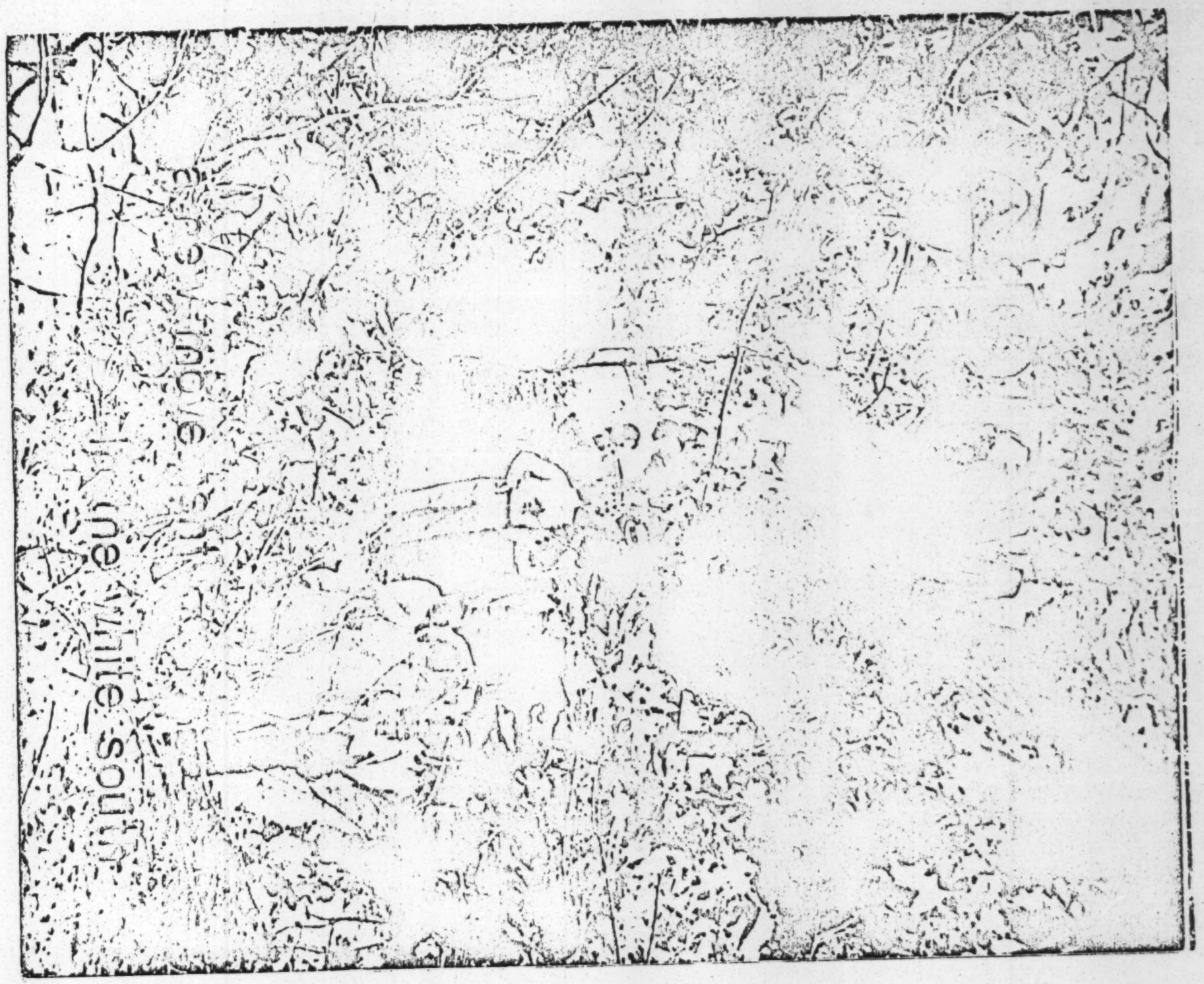
It ended up with black and white women in a meeting, talking about the strike and the campaign. A sample interchange between one white woman and Juanita Davis, who is a strong union woman and very racist: The woman said, "I never thought I could bring myself to shake a colored person's hand." Juanita: "I hate Masonite and the rich people so much I'm willing to do anything." !!!)

The meeting was similar to the Old Days in the singing, clapping, shouting and spirit. Only this time, there were local whites in there doing the singing and clapping. The blacks weren't subservient or obsequious, but very glad. One old black lady said to Bob: "I've prayed for this day."

Well, group, rhetoric aside, we're showing that it can be done. As Mike Higson said (he's one of our staff members): "We've moved mountains to go an inch." We're not deluding ourselves that this is the millenium...but, as far as I'm concerned, even if the whole thing collapses tomorrow, we will have shown beyond a shadow of a doubt that on the grassroots level it is possible to create working-class, inter-racial coalitions. Period.

And you must take into account that Laurel, Miss. is where all the killers come from, is the center of the Mississippi Klan. If we can do it there--well, we can do it anywhere. And by we I don't mean just our GROW project, but I mean blacks and whites everywhere. It took us a year and a half to get this far, and we don't know what will happen next, but by God, we're getting somewhere.

You realize that if they pull off this kind of campaign in Laurel it will be a first, not only for Mississippi, but for the whole South. So what do you think?


MOS ©IIIIZ/V ©U

All God's children
Ain't free
From the Sharecropper's shack
To the Penitentiary.

-- Johnny Cash

This article was written by Robert Analavage, Deep South correspondent for the Southern Patriot, and a member of the GROW staff.

a new movement in the white south

a new movement in the white south

a new movement in the white south

a new movement in the white south

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

Rallies are held every Saturday in a cow pasture. The crowds vary in size from 55 (one cold, rainy day) to over 800 on a nice, sunny one. Cars stand in dual lines, many bumpers distinguished by faded WALLACE stickers. There are some black people in the crowd, but most are white.

A flatbed truck is situated in the middle of the pasture, and the speakers are talking about the struggles of working people and the need for black-white unity. The speakers are members of the GROW Project, which says it wants to build a mass movement across the South, to link black and white to change the system under which we live.

This is all taking place in Laurel, Miss., said to be headquarters for the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It is a beginning.

GROW stands for Grass Roots Organizing Work, and is headquartered in New Orleans. It is a part of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). The GROW project is staffed by white veterans of the civil-rights movement (mostly former SNCC people). Its director is Bob Zellner, a 28-year-old Alabamian who was the first white field secretary for SNCC (1961), and one of the last whites to leave that organization.

The idea of such a project was conceived by Bob and Dottie Zellner, and two other white Southerners, Carl and Anne Braden, executive directors of SCEF. GROW field work began in 1967, and has made some modest but important gains.

REACHING WHITE SOUTHERNERS

How to begin to reach the poor and working whites in the South was the first question. The GROW staff had worked in the black communities of the Mississippi Delta, and had some credibility there. They went and talked with the local black people, old friends who had lived in that area for generations, and knew all there was to know about how people lived and worked and died there.

We got names of some poor whites and directions (there are no addresses in the rurals except a mailbox) and went visitin'.

We don't quite know what it was, perhaps Movement propaganda, but we were afraid of approaching these people. After all, in the innocence of the '64 Summer Project, we were told that these people were the enemy. They were said to be the ones who shot into the COFO freedom houses, beat you when you were walking the picket lines, poured the catsup over

your head when you were integrating those greasy spoons fighting for the right of black people to eat terrible hamburgers---even if they could not afford them.

MISSISSIPPI DELTA children

What a pitiful mess we found.

The woman was obese --the kind of obesity that comes from eating all the greasy, fatty stuff the poor use to fill their bellies. She was lying in bed under a multitude of blankets, with a three- or four-year old child beside her. Periodically, the child -- whose only clothing was a shirt, would get up and walk outside. The child was what the medical profession calls mongoloid. It was 20 degrees outside, and there were puddles of ice in the yard.

The woman was sick with flu. Her husband, who worked in a nearby factory for $1.35 an hour, was sick too. His wife said she thought he had TB, but so far they had not got around to checking into it. She had a bottle of patent medicine and wondered if it might help her. However, she couldn't read and she asked us to check the label to see if there was anything harmful in it.

Before we left she wanted to know if we were connected with the War on Poverty. No, we told her--not the Government's, anyway.

We met a lot of these people.

Some dealt with the wretchedness of their lives with dreams and illusions, like the woman who was writing songs and sending them to a radio station (along with $2) in the hopes that someone would set her words to music and she would make a bundle, just like the announcer said she would.

Then there were those who faced reality with their own reality, like the man in Smith County who was peddling illegal booze and making a few bucks until he was arrested. His wife brought three children into the world, each one dying shortly after birth. And there was the chicken caretaker who looked after 35,000 chickens and made $35 a week. He was one of the more successful ones. But then his house did not have a bathroom, and the family performed the necessary bodily functions off the back porch, and emaciated dogs carried the mess away.

And the man in the Delta who received $10 a week, plus the right to live in a three-room shack, for herding cows for his boss-man. He had eight children, one a small infant, and he "supplemented" his income with government surplus food. There was the 28-year-old man who had no toes on either foot (he cut them off while chopping wood), who was going to marry his 12-year-old first cousin, and who didn't even have a job prospect. This is what sociologists must mean when they talk about the cycle of poverty.

We invited about 30 of these people, which included some small children and teenagers, to New Orleans for a weekend of workshops. It was impossible to meet in their own communities, because they were as frightened of the authorities as black people were

until the sixties (a sharecropper wanted to attend a literacy class, but was sure his boss-man would disapprove of it).

That New Orleans workshop, plus subsequent visits to the poor people in the Delta, in their own communities, led us to conclude that they were thoroughly and tragically beaten. Unlike poor blacks, who have the strength of an organized movement to look to, they lacked spirit and the hope that something could be done which might alter their lives.

What they desperately need now is welfare, housing, food, medicine---in other words, social services. We do not have the resources to provide these things and do not see it as a part of our program to do so. These are people who must eventually be a part of any movement we build, but they do not have the strength to be the spearhead of it.

LAUREL AND THE LONG STRIKE

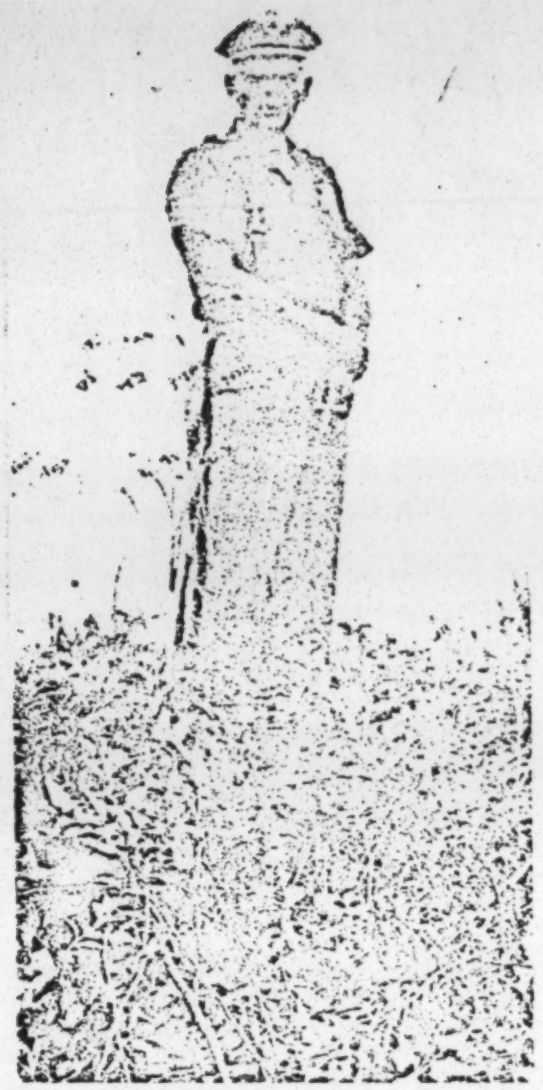
In the summer of 1967 we began making visits to Laurel, Miss., where there was a labor struggle between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Masonite Corporation, the largest producer of hardboard in the world. The plant had been organized since 1939.

Both management and labor agreed that Local 5-443 has been the most militant union in the South on economic issues. In 1967 the local had a membership

of close to 3,000, about 75 per cent of it white. The company tried to push through a plant-reorganization plan (partial automation) which would have eliminated jobs and increased individual work loads. The local struck. The strike lasted 7 1/2 months and it was bitter; the repercussions have yet to be fully felt. The struggle is still going on. This report has not the space to tell all that happened; a running account can be had from The Southern Patriot, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. A capsule of what occurred is:

(1) The company effectively 'Klan-baited' the local. This was not hard to do in Jones County, where in the past many klan members have been arrested on charges ranging from intimidation to murder. Yet to charge the local with being klan-controlled is absurd. In 1964, after the local did away with its all-black sub-local and brought black and white workers together, an officer of the local was flogged by klansmen. The local officials bought a full-page ad in the Laurel Leader-Call and threatened war on the Klan. They warned that "blood would flow in the streets" if further such incidents occurred. They did not occur. Just before the strike ended in December, 1967, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, mostly black, passed a resolution supporting it. Yet, it is important to note that there are people in the rank and file of the klan who are also in the rank and file of the local.

(2) Management posed as the friend of black people by integrating showers, drinking fountains, etc. Of course the company was simply complying with a federal order, but it must be pointed out that the local had supported certain segregationist practices inside the plant. The company's pose as a friend of the



WACKENHUT guards Masonite

black workers, however, became more ludicrous when our research showed that it has a plant in Johannesburg, South Africa. Yet this tactic lured at least half of the black strikers back to work. White strikebreakers were imported from across the South. During the summer of 1967, almost the entire football squads from Ole Miss and the University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg were recruited.

(3) Injunctions were obtained against the local to end picketing. Even before the strike began, however, Masonite hired Wackenhut security guards and set up sandbag bunkers and machine-gun nests on company property. Gun towers still dot the plant area. The company even bought a gas station situated near a plant entrance, where workers would congregate and ordered them off the property. During the strike, five men were alleged to have been killed. We have been able to authenticate one death--that of a Wackenhut guard who had been killed with a shotgun.

(4) Masonite production declined both in quantity and quality; it had to sell 35 million dollars worth of prime timber to St. Regis Paper

Company. It brought a 3 million dollar suit against the international union. The international then (a) negotiated a new contract with the company, and (b) imposed a trusteeship on the local, seizing the local union hall and its finances, and then removing the local officers. Masonite then dropped its suit.

(5) 2,100 men, many of whom had worked at Masonite for 20 and 30 years, were thrown out of work. Christmas was three weeks away. They felt that their own international had sold them out. They couldn't even get a local attorney to help them--indeed, the local attorney who had represented them received $25,000 on condition that he would not represent the local in any future litigation. At the end of 1968, more than 800 of the strikers have not been taken back because they are considered strong unionists. About 1,600 now do the work that once required 2,100 men.

Anyone who is serious about building a movement in the South would do well to recognize what formidable opponents we have, as shown by the power and resources used by Masonite in this strike. GROW's Mike Higson adds:

> *In Laurel, Masonite has economic, political and propagandistic control. It is a company town. Masonite is the largest employer in a two- or three-county area. In 1966 it effectively shut out St. Regis Paper Company by the simple expedient of upping its labor force by 1,000. It did not want a competitor in the local labor market. Masonite doesn't own the local media, but since it is a heavy advertiser, the one TV station, several radio stations, and the only newspaper all reflect*

a pro-business, conservative stance. Outside of these institutions are the banks, the businesses, and the Chamber of Commerce, all of which depend heavily on the weekly Masonite payroll. Jones County is a colony and the mother country is in Chicago. This year ('68) the labor in Laurel will send back a good part of Masonite's net profit of 8.4 million dollars to Chicago, where the company has its head office.

While the strike was going on, the GROW staff met many times with the strikers. At the time of the strike, what the local needed most was to get the black men out of the plant and back on the strike. But the black unionists were bitter over the second-class role they had in the local; on the other hand, they had profited from a strong union and their wages were higher than other black Mississippi workers.

BOB ZELLNER talks to striking workers

The winds of change blow---and the winds said that whites do not work and organize in black communities. Our hope was to form a joint project with some black organizers around common interests, to defeat the company in its efforts to divide. We would work with the whites---as we already were---and the black organizers would work in the black community. If we could show that a black-white coalition could be built in Mississippi, its impact on the movement would be tremendous and spur others. Concessions would have to be made by the white unionists---that is, participation by black men in union affairs---and a strong black caucus would probably have to be built. But black groups contacted in Mississippi and on the national level were unresponsive. GROW could not wait until it had the cooperation of black groups in the movement, and decided to go it alone. The situation was drastic, the men now had nobody to turn to, morale was bad, and people began drifting away. The men wanted to battle it out in the courts and they wanted our assistance.

JACK MINNIS discusses strategy

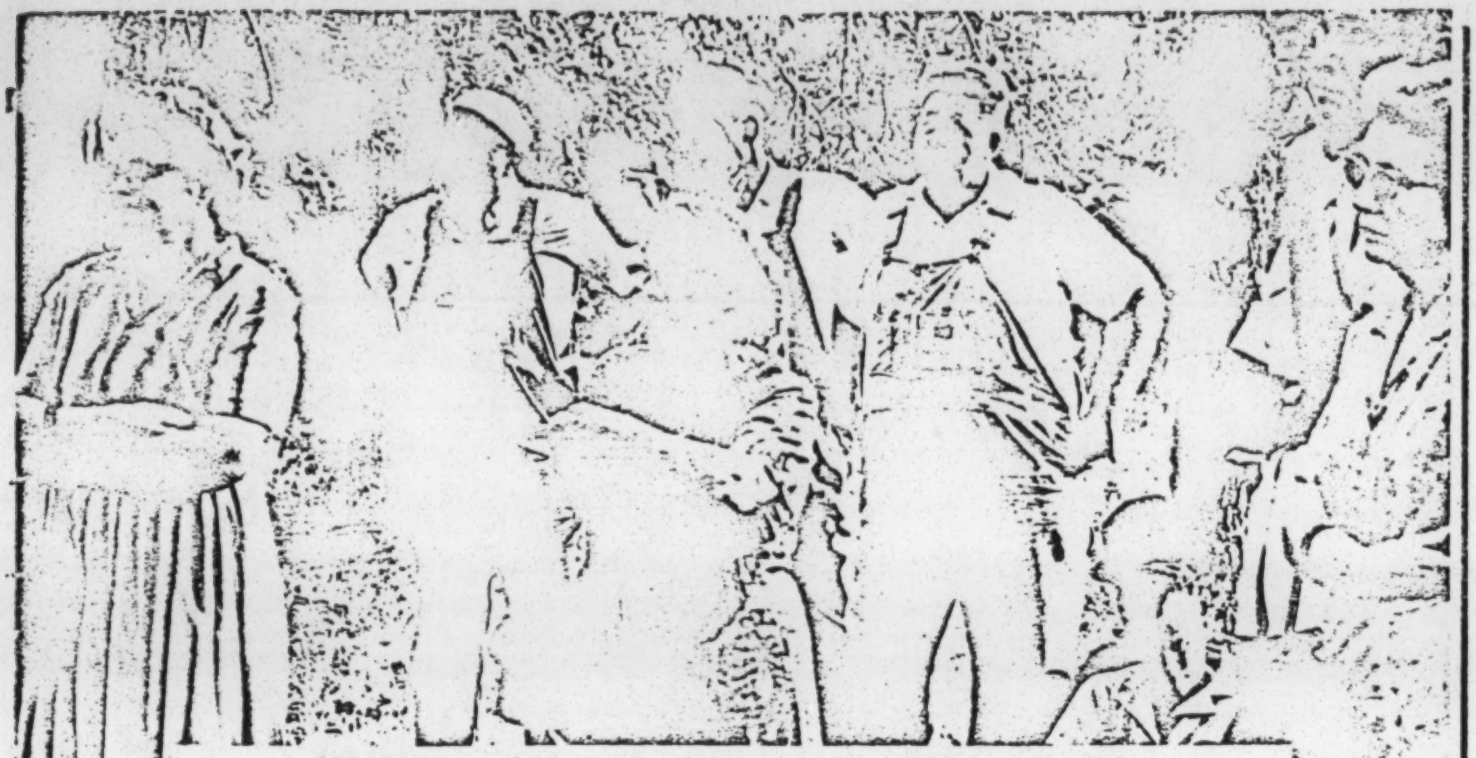
Jack Minnis, SCEF's Research Director, has a talent for finding flaws in the system. He used to be in charge of research for SNCC, where he found an obscure Alabama law that eventually led to the formation of the Lowndes County Freedom Party (whose

MEETINGS had to be held in the woods, in a nearby county....

symbol is the black panther). Minnis pored over all the strike data he could find, and learned that the international union had violated its own constitution in imposing the trusteeship and signing the contract with Masonite. Jack Peebles, a New Orleans attorney and a vice-president of SCEF, went to court for the local. The suit is still in the courts because of charges and counter-charges brought by the international and Masonite. The intensity of the court battle may best be appreciated if it is mentioned that Hulse Hayes, of the law firm which wrote the Taft-Hartley Act of 1946, heads a five-lawyer team for Masonite, while the international is using a Little Rock law firm which includes one ex-Governor, plus the former Commissioner of the Arkansas Public Service Commission.

On the organizational level, we have been holding rallies and workshops, building trust and a feeling of unity. Good rapport exists between GROW and the white working class community in Laurel. We have been able to do this while keeping our relations with black, anti-war and student movements. It has been honest from the beginning; in our first meetings with the strikers, we told them about our background with SCEF and SNCC. After a pause, their response was: "We don't care about that---what can you do to help us?" A five-man committee has been formed from the local union to coordinate their struggle. Three are white, two are black. Morale is still a problem, but these are hard men.

None of this is really dramatic, but we feel it is fruitful. For instance, Jack Minnis used one rally to explain their law suit in terms of the whole nature of the state and federal judicial systems and Sen. James Eastland's role in selecting federal judges. "If there's justice in the courts we will win," he said, "because the law is supposed to be on your side. If we can't win in the courts, we will have to try something else." His theory is that if you are



STRIKING workers and wives attend weekly meetings

going to change the system, you must first understand it. A lot of people in Jones County are beginning to.

We believe that the most important aspect of this project is that we have broken out of the isolation from working whites which has plagued the movement for freedom. Our relationship with them is good. We have been accepted into their homes, eaten and slept there, and they have visited us in New Orleans at the GROW Educational Center. This is a large building we've purchased for use as a training center for future struggles--presently shut down by the City of New Orleans in a maze of harassing building regulations.

Discussions range from our experiences in the civil-rights movement to various political positions we and they hold. Right now we have fraternal relations with rank-and-file members of the Klan. We've sipped moonshine, discussed Wallace, and drunk beer into the wee small hours in a bar which we were told was a headquarters for the Klan.

We've talked to similar folk in the Carolinas, in Georgia, in Alabama, in Louisiana. They've been used ---badly---and they've been ignored. A klansman in North Carolina wrote an article for a liberal Southern churchmen's journal. Listen to some excerpts, and you will get an insight into their bitterness:

> "We gonna take the government and everything else we can lay our hands on away from you. We gonna take it back. And we gonna do this because you not fit to run it. You been stealing the country blind, you been sucking up to niggers and forgetting 'bout our problems. You send our boys over to Vietnam to fight an undeclared war and then send our boys home again in wooden boxes. And your boys go to college and get draft deferments.
>
> "You laughed at us. You scorned us and mocked us and teased us. We poured into the cow pastures of Carolina by the hundreds and then by the thousands. And we was right there in the open, bleeding, and you didn't bring bandages. Not you! You sent the FBI. We remember that. We never fergit that thief Lyndon Johnson on the television telling us to 'get out of the Klan and return to decent society, now before it is too late.' Dumb Lyndon didn't even know we was in the cow pastures in the first place because we was running from a society that he helped make indecent.
>
> "Yes, its true we ignorant.
>
> "Yes, its true we hate.
>
> "Yes, its true some of our crazy brothers go out of their skulls and do awful things.

"Yes, its true we poor and diseased and wear ole clothes not fit to do much of anything 'cept maybe a plow jockey.

"Now the question:

"How come they so many of us? What in the world kind of country you been runnin' all these years? I really don't think we could possibly do any worse, an we might just do a whole heap better."

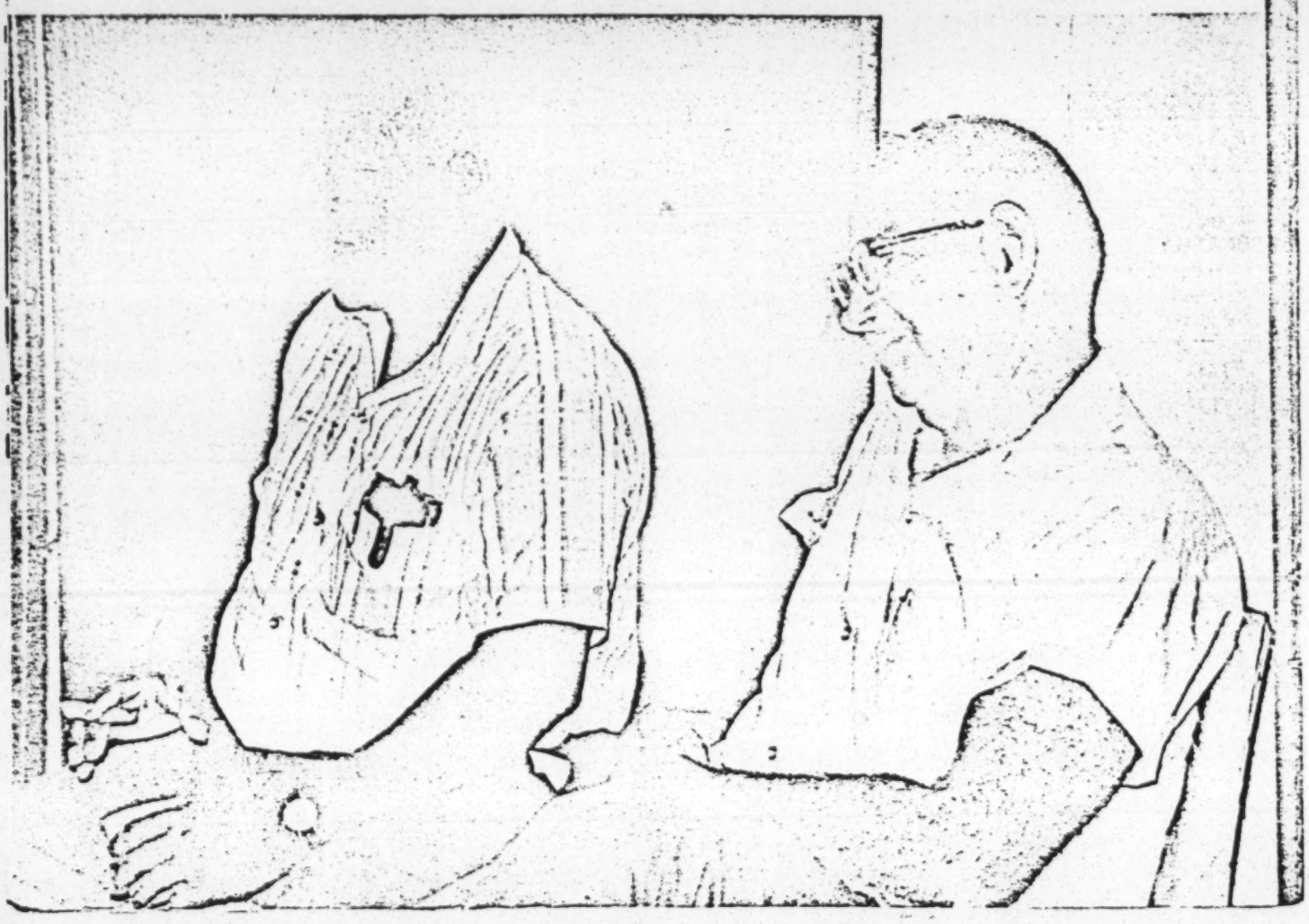
If there is any possibility of changing this country for the better, people like the above must be organized. George Wallace has exploited their plight, and they voted for him because they did not have anyone else to vote for. The Movement must offer an alternative to Wallace and his organization, and that is what we are trying to do. In the fall of 1968, in Lowndes County, Ala., we met some Black Panthers from Oakland, Calif., who had come down to make sure nothing happened to local people on election day. We discussed what we were doing and one of them said: "If you can get to those kind of white folks and we could get to the blacks---man, nothing would stop a movement like that!"

The South is a colony and its black and white inhabitants are exploited like the inhabitants of any colony (check out where the boards of Southern companies reside and where the profits go. For example, Masonite). We must begin to develop research and consciousness along these lines, and we must be able to explain this to people at the grass roots. And to get information to people at the grass roots, you must first go there and gain their confidence and trust.

The way Bob Zellner put it at a workshop with Laurel unionists is:

> *"What we are trying to do is carry on the work of really organizing grass roots in the South like in Laurel, Miss. If we had the kind of organization we hope to have in a year or so, the fight would involve a lot of people across the South, and not just be between labor and management in one town.*
>
> *"The question is---have we started something that will get the working people of the South together, politically and economically? I believe that we have."*

TWO MEMBERS of the five-man committee that now directs the strike



For further information, write to:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZING WORK
731 Napoleon, New Orleans, La. 70115

Contributions to help in the work of GROW should be sent to SCEF at the Louisville address. Checks should be made to SCEF and may be earmarked for GROW if you wish.

People across the country are forming a committee to support the Laurel workers by refusing to buy Masonite products. If you would like to work in your community on this effort, contact:

JANE McMANUS
AD HOC COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF MASONITE WORKERS
110 St. Marks Place, New York, N.Y. 10009
New York, N.Y

Laurel Mills

AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

How the Draft is Used to Stop Movements for Social Change

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

For the Fifth Circuit

No. 27,[illegible]

[illegible]

Plaintiffs-Appellants

vs.

[illegible] Warren Chemical, Individually and as Trustee of, and International Workmen's of America, AFL-CIO, and Masonite Corporation,

Defendants-Appellees

Appeal from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi

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Brief for Appellees Warren Chemical and International [illegible]

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Act - Kelly

Lawerence Kelly, Harry Boyte, Richard Landerman-Durham-July 7, 1969

Kelly in '67 was second in command of the C.A.P. in Durham called Operation Break-Through. Richard Landerman had done some work in the white community as a work study student at Duke. Harry Boyte had also been involved in some capacity in the white community. Landerman had been working with the Patlock Park area but left after graduation to help with a labor strike in E. N. C.

By the fall of '67 the anti-poverty efforts in Durham had become almost completely black. In '64 there had been some participation in the Edgemont Community but as the Black Power concept developed among the blacks the whites withdrew. In Sept. '67 Lawerence Kelly put in a proposal with O.B.T. for 3 people to work with the white community and it was approved. One of the number (which turned out to be 4) was Landerman.

All through the spring of '68, Kelly negotiated with the regional O.E.O. office in Washington for a grant for the white community. He wanted to get money directly from Washington rather than from O.B.T. because to do the latter would offer opportunities to strain relations too easily. He argued with Washington on the basis that whites were being systematically or rather actually excluded from the poverty fight and what O.E.O. was really doing in most cases was funding black groups.

He received a grant to operate his program through O.B.T. but specifically designated for his program which was called Experiment in Parallel Organization. The grant was for the period from July-September. In September the program was refunded on a smaller budget for a period of a year.

[Landerman said he expected it to be refunded for next year but not for the year after that. By that time he felt that the effort would be contraversial which it is not at present and the apparent drift of national politics woul work to cut off funds.]

Financed mostly bu the O.E.O. grant a non-profit corportaion was started and filled out early in '69. At present the Executive Committed of ACT is made up of one representabive of the 10 operating adult councils, one representative from the old age strata (Edgemont and Few(sp) Gardens) and one representative from the youth strata (Edgemont, Erwin, Greystone, and Patlock). The ex. Committee meets as necessary. The local councils meet regularly on a 2-3 week basis with and average attendance of 10-15 which fluctuates from 6 or 7 to 20 depending on the council and the things to be discussed. (Kelly sees ACT made up of the senior citizen, the adult, and the youth councils existing together as parallel structures.)

Act organizes on a geographic base. I mentioned that Tommy Martin in a rural area was using a co-op as the on-going structure around which to do impact or issue organizing. Kelly said that the poor whites in Durham (which Landerman thought could apply to urban areas in general) had more of a sense of identity as a community and didn't need to be based on some special structure. Kelly said they used services as an organizing tool. Landerman and Boyte catogorized their method more as building up a series of successes on issues of local interest such as street signs. They can easily win on this issue and use it to develop a sense of identity in the community. They want to bring people together in a collective experience and develop a community consciousness. HL ?

Kelly says that white people haven't had any identity. The see themselves as individual failures and are easily manipulated as a result of it. The number one concern of the program in Kelly's opinion is to give these people identity. He thinks possibly that once identity is developed and the people see that they are being used by the controllers of power in the community, then possibly some of the racist attitudes they have will also break down because they will replace one enemy with another. He says that they use Southern consciousness and N.C. consciousness in order to help organize. He agrees at least in part with Tommy Martin on this subject that this consciousness can not be used in an abstract or intellectual manner but must be used in connection with their day to day experiences to interpret them. (Although he is not sure how to interpret it, Patlock whih has been organized longest seems to have the most integration.)

Unlike Al Henry, Kelly say that the poor workers are the easiest to work with. The very poor have not yet developed any kind of political consciousness and this makes them less easily worked with. HL

Kelly says that in this work you will really be race baited but replies that maybe that's not so bad. He is really insensed by the way the poor white is set up as the target and constantly attacked instead of recognizing that he is manipulated by some of the same factors as the black man. ~~Kelly thinks that it was a d~~ Landerman and Boyte who have a very positive impression of the work in Laurel, Miss. see much of the criticism of this work as similar to the race baiting they are constantly hit with.

Kelly thinks it to have been a definite advantage to have a strong black organization in Durham. The concept of "rights" upon which Walt Anderson puts so much emphasis is useful as one of a "bag of tools" in organizaing whites. Kelly sees as possibly more important, the function that the strong black group played in getting rid of the great liberal idea of working together

which has worked out so badly in the past.

Kelly says there is a "beautiful"relationship with Howard Fuller and most of the black organization in Durham. When he began Fuller told him that he whuldn't be able to organized poor whites even thoug Fuller in general bys the line that the problems are problems of the poor. In the last year Kelly sees a basic change in black attitudes toward the program. They occasionally get some flack from the blacks, but it is generally accepted that they are each working toward some similar goals while operating among their own people, which is something Fuller and the blacks in Durham are very insistent on.

Landerman and Boyte believe that it may be possible to organize blacks and whites together in the same basic organization in other places but not in Durham. They see it as expecially possible in a labor strike situation such as exists at Laurel.

The goal of these three and ACT in general is to co-operate through coalitions on specific issues. This has worked in the past on the issue of the participation of the poor in the school aid given to impacted areas under the Elementary and Secondary Educ. Act of '64. The city had set up a dummy committee to fulfill this requirement. Most of the residents didn't even know about it. The issue was raised by the leadership (k.,l., b.) and an integrated group confronted the city. The city gave in rather easily and now ACT and U.C.O.I. (United Organization for Community Improvement), a non-profit private black corporation similar to ACT and in fact to a degree the pattern on which ACT was organized)are now the designated poverty representatives for E.S.E.A. Blacks and whites have also worked together in planning the Youth Program for the summer. The white Teen Councils and the black youth group Y.O.C.A. (Youth Organization Committed for Action?) planned the summer program (which included playgrounds at Patlock Park, E. K. Powe School and Edgemong Community Center on the white side) and got it funded by O.E.O. (I'm not sure whether this was regional O.E.O. or O.B.T.). Out of the funds which were joint planned each group got its separate bag. Edgemont has also integrated its Community Center and Community Clinic. In the opinion of the three, the coalition idea is the only legitimate one for Durham and one that holds a god bit of promise.

The staff working with ACT is made up of 12 regular members, 5 neighborhood employees (think just for summer) and 6 Duke students (summer also).

Is it coalition between separate organizations vs. an integrated group?

In organizing ACT they started out with an almost completely un-politicized group and worked to develop a consciousness of their interests. At the present point Kelly feels that the local residents are bringing up 50% of the issues. They brought up the need for school bus transportation for children within the city which resulted in a group going to the local school board and convincing them to make this request in the State Legislature. Kelly feels in many ways this was a victory for the local people in that they were able to act collectively and move the school board in some direction. They also initiated an issue involving deserted houses which the city has failed to tear down (more on that later). In general Kelly seems most interested in developing the consciousness and giving the people a feeling of their own power than in pushing them in a certain direction.

Landerman and Boyte (primarily)

They organize from a rudimentary political base. The membership card they state their desire to win their right. They work in a geographical area which is somewhat arbitrarily defined but the is consideration given to who the local residents feel should be included in the council. Boyte sys the only problems they have had with councils is when they are too large.

Landerman says they are more concerned with building something that will last than plunging themselves into some contraversal area. They realize that in order to build confidence and develop a consciousness in the people that they must win and win repeatly. Landerman also seems to take this line when talking about the problems of organizing the poor. He says organizing poor blacks is more exciting, especially when you develop a "facist" response and have your funds cut off. Then you can beat your brest and talk about the "rednecks." But if you really want to work toward some basic solutions, poor white organizing is where its at.

Boyte says there are several key points in their organizational method: 1. small victories, aiming at building collective identity. 2. popular control in all issues. 3. A cultural base, giving the poor white something of his own to be proud of and to be able to plug into without selling out to the established culture such as wrestling and square dancds. Most council meetings have some social aspect besides some small issue to keep interest up. This cultural deminision seems to be very important in the theoritical frame of Boyte, something that is associated with every meeting, something that they feel they have not had the time and resources it deserves, and and area in which they hope to put future effort.

Besides E.S.E.A. which is in the province of the ACT Educ. Committee and

Elem & Sec Ed Act

What is the project

how relate to public Schools

ESEA

Aid to impacted area

a Bd of poor on hand

to spend — tought red-haired

the major project of this committee, the other major action program of ACT is coming in the area of housing. This is also the issue on which they are thinking of taking on a contraversal subject.

At present there are three deserted houses in I think the areas of one or two councils. These houses are at times used by "drunks" and some of the neighbors dislike their remaining unattended and not being torn down by the city. ACT is going to push the city in this area and check, if pressure fails, to see if the city is violation federal statutes. They are also coming out with sometime this summer a Housing Bill of Rights written by Boyte. Boyte (who seems to have the clearest view of and interest in some tpye political force being developed out of ACT) sees this Bill as something that they will use to build a more politically active group and more important a stronger and larger group which will have the power to with stand attacks and will be a force on a city-wide basis. The Bill will also be a means of testing out local interest in the issue and reaction of the power structure to see if it is practical and valid to push this issue. After the building of the larger, stronger base, Boyte forsees some type structure being created to insure housing code enforcement and possibly to build, through a corporate structure, housing for the poor. Kelly men saw a tenant's union of sorts resulting from the housing issue with ACT serving as the bargaining agent. It should be noted that Boyte saw the housing issue as a way to build a stronger sense of power and consciousness as well as a legitimate issue that should be pushed along. Kelly said that the immediate next move would be the attendance of a number of local people at the next city council meeting. He said that the local people were really interested in this issue.

ACT supposedly has seven different programs. ED. Committee is concerned with tutoring during the school year and E.S.E.A. 2. Job Information helps serve as a brokerage for jobs-has gotten a number of persons jobs. 3. Consumer information is defunct. 4. Housing and 5. Welfare rights and important issues delt with by the ex. committee. 7. The ACT Support Group is made up primarily of Duke people who help cordinate activities such as tutoring with the University and who have raised $300 for the program.

ACT also operates a Day Care Center which a committee of 8 or 9 handles (I'm not sure who makes up the committee). In addition, it operates two playgrounds (It is also locally controlled but I'm not exactly sure from what groups the committee members are chosen).

-One important point is that the organizers can not become official members of ACT and

are not allowed to have voting power.

Ex. Committee meetings helps to give the people some idea that they are involved in a large effort involving the whole community. Local council meetings besides providing a lot of socializing gives people a place to discuss their problems, which is basic to the meeting, and gives the organizers time for some political discussion, which is very important at the ex. committee meetings. At the local council meetings the attendance is 3 to 1 women.

These three got their idea of organizing from civil rights and union organizing and trial and error. One thing important in their approach is that they follow the tactics that seem to be immediately most promising whether that be "rights" or something else. They seem very flexible and very free of rhetoric.

At present they are doing some VISTA training some of whom attempted to work with poor whites, they think not too effectively in Fafetteville, N.C. They started doing this when they were asked to come to Greensboro 4-5 months ago to train some VISTA's and the State VISTA? co-ordinator liked what they did. He asks them to come back occasionally (Thinks his name is Tom Morgan, a black man.).

They see ACT 1. serving as a practical model for working with poor whites and 2. as a theoritical and intellectual model to work out problem in technique in dealing with problems surrounding the poor white, the poor black, the Wallace type, the Klan type, the lack of political consciousness, etc.

One point they emphasized is that they are experimental and not yet fully developed by any means. They can't give any final answere on how it's done or where the organization will go.

They are thinking about forming a co-op but do not feel well enough established yet to do it.

Might be able to find some written materials in the Levathan, or Hard Times done by Kopkind, or in New Left Notes, exp. an article done by Youngblood on JOIN.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Check rec'd 1/5/70

July 16, 1969

Written off account Jan. '70 RV

Rights of Man
P. O. Box 30028
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

Dear Sir:

I am doing a study on poor white organizing in the South and am very interested in the work of GROW. I would like to make three requests: (1) to receive the first issue of the Rights of Man and all subsequent copies of it that are available; (2) to be sent a copy of an article in The Southern Patriot written by Dottie and Bob Zellner; (3) to obtain a subscription to the Rights of Man -- enclosed is our check for $2.00.

All materials and invoices should be sent to the following:

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sincerely,

Robert P. Mosteller

Robert P. Mosteller

Sorry — ask Paul Anthony why! Jack Minnis

RPM/km

Enc. - Check $2.00

Excuse delay !

R.O.M.

Lawrence Kelly-ACT-Durham, N. C.-August 11, 1969

-Further developments of ESEA funds-- Met together with the school board last of July. This was a group of 15 people which had been oked at the June meeting. The blacks through UOCI and the white through ACT got together and decided since the blacks had more children going ot the impacted area schools, then they would get 9 reps. and ACT would get 6. ACT has an Education Committee made up of one member from each Council (I think each adult council -- there are now 12 adult councils, 4 youth councils, and 1 old age council). This committee decided that the 6 white reps. would be elected from the councils in the affected areas. This meant one council elected three of the six, another 2 and another 1.

The meeting with the school board was the "classic intial confrontation." The board said that poor people didn't have anybusiness in educational matters. They operated on the basis of professional elitism. The people responded that in their neighborhoods over one out of two people drop out before they graduate, and no one had done anything about this. After the poor people said this, the school board allow as they had some business there. It was too late for them to affect the school budget for this year since it was to be submitted the day after the meeting. However, they won the point that they would be in the process with the budget from the beginning for next year, even thoug it will mean redical changes in the expenditure of funds.

Dick and Lawrence did most of the talking. Kelly says that the people just weren't ready to handle the sophisticated arguments of the school board.

This is the entering wedge of the battle on school issues. This was a good place to begin because they had federal guidelings to his the school b. with.

The will soon begin meeting with the school board on the budget for next year.

-Within the last month (He didn't remember the exact date) they took a group from the Angier Street Council supported by council members throughout the city to the City Council meeting to ask that a house in the neighborhood be torn down. They had gone through a number of steps to get to this point. Went first to the Building Inspector, then the Committee on Public Works, then the Committee of the Whold of the City Council(which sets the agenda for the next meeting. Kelly said it was important to have this issue set to come up first because if you don't they will try to bore you to death. The argument they used to the Committee was that there were a number of old women in the group and thus needed it first. They succeeded in setting that issue first.), then the City Council. There was about half a douzen? from the Angier St. Council and a total of 75 people from across the city from ACT.

Political interest: Compact agencies —

But also elect new people to City Council —

(remember — ACT separate from the People's Committee)

Some confusion

The City Council voted unaminously to have the owner of the property tear the house down. The man had been represented at the meeting by his lawyer. The ACT people were really impressed by the fact that the city council would listen to them when they spoke in a group like that.

The Housing Committee of ACT met last week with Harry Boyte to develop a plan of action for about 6 houses that the people in various neighborhoods see as dangers to them. They want to get them all up to the same point and then dump them all in the City Council's lap together. To do this they first want to go to the Building inspector to see what action has been taken on them and then go to the land lord and find out what he says the status of them is. Kelly says that if you don't first go to the building inspector the land lord will lie to you. One land lord owns about 4 of the houses which they are concerned about. With concerted action on several at one time they can get action from him. He has been saying that he is willing to co-operate if they will just tell him what to do first - so they'll tell him what to do first. Kelly also sees and advantage in lumping them together in connection with the organizational concept of small victories. If they are all together they will get one or two torn down, a couple boarded up and a couple having their lawns mowed and cleaned up. Together this will look like a major victory rather than separate it would have looked as if they lost on all but the one they got torn down.

They want to use these houses together with the Housing Bill of Rights to develop the consciousness of the people. They want to point out to them how the housing conditions and that vacant house right over there where they see it every day has to do with property taxes and assessments, the collection of rents, the policies of the city gov't. etc. In general see it as exploitation by people with different interests who hold power and therefore ti is necessary to redistribute power. The Education issue they plan to relate to the nature of the distrubution of power and point it toward the reformation of the city gov't

Durham right now is 5000 housing units short. Kelly says that if there is a oligarchy in Durham it is the housing oligarchy and sees the housing issue as number 1 in the city. The policy of this oligarchy is to keep low class housing in short supply so they can keep up the rents. When they tear down the low class housing they build middle and upper income units and keep the system going. Because of the shortage they can fail to keep the houses in repair without facing any penalty from those who rent them.

(Says in any community organization work you should develop a series of steps at to what you should do. The housing committee was developing this. The list might go: land lord to bld. insp. to city council to burning it down.)

With the houses and the Bill of Rights they plan to start pushing the housing issue. One of the most important goals they are striveing for is a section written into the Housing Code to allow for the non collection of rent if the house fell below a certain level. Kelly says this section is to be found in the Codes of the more progressive cities. ACT would serve as the tennants union and would collectively and selectively use this power to move on the housing issue.

Housing is really hard to work with. That issue wore Fuller out. Housing people run the city. 7 out of 9 members of the city council are either directly or indirectly tied to housing interest (either realestate owners, land lords, or financial man who rely on housing for a major percentage of their funds.) Kelly says people will understand and can be organized against people who oppose them and their interests because of identifiable reasons for opposition such as property ownership and housing ties.

There appeared to be a difference in the confidence of Kelly from the last time I was there and his willingness to challeng those in power. He confirmed this change though admitted that they were still scared. In the early stages they could have been killed by effective red or race baiting but they didn't meet it because they were unknown. Now they are not nearly as woried about publicity. They have a big enough base so the people couldn't be scared off. The Durham Sun has done a two part article on them. He thinks they could mobolize 100 people for the biggest issue. At a recent picnic they had 300 people out.

Part of the reason at least for their growth was the fact that Housing and ESEA worked out really well for them. These things happened since I was last in Durham.

In general it is a hell of a lot easier to organize now than in the early days. They now have successes to point to. Before they had to lie. They told the people on the West Side of town how well the people on the EAST side were doning and vice versa. Now the victory with the house is spreading around. Also, the people on that side of town can look at the house which they used to pass every day. This direct sight only applies to one side of town but on the other they have Pattlock Park.

ACT has always had a good relationsip with the blacks in Foundation for Community Development and the UOCI. The blacks are interested in doing their thing and want whites to do theirs or at least don't mind it. (ACT does catch it for being racist. One black woman says that the people in Edgemont were ready to integrate before ACT came in and now they're not. Fred Richardson, a Duke Student who had worked with blacks and now works with

whites was felt out by the blacks as to whether he was turning into a racist.) The"really beautiful blacks" are organizing on the Pan-Africanism theme and that of don't trust any white man. There is a lot of mutual ~~distrust~~ suspicion. The Blacks realise that before they have trusted the white man and co-operated with him and been co-opted into some main stream effort for the white man. They aren't interested in having this happen to them again. The whites can get so-operation on anything where thay have power and the blacks need ti. Before they will think of co-operation however, the whites have to have the power. They black community has been organized for some time now but they haven't gotten much ~~from~~ from it because they white liberals didn't give them enough support. ACT is developing potential to help them.

-No feelsrs have come forward yet on housing. ACT hasn't developed it well enough in the white community yet. The blacks are sick of the issue. They have been beaten so badly on it before. Kelly sees a probable coalition on housing some where in the future.

(Really seems that one of the basic reasons for the difference in the approach of Zellner and ACT is the state of organization in the ~~white~~ black community. First of all in Durham the blacks don't want to co-operate until the whites have their thing together. In Laurel, Zellner seems to be saying that the blacks are ready to co-operate but somewhat wary. They will co-operate if they can only get assurances of the sincerity of the whites and their own position of power and importance with in the community. Zellner also seems to be wanting to organize a black community which has no strong organization at the same time he works with the whites. In Durham the black community is together. Zellner may be organizing whites and blacks together because they both have common interests and neither of them are organized. Also Zellner may need to get them together early to prevent the whites from turning facist while there is not this danger in Durham or at least it is not as real with the strong black community paralleling the white one.)

The ACT staff seems to be doing a good bit of out reach work. They went to the meeting of white organizers at the Highlander Center. Boyte speaks at a number of universities. Dick and Lawrence? do VISTA training. He says that the VISTA'S besides the natural class anomosities are trained to oppose the poor whites. They come out of the civil right bag and thus hate red necks.

-Kelly told of two other efforts to organize whites in the state.- In Fayettevill and Sampson Co. The guy in Fay. is a ACT VISTA trainee. Things down there are really messed up. They had attempted to go down and straighten out the CAP director who thought the VISTA was a racist (the cap dir. is black). However, they didn't succeed. Things were so messed up that I shouldn't go down

ESEA Adv. Com.
Maj. of Blacks after
recog. they had won't

until after they go back. That should be with to weeks at the most. The organization project in Duplin county involves one identifiable section of the county and is built aroud the issue of drainage. The guy working there is also a VISTA, probably having had some ACT trianing but I'm not sure. The man to contact is Lawrence Bush/Vista Supervisor/Community Action Council, in P. O. Drawer 608/ Rose Hill, N. C. 28458/919-28903151. The CAP dir. is M. G. Gording.

Recreation and the city's budget for it may be another issue besides those of educ. and housing on which ACT will begins to challenge the basic structure of city gov't. They are going to ask for a direct part in the decision making process--challenging the myth that the city council members represent all the people. If you believe that just look at the streets and gargage collection and parks. Its bad in the poor sections of town and good in the more wealthy. This is just a smaller picture of the entire society. The system is rigid and undemocratic. I think he said something about the basic powerlessness of the middle class people in our society too.

He doesn't know if they will ever have enough power to change the nature of the gov't without threatening a riot in Durham. Really doesn't know how this will work out. Not overly whopeful (I'm not very sure of any of the points I make in this paragraph. He didn't make his feelings perfectly clear.)

-He doesn't think that Zellner's approach will work. He he wasn't such a talented man it wouldn't have gone as far as it has. He doesn't think you can organize white and black together. Besides the radial hang ups of whites, the two groups have different needs as far as developing consciousness and pride goes. The blacks needs to develop its identity vis a vis the white so basically and the poor white vis a vis the middle class culture and these development ~~whit~~ will involve different trusts which will work for conflict. He thinks that coalitions rather than integration is the way to operate. He is up for as much integration as possible and there will be integration at the leadership levels, but it is unrealistic to do it at the lower levels. There are so many things that can kill an organization project after its already together that it is really foolish to try to combine the two groups and bring up these new problems before you get together. You can easily over-reach yourself early.

-EPO has a $100,000 budget. It has a total of 15 permanent staff members of which 7 are local people. Has 15 summer staff members of which 9 are local. They are in the process of getting a VISTA proposal approved which will give them 20 spots to choose and administrate themselves.

The original EPO budget was approved jointly by the region office and Research

? Exp. in 11 org. — all to E.P.O. (

and Development in Washington. Kelly want to Washington with his proposal. One of the things he took with him was an article by a person at Costal Progress Inc. that whites couldn't be organized (For this reason he doesn't think the co-op down there really helps to organize poor whites.). The man up there said that poor whites could be organized and called on a person from the Southeast Region and asked her to tell Kelly about the organizing. She said there wasn't any. After he got the approval from a forward looking man in R. and D. he used this approval to push the Region Staff. Even though they are successful- Kelly says it is the best program the Region has and maybe he meant OEO whit organizing anywhere and I got a lot a good reports on EPO when I was in Washington-- he says their budget is getting cut a little for next year. He says my problem is that I look at OEO rationally.

-ACT gets no money from EPO. Kelly sees two paths for it. One is to get money from OEO, but this puts too many ties on it. He thinks EPO should stay the OEO agency. OEO money with the restrictions on it is best operated with half middle class people. He wants for ACT to remain the poor people's group operated completely by them and using their money as they see fit. The other option and one that he thinks will allow this is getting foundation money. He disagrees with GROW on its view of foundation money. He thinks you can get a good bit of flexibality from it. Ford Foundation, as conservative as it is provided money for the N. C. Fund, which "did some beautiful stuff."

ACT helped to integrate the Edgemont Clinic. Before only blacks used it. Now both blacks and whites help run it and use it. It was begun as a project between the black group in the area and the N. C. Medical School.

-Boyte was a Duke student. He worked some with SNCC, he thinks. He was a good friend of Landerman and when he joined the staff he brought in Boyte from divinity school at Chicago. Most of the staff at one time were students at Duke. (Jay told me he was a student there and a good friend of Landerman's. He has been working since last July.) Schunior was a UNC student. Started hiring in the summer so they could pick up students when they first began.

-They have a theory for why they have more women active-- the issues they begin with are those which attract women --schools, kids, the neighborhood They believe though if you've got the wives and the kids, you can get the man when you need him. They are getting into issues now that will attract men such as housing. Several men spoke at the Council meeting. Also he felt that as they won more victories they would get more men in a successful project. A strike would bring in men. They would really like for there to be a strike. ACT would take it over. They would really have the resources for working with a strike, throwing out the union, and using it for an organizati-

(against union).

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Thinking of

tool. At present he would say the active membership was about 8-2 women.
-When they go into a community they do a lot of talking and listening to the people. They do not use church groups as bases of operation because this will sometimes involve you in some type of factional split in the community. It also alienates you from the bootlegger. You have to try to remain clear of these entanglements. They tell them they are from ACT. Most people have heard about that by now. He seems to think they are to a point of acceleration in terms of organization.
-Somewhat joking, someone said that Boyte was their Marxist and Landerman their anarchist.
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-Staff meeting----------
Organizer-In Guthrie community they are haveing problems with the community organization.. There aren't any real problems and there isn't any feeling of community. It is naturally a very separate place. Kelly says that they may have started having meetings too soon before the basis for the organization had been established. Schunior said that she had probably been involved with an atypically successful neighborhood in the only other contact she had had with organization. The successful ones had had 12 members at the first meeting. None of the others had had over three or so. Her original complaint had been because no one had shown up at the last two meetings. Kelly said that maybe she should pull out of the community for a while and spend her time where it could be more fruitful. Schunior suggested that perhaps there could be contact kept with the community through a tutorial program or something of this nature. An organizer said that if you didn't get anything done, things just die out. Another organizer at a different point said that people aren't interested when nothing is happening. Schunior recognized a general pattern of ups and downs in terms of any community's involvement in the council meetings.
-One organizer said that she wanted an issue to really involve people rather than just get them to say they're involved and involve them fully. Kelly said that he had always been in line for electrifying issues, indicating that the process was long and difficult.
-Kelly told them about the need for getting a number of houses together in one group and when you got some destroyed, some boarded up, and some cleaned up, it "would look good." He talked about free tickets that had been given to ACT for a class A baseball game for the children and said it would be good to have them all go down together. It would be good publicity for the kids. Also, they would give tickets to the kids after they got to the ball park. That way they would be getting tickets because they were members of ACT. (He seems always to be talking in terms of employing any issue in the best way

for community organization. From my point of view, he seems rather skillful about it.)

One organizer told about plans for co-operation between white and black councils in an area in order to get a stop light.

The people brought up the desirability of working with medical problems. Kelly said this was a really difficult area to work with and almost the only way to do it was by getting someone on the county or city medical board. If you don't you'll get lied to about the hospital not having enough personell, etc.

One of the local women who is an organizer told about her recent trip to the hospital; how they neglected her and took a doctor's wife instead of her at one point. This developed into a rather interesting conversation generally between the local women with their individual problems and experiences and Kelly and some of those who didn't appear to be local talking about the AMA and its restriction on the numbers of doctors, the reasons for the emphasis on curative rather than preventative medicine, the giving of free mededial care to doctors and their families, etc. Kelly said they might develop some "why shows" for medical problems (and other ones, I think) for council meetings when they had no pressing problems. They would talk about this at the entire staff meeting on Thursday.

-Kelly said that the two methods of organizing mentioned by Jay were not actually two separate methods. Both needed to be used or at least even if you had a local organizer you needed to do things. He said the woman that Jay said was good relly was super. If there were people like her in every block they would be out of business as organizers real quick.

-He has read Alinsky's material and thinks that it is sound stuff.

Jay- -ACT-Durham, N. C.-August 11, 1969

Recreation is a good thing to organize around in the community-- things for the kids work well. Only two neighborhoods have play grounds-one of them built recently. They have been looking around for other lots to build them on but haven't been able to find any more. Its a good organizational issue.

-The housing victory got a lot of people concinced that they could do something. When people like tham get up in a group like that people will listen to them.

-Landerman when he started work in 1966 in the Pattlock Park area organized on the basis of him being a good guy. He raked yards etc. so when a meeting was called the people went out to the meeting for good guy Dick. It was hard for Landerman to organize the community. He lost on the issue of a stop light. When he got the land for the park from Duke it really helped solidify the group. However, even then, only Mattlock and Harrington really helped to build it. Once it was finished it helped the community though and is a good symbol for others.

-About 6 out of the 12 councils have been organized this summer. ACT is getting a reputation and it is to the point of making organization much easier.

-In organizing you imediately start off with a handicap by coming in from the outside. He thinks there are two ways of organizing. The first is on the basis of victories. The second is through finding neighborhood leadership and developing it. A credible contact in the neighborhood helps emensely.

-In the Edgemont community they found a woman who was alreddy the accepted leader of the area and an instinctive radical. She organized that community in lightning speed.

When they organize the community they go door to door talking with the people telling them they are from ACT and listening to their problems. The communities are different but with many of the same problems. After a lot of listening they start the organization.

-About 75% of those active in ACT are women. They come from all ages. Reasons for more women are: 1) more time at home for meetings 2) men have to have a solidified position on various ideas since they deal more in the real world, women can afford to have different types of ideas 3) women are concerned about the community and children, the issues with which ACT organized 4) men are afraid to join because they might lose their job.

-Adm. dir--Kelly; field co-ordinator--Landerman; 2 community organizers--Boyte and Jay; community development assoc. and assistants-- the rest of the staff.

-Boyte worked in '66 in the Edgemont community.

-Jay says that ACT is one of the best organizing projects with whites in the nation. Besides Alinsky's efforts he can't think of any. JOIN isn't working any more.

May 11, 1970

Mr. Robert P. Mosteller
33 Cedar Court Apartments
North Greensboro Street
Carrboro, North Carolina 27510

Dear Bob:

I am sorry that you feel wronged. Technically speaking, of course, we have paid you for your study and your time and never guaranteed either the form of the fact of publication. I point this out not to be sticky about the matter, but to set the record straight. We feel, of course, that we got more than our money's worth!

The truth is Bob Anderson has expressed considerable interest in your work as I have. Both of us, in fact, feel that the whole area of poor white organizing and life syle are subjects that have not gotten enough attention and that your work is an important contribution to the subject. As you may recall, NEW SOUTH last year published two articles dealing with poor whites, and will carry in the present issue a shortened form of the study Harry Lefever did of church influences in Cabbagetown last year. At one point, I know, he also despaired of us.

I think I indicated before that any use of your material you wished make in connection with your academic work was alright We would not want someone, however, to pick it up

for publication until we had made a final release of it. We will shortly make a determination of what form this will take.

I am sorry, again, if what to us seems due and attentive care has translated to you as indicative of indifference on our part, and I hope that you feel a little better toward us.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/lb